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Volume the Third.

HISTORY OF THE LIFE, WRITINGS, AND DOCTRINES OF LUTHER.

BY M. AUDIN.

TRANSLATED BY WILLIAM B. TURNBULL, ESQ.

1132
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PRINTED BY
COX (BROS.) AND WYMAN, GREAT QUEEN STREET,
LINCOLN'S-INN FIELDS.

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TRANSLATED FROM THE LAST FRENCH EDITION, BY

Barclay David Donald,
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"Non unius diei, fortuitique sermonis, sed plurimorum mensium, exacteque
historie."—BRANDOLINI, *Dialog.*

VOL. I.

3⁺
LONDON:

C. DOLMAN, 61, NEW BOND STREET,
AND 22, PATERNOSTER ROW.

MDCCLIV.

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Gen 1715. 66.4

1875, March 22.
Walker Bequest.
(Vol. I., II.)

NOTICE.

THE Translator having (in accordance with the rules for publishing this Series) submitted to me the result of his labours upon the great and valuable work of Audin, "The History of the Life, Writings, and Doctrines of Luther," I have merely to state, that, being well acquainted with the work in French, I recognize all that is valuable, all that is important, and all that gives a peculiar interest to the original in this translation.

WM. BERNARD McCABE.

(A Member of the Council of the Library of Translations.)

April 19, 1854.

VERNON VILLA, VERNON AVENUE,
CLONTARF, DUBLIN.

ADVERTISEMENT BY THE TRANSLATOR.

THE translator of the ensuing pages has endeavoured, as far as in him lies, to adopt the rules suggested by the Very Rev. Dr. Newman, for such as are commissioned or undertake to introduce into their own vernacular the compositions of foreign authors. Anxious to secure its true sense, he has been equally so to preserve as much as possible of the spirit and style of M. Audin's highly-valued biography; of which his own opinion thoroughly coincides with that so well expressed by a discriminating contributor to the "Rambler," some two years since. It may be that, in this respect, he has conceded too much to his author; at the same time he felt it his duty rather to err on that side than otherwise.

In one point—that of omission—he has been somewhat delicately placed. There are, especially in the second volume, many passages of the text which, however genial to the less scrupulous taste of continental society, must be wholly repudiated by that of our own country. He has therefore exercised his own discretion, and left out these objectionable paragraphs,—taking care, while doing so, to indicate every *hiatus*. But wherever he could,

by any veil of which language admits, preserve a sentence, he has done so; from a feeling as inimical to emasculating as to interpolating the labour of his author. Perhaps some may consider that herein he has been too liberal.

Moreover, in several instances, M. Audin has given to his quotations a construction very different from that which their originals express. These the translator has sought to amend in the text.

Doubtless, many errors have escaped his notice. His task has not been executed in a roseate tranquillity, or under circumstances that, once on a time, would have rendered the minutest fault inexcusable. But he has endeavoured to make the most of opposing inconveniences, and cannot charge himself with wilful negligence.

For the following particulars of the life of the author he is indebted to the very valuable "Nouvelle Biographie Universelle," now in course of publication by the enterprising MM. Didot, and edited by Dr. Hœfer.

J. V. Audin was born at Lyons in 1793. His fellow students, at the seminary of Argentière, were the Abbé Deguerry and Monsignor Dufêtre, bishop of Nevers. Having exchanged the study of theology for that of law, M. Audin was called to the bar, but never practised. He commenced the more attractive career of literature, by publishing, in 1811, a pamphlet entitled "The Magic Lantern." This was followed, in 1814, by another, "White,

Blue, and Red: Louis XVIII., our Country, and Honour." In 1815, he published an "Historical Sketch of Events since the Return of Bonaparte to the Restoration of Louis XVIII." Several articles from his pen in the "Journal de Lyon," started by Ballanche, attracted considerable attention; and leaving Lyons, he settled at Paris as a bookseller, devoting himself, however, entirely to literary composition. Almost every succeeding year witnessed some new work from his indefatigable perseverance; but these were, for the most part, of a minor character. His first considerable one was a "History of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew," which appeared in 1826, in two volumes 12mo. This work, based entirely on contemporary manuscripts, memoirs, and chronicles, having seemed, in the eyes of some of the clergy, too favourable to the Protestants, M. Audin issued a letter, wherein he gave fresh evidence of his attachment to, and zeal for the Catholic cause. This probably directed him to a study of the (so-called) Reformation, and induced him to design the plan of a history of that very mischievous event, divided into four separate works, each in itself complete, but together forming one great whole; viz., Histories of the Lives, Works, and Doctrines of Luther and Calvin, of Leo X. and his Times, and of King Henry VIII. and the Anglican Schism. These works were based on original documents in the libraries of the Vatican, Florence, Bologna, Strasburg, Wittemberg,

and elsewhere; as well as on the pamphlets and fugitive literature of the times to which they referred; and from their great accuracy and minuteness of reference, have attained to a position which their style would probably not otherwise have acquired. For whatever may be the opinion of M. Audin's inferences or deductions, nothing can be alleged that in the slightest degree impugns his fidelity. In addition to these more considerable labours, M. Audin contributed introductions, commentaries, and notes, to the French translations of Stapleton's "Life of Sir Thomas More," and the "Resultat meiner Wanderungen" of Höninghaus. He died 21st February, 1851.

3, STONE BUILDINGS, LINCOLN'S INN.

April, 1854.

P R E F A C E.

THE Reformation was a religious and political revolution. On his advent, Luther found ready to his hand the elements of that double movement which was to disturb the world : he did not create them, as has been so often repeated, he made use of them. For ideas are not produced mature, they require a brain to hatch them. The mental soil is like that of the earth, it only brings forth what is sown in it. The germ of Protestantism existed then when Luther appeared ; before the Reformation there had been reformers.

The influence of the doctor of Wittemberg upon his age has been the subject of a great number of works, in which his preaching is alleged to have stirred the masses like that of a Hermann and a Bernard ; his mind to have been intuitively forewarned of the future ; and his knowledge of the Scriptures to have eclipsed all the genius of Catholicism. Without denying the gifts which he received from Heaven, we shall examine what use he made of them, and the power which they exercised on Christian society. His mission has been transformed into an apostleship ; his work compared to a second revelation : we shall see in his contest with authority whether the Augustinian monk was a man, and if he was exempt from the infirmities of our common nature.

The Reformation did not content itself with expelling our monks from their monasteries, and our priests from their presbyteries ; it calumniated their manners and doctrines ; it abased them, and burned or scattered their books. In Germany even, one is fortunate to recover any one of those biting, spiritual, and cutting pamphlets, in which the author, whether priest,

monk, or jurist, combated the doctor's doctrines, his gospel mission, his domestic life, or his foibles, and showed him off on the same stage on which he himself had exhibited others. When the Reformation was accomplished, Luther remained alone upon the scene, without rival or opposition. To form a judgment of his adversaries, there was nothing but the writings which he left behind him. In these we trace on every page a melancholy picture of the Catholics ; who, according to him, were degraded beings, without knowledge or discernment ; miserable scholars creeping in the steps of Aristotle, whom they had never read ; whose Latinity would have excited the contempt of a village pedant ; Christians who repudiated the gospel ; theologians who deemed themselves triumphant when they quoted Peter Lombard or Scotus. In point of morals, they were covetous and luxurious ; addicted to wine and women, slaves of sensual appetites, and ready, like Judas, to say : "What will you give me, and I will deliver him up ?" In their contest with Luther, you scarcely hear one noble sentiment fall from the lips of his rivals, amidst a confused and colourless mass of arguments, often as grotesque as their appearance ; for talent and appearance were all made by Luther after the same image.

Such, if we are to believe the Reformer, were the men whom God raised in the sixteenth century to defend the Church of Germany !

The heart sickens when present at these debates, in which Luther appears with such enchanting eloquence, and his adversaries with language so ridiculous : the one truly a giant, the others wretched dwarfs ! his imagination a fire, theirs a stunted organization. Eck, Emser, Latomus, have at their command the living waters from which Tertullian, Cyprian, and Lactantius imbibed floods of truth and imagery, and their lips dared not touch them ! We blush for these cowled rhetoricians who have never read the Bible. Faith, which moves mountains, does not even loose their tongues. Now, can we be astonished that historians who know the polemics of the sixteenth century only

from Luther's representations, have so contemptible an idea of our doctors, and should be so enthusiastic for their apostle ! that they should compare him to St. Paul, and make of him another Arminius, and a Roman of the olden time ! ¹

It is our conviction, and we hope to make it that of others, that Luther has drawn a caricature, which has been mistaken for a resemblance. No, God was no more wanting to his Church at the time of the Reformation, than talent was to her defenders. For the sake of history, we were bound, in our turn, to judge a man who judged his brethren with such severity : it was our right. We have said to each of the dead whom he has entombed : "Arise!" We have roused them from their slumbers, and summoned them before our tribunal. We shall see whether the Catholic dust does not bring back illustrious shades, men of faith and inspiration, poetic souls, warm hearts, worthy inheritors of the glories of our school. We shall see whether every spark of genius was wanting in these monks, as depicted by Luther ; whether Eck was an ignorant theologian, Aleandro a vulgar mind, Cajetan an unskilful diplomatist, Leo X. the Antichrist foretold by the prophets.

In the history of these two creeds which contend for the Christian world, we shall appreciate the two doctrines which pretend to be inculcated by Christ ; we shall see how the one, precisely because it is new, is contradictory to the Gospel, and the other, simply because it is old, reflects its divine precepts.

Two principles then will be found in constant antagonism : one, which seeks to destroy human activity in its exterior manifestations, by fettering liberty ; another, which upholds the spontaneousness of man by the union of grace with liberty, that is to say, by the double concurrence of the creator and the creature in the moral work. Whatever may be the winding-up of the drama, as success does not imply right, one consolation will always remain to Catholicism, that of never having made

¹ Joh. Voigt's universalhistorische Ideen über die Nuthwendigkeit der Reformation.

the redeemed captive disappear from the presence of his Redeemer.

"What consoles me," said Staupitz to Luther, "is that the doctrine which we teach has restored all glory to God, and given none to man; the delight of my heart is, that the Gospel denies to man all wisdom and justice!"

Luther was at first deceived by Staupitz. Liberty he made a mortal enemy to all religious feeling. To be free, in his eyes was to be God; to proclaim himself free, was to commit high treason against the divine Majesty. The Catholic school will never cease to combat that desolating doctrine.

We shall see in our history that it is not only the perishable substance called the body which will struggle, but also the immortal substance called the soul. If, as Kant has defined it, the beautiful is but the symbol of morality, we shall see which—the Reformer or the Catholic—in the conflict of the two doctrines, will have to yield; whether the one who battles for the slavery, or the other who fights for the liberty of man.

There is no writer, however small the part which he has taken in these disputes, whether on our side or on that of Luther, whose productions we have not carefully studied. In order to judge of the Reformer, we have visited one by one the vast cities of the dead where the ashes of Protestants and Catholics promiscuously lie. We have ransacked the libraries of Mayence, Erfurt, Cologne, Strasburg, Lyons, Florence, and above all, of the Vatican, where so many treasures are buried.¹

At the period of the Reformation there was manifested, even in the smallest towns of Germany, a prodigious intellectual movement. Every question started at Wittemberg begot a number of pamphlets, which it is of importance to consult.

¹ The archives of the Vatican contain the unpublished correspondence of the nuncio Aleandro; the libraries of Mayence and Cologne, pamphlets, to be found nowhere else, of the two Ecks, Tetzel, and Hochstraet; that of Lyons, a great number of theological pamphlets of the sixteenth century.

It is not, as has been done too frequently, by means of Luther's works only, that we can ever describe the Reformation and its varied turns of fortune. Is it with the single narrative of the doctor of Wittemberg that we can hope to judge of the disputation at Leipsic, the diets of Worms and of Augsburg, the peasants' war, the strife of the images, the interview at Marburg, the struggle and death of the prophets? Without the Catholic pamphlets, it is impossible to have a thorough idea of the religious revolution in Saxony. Now these Catholic books, publicly burnt when Protestantism triumphed in a city or kingdom, dispersed at the time of the monks' voluntary or compulsory exile, employed by the peasantry as wadding for their guns during the rebellion of Munzer, sold at the time of the secularization of the monasteries for the benefit of the electors, or buried in some library unknown at the time of the peace of Westphalia; it is these books which have revested every form, sometimes even that of the broadside bawled through the streets at the time of popular commotions, which we required to search for and discover. It is a singular history that they have often given us, in which the conqueror has a couple of volumes to write his monologue, and the vanquished has not even a page! We have wished to make the voice of the conquered be heard: and our readers will be more than once astonished, as we ourselves have been, by its curious revelations! And by the conquered we do not mean Eck or Cochlaeus; but Carlstadt, asserting his rhetorical tropes against Luther; Zwinglius, his eucharistic allegory; Munzer, his appeal to the Franconian miners; Schwenckfeld, his restoration of the letter. Unless a person has under his eye the writings of all these sectaries, he cannot boast of understanding their controversies with Luther.

It is a literary work, of which the mere transcription would occupy the scribe's life; for he who produced it resembled the spectre of the German ballad, he vanished quickly. It is a chaos, into which the author has thrown everything,—poetry,

eloquence, imagery, indignation, filth, falsehood, and even truth : an epic, wherein he exhibits popes, emperors, fathers, doctors, jurists, and his hero, the devil, who holds suspended by a thread all these figures which he moves at his will. It is that work wherein Luther represents Demosthenes, the peasant of the Danube, and too often Petronius, which must be studied, if one doubts, to put an end to doubting ; a symbolism of the insanity of Protestant doctrines in fifteen thousand folio pages. In short, bring these pages before you ; examine those which his withered hand, already feeling the first shades of death, traced at Eisleben, and those which he penned in his early youth, when leaving the monastery at Erfurt ; compare them, and you will never construct from them a system of belief. For the doctrines they contained, to use the words of Wieland, "clash together like avalanches, and conflict like tempests ;" not one beam of the eternal sun points out to you the way of safety ; it is an abyss of neologies, contradictions, and paradoxes. However elevated may be the pillar on which they place their Stylites, we defy the apologists of Luther to exalt him to the point of affirmation ; he only knew to deny, and to deny is to destroy.

But there is one incident in the Reformation which nobody had noticed. When Luther was in his grave, it was necessary to raise a statue to his memory. Accordingly, they collected his scattered inspirations, and even his conversation at table, in the form of his complete works, as the noblest monument which the gratitude of Saxony could erect to the Reformer. Now, in bringing together all these leaves, which the pen of the writer had blackened during more than thirty years, the blush must have risen more than once to the cheeks of his disciples. They respected the meaning, but often veiled the expression. Luther was not our father ; we have lifted the friendly veil ; letter and sentiment reappear in our work as the author conceived or wrote them, by means of those original texts, for which we are indebted, sometimes to our own luck, at others to the communication of some book-collectors, fond, like ourselves, of

these literary rarities, which patience knows how to discover when gold cannot acquire them.¹

Our heart has been frequently saddened, in observing the use which the Augustinian monk made of the brilliant talents which God had given to him. We have exposed his continual variations,—the impossibilities which he advances for proofs,—his prophecies of the fall of the Roman Church,—his blasphemies against the chair of St. Peter,—his outrages on tradition,—his contempt for the splendours of the priesthood and human nature,—his gall and abuse for those who did not believe in the creed of Wittemberg.

At the beginning of the quarrel about indulgences, when Luther strove against authority in the theses which he gave to the Catholic world as the simple paradoxes of a youth, Erasmus wittily complained of a possessive pronoun which Hutten had slipped in in favour of the monk, in a letter from the philosopher. "Luther," said Erasmus; "our Luther," wrote Hutten. We do not desire that the reader should suspect us of lending to the Reformer even a single pronoun. The plentiful quotations and references at the bottom of our pages proceed from no desire to make a parade of erudition, too slight to cause surprise, but from the wish to testify our honesty to the mistrustful reader. We do not mean to insist that we should be believed upon our word; our book will often disgust him; doubts of our narrative will arise; but let him question as much as he pleases, our proofs are there, and he must either submit to them, or renounce Luther. We said, in our first edition, "We reproduce Luther's own language, and that as it came from his pen. For a moment we hesitated, not daring to translate images which offend at once both the eye and the ear; but we took courage, remembering that it was not our part to blush for Luther. If there be shame, let it recoil on his face." But as men whose faith is as

¹ It is thus that we possess a sermon, published at Wittemberg in 1522, in which Luther is represented with his head in a nimbus, surmounted by the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove.

great as their knowledge have censured our hardihood, we have thought it right to defer to their opinion. The Latin or German language shall henceforward relate what Bossuet calls the prodigious imaginations of the Augustinian monk. Luther himself has chosen them for interpreters.

When this Samson of the Reformation seized hold of the pillars of the Catholic temple to pull them down, numerous workmen came to his assistance : these were Carlstadt, Ecolampadius, Schwenckfeld, and many others, to whom, for recompence, he awarded crowns on earth and in heaven. But these independent spirits wished to labour on their own account, and to do without Luther. Then comes an incident too serious to be laughed at. "Who are you," cries Luther, "to announce another gospel ? What are your miracles ? Where are the signs which you have planted in heaven ?" Not one replies : there was not one of them, according to Erasmus, who could cure a lame horse. They were not silent : in their turn, they asked Luther : "And who sent you ? By what signs can we recognise your mission ? What miracle have you worked ?" Luther never once said : "Ephpheta, be opened." In default of signs, he has much passion. Then he becomes enraged, he jumps about, he searches the books of these new apostles, whom he drives promiscuously before his tribunals, and in open court, amid the laughter of those present, flagellates, and brands on the forehead like Cain ; then with his prophet's voice chases them off with this malediction : "Go to the devil, unless you repent !" All died impenitent ; but before leaving this life they, in their turn, cited the Reformer to their bar. Do not expect from them oratorical displays ; their language is without reflection, but keen ; we have sought for and found it in leaves of excessive rarity.

Thus anarchy commenced in the Church of Wittemberg ! The uterine brothers of the Reformation, reared on its milk, cursed and summoned each other before the supreme judge : Luther, to demand an account from Munzer of all the souls

which he had empoisoned ; and Munzer, to throw in his face the blood of the Anabaptists : Carlstadt, to accuse Luther of having perverted the sacred word ; and Luther, to laugh at the visions of the archdeacon : Zwinglius and Ecolampadius, to explain to Luther the words of the Last Supper ; and Luther, to denounce the interpretation of the Swiss.

Was not that drama a singular spectacle, in which no Catholic appeared, and of which all the actors were renegade monks, clerks, and priests ? — evangelists, who believed themselves divinely enlightened, and who cursed each other ; prophets and apostles of Christ, who boasted of possessing the criterion of truth, and understood each other no more than did the builders of Babel ! We have laid open the wounds of the Reformation in the persons of its most renowned champions. It is the Saxon who shall judge them.

We should be to blame, were we to forget a new non-sequitur of the innovating opinions in Germany. Luther effected his schism by substituting private judgment for all authority and all tradition, except the Bible. But private judgment being protected neither from deception nor error, the results of its investigations must necessarily be contradictory. Carlstadt, the first to make use of this right of examining the Bible proclaimed by Luther, was led, in virtue of the very letter of inspiration, to produce a system different from that established by the Wittemberg monk. Contrary to his own logic, Luther quarrelled with the archdeacon, and subsequently with Zwinglius and the Sacramentarians, against the right of inquiry which he had founded : he reformed authority, and would not that they should reform him ; a claim which Zwinglius and Carlstadt at first repelled with laughter, and then with indignation. Their mirth and displeasure we have collected, not from the frequently unfaithful version of Luther, but from the original works of the dissentients.

It appeared strange that we overlooked those philosophical questions,—the liberty of man, its loss and restoration,—which

were permitted to inflame the school of Wittemberg. We have, in this edition, entered upon the subject, because, while offering a solution of these high problems in the Catholic point of view, we shall judge more readily of the hazardous creeds which Luther wished to raise on our traditional dogmatism ;—creeds born of the breath of man's mouth, and which, when scarcely in existence, exhibit all the infirmities of their parent,—suffer, become decrepit, and perish, sometimes by their natural death—the hand of time ; but nearly always by a violent death—by the very hands of the spiritual children of Luther. In exposing the antagonism of Protestant doctrines, we shall set off the unity and immutability of the Catholic doctrines, which, after the assaults which they had to suffer in the sixteenth century, are now what they then were, and ever shall be.

Let another Eliseus breathe upon the dust of Eck ; in rising from his tomb, Eck would have no other catechism than that which he held in his hand at Leipsic : the sun might have changed, the Catholic doctrines would have remained, and will remain, eternally the same.

However, we are anxious to state that our work is not controversial ; to unveil the contradictory teaching of Protestantism would require us more frequently to refute them. What good, for example, would be gained by proving that man is free ? Would it not be better to mention the singular argument, by means of which Luther boasts of having proved that the kind widow Cotta, who, moved by compassion, threw him a farthing when he begged in the streets of Eisenach, was impelled by fate to give him charity, and that the insignificant coin which fell into the child's cap was an offence in God's sight ?

A man like Luther lives not only in his works and the narratives of his contemporaries ; his foot, wherever he has trod, is so strongly imprinted on the soil, as to leave imperishable traces of its passage. Luther's was—at once a combat and a pilgrimage through Germany. Enthusiasts go now-a-days to visit the places where the phenomena of the Reformation

occurred, as our ancestors formerly went to the Holy Land. We also have made the journey. We have seen Eisleben, Eisenach, Erfurt, Worms, Spire, and Wittemberg, while collecting memorials and imagery which might aid the comprehending of our narrative, and supply us with useful information. So, if we happen to have shown to us, with an idolatrous sort of veneration, the glass which Luther's lips have touched, we ask our opponents to explain their contempt for the bones of the martyrs of our faith ; if the Protestant seats himself with emotion under the tree which sheltered Luther at Pfafflichheim, we may be permitted to kiss the hand of one of our saints who preferred death to perjury ; and if we are shown the drops of ink that fell from the standish which Luther threw at the devil's head, we shall have less trouble in obtaining pardon for some of our quaint legends.

Once more we republish our work. If anything could have rewarded it with honour, it has been the reception which it has met with in Germany,—that country of conscientious students. Among the commendations which Germany has been pleased to bestow upon us, there is one of which we are proud, because we believe we deserve it,—it is that of historical honesty. Before publishing this new edition, we re-entered the dust of libraries. No one ever had greater love for the dirty stratum which covers old books, because, to our minds, therein lies that pearl called truth,—and truth, in the words of Schelling, is the real beauty of every kind of intellectual labour.¹

¹ We should be wanting in gratitude if we did not record our thanks to M. the Abbé Albanés, of the diocese of Marseilles, for useful observations on various passages in our histories of Luther, Henry VIII., and Leo X., which he has been pleased to send us.

INTRODUCTION.

RATIONALISM IN THE TIMES OF LUTHER.

THE Reformation was not, as it has been said, an accident, but the progressive work of Rationalism. Luther completed what Rationalism had long been labouring to effect.

We find in the history of learning in Germany a period, very short, it is true, in which intellect gave scarcely any signs of existence : this was at the beginning of the fifteenth century. At that time, man scarcely doubted that he represented anything but matter. He seemed to have forgotten that his soul ought to live on all "that proceeds from the mouth of God," who created him in his own image. He suffered it to be imprisoned in earthly bonds, in which it languished and died, like a plant without the sun. If in that slumber of the mind we look for a countenance in which we may read the signs of our heavenly origin, we must enter the chapel of a monastery. There, some monks alone represent the immaterial substance which will never end ; the pure spirit, the living faith. Take away the monk, every creed is extinct ; one would say that the world had relapsed into idolatry, but the worst of all, the idolatry of brute force.

Before the fifteenth century, the voice of the German priest, the representative of learning and truth, had always been heard in a religious silence ; it was more than the echo of the living Word, it was like the voice of God himself and his light. Poor and rich, subjects and monarchs, obeyed that word which over-powered all the noises of the world, like that which Moses heard on the mountain. If at intervals a rebellious nature strove to alter the priest's instruction, then it swerved from its duty ; they left it alone, abandoned, until it had wept and done penance. If it persisted in its rebellion, the guilty soul was condemned,

anathematized ; the doors of the church were closed and the holy table barred against it, until it had repented in tears and prayer. All the threatening ceremonial which the Church displayed in her wrath, served in Germany to increase the respect and fear of the nation. As there was no knowledge save in the cloister, so it was from the cloister that rebellion commonly proceeded. It proceeded from some poor monk passionately devoted to his books,—his only worldly joy,—of which he dreamt during the night, and even in his prayers ; and who, maddened by excessive study, threw all sorts of capricious fancies to the multitude, who, ignorant of the subject, received them with simplicity. But soon admonished by his superiors, the offender hastened to correct himself, and expiate his rashness by fasting and mortification. In these times of docile belief, the clergy unhappily too often forgot the cultivation of sacred and profane literature. Because they possessed the moral world, they thought that the created one could not escape them. In Saxony, that flaming zeal for study, which separated the priest from all men subject to the sway of matter, gradually declined from the fourteenth century in such a manner that, in the fifteenth, only some feeble gleams remained. From the purely spiritual character in which he first appeared to us, the priest becomes a mere ordinary individual. The tongue of Virgil, which was faintly echoed by Prudentius, Lactantius, and St. Augustine, and which ought to have been reflected in the language of the Saxon priest, loses its grace, becomes rusty and tarnished, and soon no longer a language, but a barbarous dialect. In vain the popes at different periods endeavoured to revive in Germany the flame of ancient literature, as they had done in Italy, either by exhortation or by honours conferred upon those who, like Erasmus,¹ cultivated it ; their voice, any more than the incentive of fame, had not power enough to rouse the minds that had too long slumbered in sensuality. The bounty of Charlemagne, after the defeat of the Saxons, was showered upon the German bishops, who made use of the prince's favour, as feudal lords, to carry in their train knights clad in armour, with spears and weapons of war. In

¹ Letters from Leo X. to Erasmus, 10 July, 1515, exhorting him to publish the works of St. Jerome, and his work upon the New Testament.

26 January, 1516 : "Dilecte filii, Vite morumque tuorum honestas," etc.

the reign of Louis the Debonnaire, son of Charlemagne, a voice was heard in Westphalia, exclaiming, “ Woe, woe ! poison is now spread over all the Church ! ” That voice was prophetic of the consequences of the corruption of the German episcopate by the great emperor.¹

At the time of the Reformation, all the German prelates, it is true, did not resemble him whom Erasmus has described in his letter to Francis I.² The bishop of Brandenburg was nobly placed at the head of the learned ; Albert of Mayence protected Hutten ; the bishops of Paderborn and Posen loved literature, and supported numerous schools in their dioceses. But before them the majority of the dignified clergy were unhappily too much occupied with the material world, to think of the mind and its incessant wants. To destroy this sensuous existence an unexpected blow was necessary : it was given by a humble workman, in the discovery of printing.

Printing was like a new tree of knowledge. Priests and laymen, men of the gown and the sword, monks and magistrates, artists and workmen, even women sought to pluck its fruit.³ The more this movement of the mind spread, the more the oral teaching of the priest lost its power over the masses. The mind had found a new existence, an unknown source of enjoyment. Milton has depicted the ineffable enthusiasm, when man opened for the first time his eyes to knowledge. The most ardent disciples abandoned their spiritual teachers, as soon as they could read other than those books resplendent with gold and paintings, which the monasteries preserved with such care, and previously sold at so high a price.

Printing was to become a powerful weapon in the hands of Rationalism. The German clergy might have imitated the example of those of Italy, by seizing that instrument, wielding and using it for their benefit and renown ; and no one, certainly, would have been tempted to dispute with them the possession of

¹ “ Hodie, vix, vix, venenum sparsum est per universam Ecclesiam.” All Ranke’s ideas of the influence of the secular clergy are contained in this prophecy related by Father Thomassinus.

² Erasmus, in his letter to Francis I., speaks of one of these bishops : “ Qui trecentos equites balistis, lanceis, ac bombardis instructos secum ducit.”

³ “ Quin potius cedunt feliciori seculo, quod feminæ Latinæ scient.”—Eras. Epist., Nicol. Everardo, Holland. Præsaid.

it. Unhappily the German prelates in general did not appear to comprehend sufficiently the changes which were working in society : they did not bring the future completely enough before them. Some active sympathy, it is true, for the amelioration of the human mind manifested itself among the clergy ; but instead of going, as in Italy, for inspiration to the sources of antiquity, the German priesthood preferred to remain in their cloisters, and there study, for the resuscitation of learning, the works of their theologians, admirable for dogmatic teaching, but of which the literary form had become obsolete. All that they did, to give themselves an appearance of worldly learning, was to unite Aristotle to St. Thomas in their psychological studies. But Aristotle, with his dry terminology, his cold reasoning, and unadorned style, could not always confine the imagination of a people, which sooner or later must belong to poetry.

Now that poetry was plentifully diffused in the works of Plato. The Greek exiles from Constantinople had recently introduced them to Italy, where people were suddenly captivated with the mysterious dreams of the disciple of Socrates.¹ Thus two great systems of philosophy came in sight, and disputed the empire of the mind ; the one, represented by the grave and systematic Aristotle ; the other, by the brilliant and figurative Plato ; Aristotle appealing to reason ; Plato captivating the senses. Positive in his deductions, like an algebraic formula, Aristotle rejected all ornament as vain ; airy as a dream, Plato could clothe his ideas with the most musical language. All Italy, with her scholars, laity, and even clergy, embraced with avidity the theories of Plato.² The priesthood of Germany chose Aristotle ; but out of the ranks of the clergy Plato found more than one enthusiastic admirer. The scholars, and the learned, inclined to Plato ; Ulrich von Hutten and Reuchlin rejected Aristotle,

¹ Marsilius Ficinus, Picus de la Mirandola, and Lorenzo de Medici, father of Leo X., especially contributed to diffuse the dogmas of this new philosophy, which, in spite of its heterodoxy, seduced many religious men. Instead of a triune God, the Platonists admit but one soul : the soul, a ray, a portion of the Divinity, united to matter ; after the trials of life, the soul bursts its bonds, and is lost in the bosom of the Divinity, as a drop of water is in the sea. See Roscoe, Life and Pontificate of Leo X. vol. iii.

² Ginguené thinks that too much influence has been assigned to the fall of the East upon the revival of learning in Italy. He believes that, independent of the immigration of the Greeks to the West, Italy would not less have revived the cultivation of antiquity. He is right.

and urged the multitude towards Pagan antiquity. The multitude obeyed, and deserted the monks, who hoped to regenerate the human intellect by the aid of Peter Durandus, Gabriel, Scotus, Biel, and all the angels of the cloister. We can imagine that when the German priest could be bantered, and his preaching criticized ; when they could composedly ridicule his literary doctrines ; Rationalism, by a natural reaction of pride, would necessarily betake itself to dogmatism. Private judgment then came to weaken faith. For a nation indifferent or fickle, it was truly fortunate that this mystery of the inferiority of the clergy should be thus unveiled ; French malignity would be amused by it ; but for a serious people like those of Germany, the danger was greater. So, because some monks had misunderstood the age in which they lived, and were afraid of Pagan learning, what a clamour Reuchlin and his followers made ! “ How,” said he, “ can you wish me to believe in this purgatory which is preached by an ignorant fellow, who cannot even decline *musa* ? ” People laughed ; and not one of his students stood up and said : “ Master, does not Sadoletus, who speaks Latin like Horace, also teach that dogma ? ” Reuchlin afterwards was aware of it.

At that time it was the custom in Germany for young men, when they left the schools of law or medicine, to go to Italy to finish their studies at Bologna or Padua. For painting, music, natural sciences, and every mental application flourished together in that favoured land. Whilst at Rome and Florence the artist sought for his inspirations in contemplating the great works of antiquity : at the universities of Padua or Bologna, science studied man in himself, without caring for the doctrines of the old masters. This double spectacle of spontaneousness and artistic imitation, equally fruitful in results, could not but sensibly strike imaginations which hitherto had not pursued learning with any active intention. Our pilgrims accordingly left Italy bearing with them the seeds of intellectual independence, which they were to sow on their return to their own country, or new ideas on the resuscitation of art by imitation, which was equally to develop in Germany taste and the love of study. Rationalism found its account in these pilgrimages, for which it encouraged the taste ; it applauded them, it urged minds to them, because convinced that from these scientific

migrations some fine triumph for doubt would spring, and for faith an inevitable obscuration. What must assist the progress of Rationalism, was properly the moral spectacle which was to strike those students, even more than the festivals of Catholicism, the splendours of the court of Rome, the happy lives of the artists, or the wonders of art ; it was the state of the mind, we would say, which they had left in Germany, submissive and austere, and which they found at Rome, Venice, and Florence, free, holding of no one, and acknowledging neither yoke nor master. Joyous, licentious, incredulous, but in appearance only, thought, beyond the Alps, amused itself with everything, past and present, with the clergy, and the pontiffs themselves. It had for its organs, Dante, who casts the popes alive into hell ;¹ Petrarch, who made of Rome a courtesan,² and even the Carmelite, Baptista Mantuanus, who sang the loves of the monks. Their works, although forbidden by the authorities, circulated in Rome during the reigns of Julius II. and Leo X., and were to be found in the libraries of most of the learned. Bibbiena and Bembo knew by heart long portions of them, which they amused themselves by publicly reciting.³ It was not only the language of some free-thinkers, which the student brought to translate and republish, but many other novelties. At first poetical works, like those of Dante and Boccaccio, which still were unknown to Germany, who only received them at a later date ; then books on art, such as those of Vitruvius ; political writings, like Machiavelli's ; sermons, like those of Savonarola. When certain theologians of Cologne persecuted Reuchlin, who sought to revive the study of the Oriental languages,⁴ Leo X. summoned to Rome a learned professor of Hebrew,⁵ and placed in his library the lexicon of the Jew David Kimchi, which had been printed at Venice. Sadoletus wrote a commentary on the Epistle to the Romans ;⁶ a Camaldulensis translated the

¹ Dante, *Inferno*, c. 19.

² Petrarca, *Fiamma dal Ciel su le tue treocie piova*.

³ Shepherd's Life of Poggio Bracciolini, pp. 88, 428. Ginguené, *Hist. d'Italie*, vol. vii. pp. 308, 313, 319.

⁴ Maii, *Vita Reuchlini*.

⁵ Tiraboschi, *tom. vii. part ii. p. 1083.* Lelong, *vol. i. part i. p. 97 ; vol. ii. part ii. p. 534.*

⁶ Hirt's *orientalische und exegetische Bibliothek*, *tom. i. pp. 35, 44.*

Bible into Italian ;¹ and the inspired volume, which they accused the Church of Germany of concealing from the people, was published in every living language. The literary pilgrims brought with them Solomon's Canticles in Ethiopic, the production of John Potken ;² the Psalter in Chaldee, Arabic, Greek, and Latin, by Bishop Giustiniani, dedicated to Leo X. ; the Gospels in Syriac ; and other works in various languages.³

Rationalism triumphed, in the face of these intellectual treasures imported from a foreign land, and made use of them to denounce the ignorance of the German clergy ; hence the diminution of the spiritual element among the people ; scepticism entered full sail into the kingdom of faith.

In the mean while, in Germany a revolution was effected, which powerfully contributed to unsettle learning ; the corporations slowly achieved their freedom, and the citizens were formed of the remains of the feudal power. Labour had gradually bettered the condition of the burgesses, who, by industry, had come to a knowledge of their mutual interests, and had classified and formed themselves into constituencies ; new members of social society, participating at once of the lord and the vassal. The burgesses of the sixteenth century played an important part in the mind-movement of that time.⁴ At first the property of others, then the slaves of their own hands, and finally depending upon God alone, when those hands had become sufficiently powerful to assure their future destiny, the burgesses began to feel the value of their triumph, which they resolved to preserve at all hazards. They knew that mere strength could bring together stones, but that only skill could construct buildings ; that strength, committed to itself, could make conquests, but mere fragile ones, which must soon perish, unless watched over by education. So these freed men of the night saw that, once their bodies had gained the morning, they must forthwith emancipate their minds. The spiritual light which shone over the Alps first attracted their attention,—books, arts, ideas, all that came from

¹ Fontanini, p. 673. Another translation of the Bible appeared at Venice in 1471. Bib. Spencer, vol. i. p. 63.

² Simon, *Hist. Critique du Nouv. Test.* pp. 550—556.

³ Lelong, *Bibl. Fr.* vol. i. part ii. pp. 146, 147.

⁴ Rossi, *Cours d'Economie professé au Collège de France.*

Italy engaged their thoughts. The Saxon burghesses were the first disciples of the German school of philosophy represented by Reuchlin, one of scepticism and ridicule, and which had for its device—hatred to the monks, and all that proceeds from monasteries. They mixed themselves up, as if they understood them, in those disputes between the Platonists and Aristotelians, which began to agitate every one in Germany; and, as at Rome, adopted for a representative that which spoke to the mind, which fertilized it, and threw some poetry into all its speculations. These disputes, in which the monks left too large a share to the lay scholars, contributed to the invasion of the Reformation, by giving to a singularly thoughtful people the taste for eccentric discussions, in which the mind sported with the powers which till then it had applied to inward contemplation.

The laymen of Germany sought to imitate Italy:—Tubingen, in 1477; Mayence, in 1482; Wittemberg, in 1502; and Frankfort-on-the-Oder, in 1506,¹ had founded and endowed schools; and, as on the other side of the Alps, universities, in which antiquity was expounded and illustrated to crowds of ardent students,—among whom were to be seen faces brown with toil, men of flesh and matter, who doubtless, as yet, understood but little of that devotion of minds quickened by the study of an intellectual past, of which the appearance could not be present to their senses. But the signs destined to represent the masters' ideas did not require them to be translated, and could, without the assistance of an interpreter, reach the ear of the new disciples; for it was in the vernacular that the German professor lectured, according to the custom observed in Italy. This simple change of language was quite a revolution. Italy had been the first to attempt it without imperilling the faith; but a thoughtful nation, like the Germans, must sooner or later have abused an aliment which excited too much its tendency to mysticism. Thus the nobles, and some prelates, in founding those universities, laboured, unconsciously, for the triumph of Rationalism, and prepared the way for religious innovations.

The German clergy might have dispensed to the people this

¹ Robelot, *Influence de la Réformation de Luther*, 8vo. p. 340.

new manna, had they looked for it where the laity found it : they sought it elsewhere ; and as they saw that the past was the great source of inspiration, they thought to summon it ; but instead of these spirits which had filled pagan antiquity with their fame, they called back others of the dead : these were the theologians of the Middle Ages. They saw, accordingly, all the divinities of the scholastic theology, disturbed in their silence, rise from the tomb, resuscitated by the voice of the priest, and reappear on the benches witnesses of their ancient triumphs ; disputationis deities, who infused into their pupils a spirit ofunning, quirks, equivocation, and grammatical subtleties, and assisted them to resume the strifes of which they had carried away the secret. They were no longer those noble and learned conflicts, in which the mind sought to borrow from the Divinity the mysterious source whence spring thought, ideas, and human will ; but frivolous polemics, wherein the monks tortured their imagination, excited by retirement, to resolve moral problems, the simple daring of which might have startled minds less pure. The delight of these recluses, when the problem was solved, ought to have died in the cloister ; but it escaped through the gratings, and went in search, in the midst of their investigations, of scholars who amused themselves by expounding the thesis. After stripping it of the modest vestment of monastic language, they reproduced it in all the nakedness of the vulgar idiom. Thus, in spite of themselves, without perceiving it, the people were carried along in a spiritual movement, and in a sphere of new ideas which the German pilgrims had brought from the South. The sound of these discussions came, therefore, constantly on their ear. Before Luther appeared, the people knew that the schools were disturbed, and the clergy in a state of anxiety ; they knew that the men who passed for apostles of learning laughed to scorn the speculations of the monks. When, therefore, the innovators openly agitated questions which theretofore had been confined to the cloister, and said loudly and distinctly, like Luther : " You presume to examine whether Jesus Christ is the Son of God, and whether Mary is his mother ; and may not I presume, under the appearance of doubt, to question the worth of indulgences ? " the people were quite ready

to consider their new teachers in the right, and suffer themselves to be seduced and deceived.¹

Thus, at the moment of Luther's appearance, all was in readiness, as we see, for an intellectual revolution. It might have taken place without force or violence, had it been accomplished by the influence which Italy would necessarily have exercised on the destinies of Germany, and by the association of the two elements, religious and pagan: it would have let alone the faith, which did not repel knowledge. Rationalism prevailed against authority, but at the expense of the peace of Germany, the blood of her children, of arts and of learning. Rationalism, this Protestantism of all ages, sowed every hour, against the authority of the past, new seeds of rebellion, which required but a strong breath to call them into life. The ways were prepared by a second Arius. The press, which had already spread in Germany furious libels against the temporal authority of the Holy See; the learning which, emanating from Italy, had crossed the Alps to enlighten Saxony; the internal fermentation of German society, and the personification of a new social form in the burgess, that man of twofold nature; the dark insurrection of the nations of the North against those of the South; the theological subtleties agitated in the schools; the indifference or contempt of a portion of the clergy for ancient literature; the war of some converted rabbis against the Jewish writings; the ignorance of the mendicant orders; the haughty splendour of various prelates;—such were some of the sights which struck Luther's eye at his entry on the world, and the rudiments of the revolutionary work which he was to achieve. The egg was laid, to use the figurative expression of Erasmus: Luther sat upon and hatched it.

We have not imagined that the various elements which produced or developed the reforming movement could be adequately studied in an introduction. It has seemed to us that, according as the facts manifested themselves in the religious or social

¹ "Cur non etiam tacent et gratias agunt, et suas frivolas disputationes omittunt de potestate et bonitate ejus, qui dedit istam potestatem ecclesiae? Denique, quid est tam secretum vel in illa summa maiestate, vel sacratissima humanitate, quod non propè nugis ita contaminaverint, ut omnium pendet et affectum et reverentiam cordium assiduitate nugandi in Deum, extinxerint?"
—Hieronymo Sculteto, episc. Brand. 22 Maii, 1515.

world, it would be more easy for us to judge from them of the generating causes. Beforehand, we declare that, in examining the events which convulsed Germany, we have mainly consulted the evidence afforded by Protestantism itself. Doubtless it is easy, after three centuries have rolled by since a revolution, to lay down a system explanatory of a mysterious past. But a system has only existence during a limited time; stripped of real signification, it cannot be considered probable, and never true, because it possesses no certainty except in a relative point of view, and only expresses a transitory belief. Is it not true that the words of men who have been witnesses of, or actors in, a fact, have a very different weight, if we take care—as we shall constantly do—to search for testimony in the very narratives of those whose doctrines prevailed in opposition to those of the Catholic school? It is therefore to our religious adversaries that we shall appeal for it, in explaining or judging the men and the facts which are to be produced in the history of Luther.

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HISTORY OF LUTHER.

CHAPTER I.

THE EARLY LIFE OF LUTHER.

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LUTHER's¹ father, Hans, was a poor peasant of Moér, in Thuringia, a small village situated near the summit of that chain of mountains whither St. Boniface had brought Christianity. His mother, Margaret Lindemann, was a God-fearing, virtuous, and chaste bath-woman. She loved prayer, and was esteemed the ornament of Moér.² "I have frequently asked her," said Melancthon, "when Martin was born. She recollects perfectly the day and hour of his birth, but she had forgotten the year. She mentioned that she was confined on

¹ An Italian playwright, Cajetano Vioich, has composed a poem, in which he represents Luther as born of Megera, one of the Furies, who was sent from hell to Germany. Florimond de Remond dates his birth on the 22nd October, to confirm the predictions of Junctin, the astrologer, who has been refuted by Isaac Malleolus, professor of mathematics at Strasburg, in his *Dissertatio de Genitura Lutheri*: Argentorati, 1617. Gauric gives the 22nd October, 1484, an hour and ten minutes past midnight; and at this moment he finds in the state of the heavens certain signs which mark Luther. John Michael Dilher, minister at Nuremberg, has endeavoured to prove, in his *Neu-geistreiches Handbuch*, p. 639, that Luther was that angel of whom St. John speaks in the *Apocalypse*, xiv. 6. But Nicolas Weislenger, author of *Fritz Vogel oder Stirb!* discovers in Lauter (the name of the monk in Upper Saxon, and that which Dilher employs to prove the nature of the reformer) the Cabalistic number 666, which denotes the Apocalyptic beast of the verse of the Apostle: "Here is wisdom. He that hath understanding, let him count the number of the beast, for it is the number of a man; and the number of him is six hundred sixty-six."

² Mathesius, in *Vita Luth.* Conc. i. Cochlæus, in *Actis Lutheri*, p. 1. Sleidanus, lib. xvi. Hist. Tenzel, Hist. Ref. p. 138. C. Christ. Schlegelii *Vita Spalatini*, ad ann. 1521.

the 10th of November, at eleven o'clock at night, at Eisleben, whither she had gone to purchase provisions, at the fair which is annually held in that small town ; that the child was baptized next morning, and named after the saint whose festival was then held." James, a worthy and good young man, believed that his brother was born in the year of our Lord 1483. All the members of his family—his father, uncle, grandsire—were agricultural labourers. Six months after the birth of Martin,¹ Hans left Eisleben, and went to live in the town of Mansfeld, where he soon exchanged the occupation of agriculturist for that of a miner. He became proprietor of a small piece of ground ; and subsequently we find him discharging the duties of a public office, which the friendship and esteem of his fellow-citizens had conferred upon him.² He laboured from morn till night for the support of his children, spent the festivals and Sundays at home, and seldom visited the tavern. Before they came to Mansfeld the family lived in great poverty. Whenever these recollections of infancy came to his mind, Luther loved to talk of them with his friends. " My dear parents were very poor," said he ; " to support us my father was obliged to till the soil, and my mother to carry wood on her shoulders ; they were worthy people, who had much ado to gain a livelihood, and of whom the race is now extinct."³ God blessed so much poverty and labour. Hans became a master miner, had workmen in his employment, and was enabled to bring up his numerous family. How many children he had is unknown ; two of them died of the pestilence which ravaged Europe at the beginning of the sixteenth century ; one of his daughters married the scribe Ruhel, of Mansfeld, whose name sometimes appears in Luther's correspondence.⁴

Hans was one of those fine German peasants, of whom the

¹ Paulinus, in *Syntagmate rerum Germ.* p. 125. Keil, *Leben Hans Luthers*, p. 23.

² " Parentes Lutheri primum in oppido Eisleben, ubi Lutherus natus est, domicilium habuerunt ; deinde migrarunt in oppidum Mansfeld."—*Mel. in Vitâ Lutheri. Chyträus*, in *Chron. Sax.* p. 223.

³ " Ego sum rustici filius de Moër circa Islebiam. Ego natus ex pauperibus parentibus. Pater fuit fessor montium, mater omnia ligna ad rem domesticam necessaria in dorso importavit. Proavus, avus, pater meus fuerunt naturâ rustici."—*Lut. Coll. Mens. tom. ii. pp. 18, 118.*

⁴ Letters from Luther to John Ruhel, 30th May, 1523 ; to the same, 3rd June, 1525. See the Collection by Leberecht de Wette, *Dr. Martin Luther's Briefe, Sendschreiben und Bedenken* : Berlin, 1826, 6 vols. 8vo.

type is still to be found in Upper Saxony. Devoted to labour and prayer, attached to his family, and to his daughter especially, he never murmured at Providence, even when another child was sent to him. He delighted to recreate himself of an evening, over a large jug of beer, listening to some biblical narrative, which James read to him out of one of the volumes reluctantly lent to them by the fathers of the monastery,—for books were as costly as they were rare. He went to rest betimes, said his prayers, and knelt at the foot of Martin's bed, entreating of God that his child might grow up in the fear of the Lord.¹ In imitation of the nobility of his times, Hans bore for arms a miner's hammer upon a block of granite;² of which he was as proud as Sickengen of his sword. He frequently invited to his table the prior, or the schoolmaster of Mansfeld, who delighted in examining the boy, whose eye already met, without shrinking, the look of his querist. At six years old Luther could read and write currently. When Melancthon was married, Hans was present at the ceremony, and sat at the banquet among the Hellenists, doctors, and men of science and learning, whom the professor had invited there. John Reinick was the earliest and most intimate companion of Martin Luther. Neither Hans nor Margaret, however, were sparing of their chastisements of the child. Luther mentions, that one day, having stolen a paltry little nut, his mother beat him to the effusion of blood; and that he was so much afraid of his father, that he used to hide himself in the nook of the chimney when he was so unlucky as to disobey him.

In May, 1497, two students, with knapsack on back and staff in hand, heavy-hearted and tearful, journeyed on the high road from Mansfeld to Bernburg. These were Martin Luther, then fourteen years old, and his companion Reinick, nearly the same age.³ Both had left the parental roof, and were travelling on foot to Magdeburg, there to attend the *Currend Schulen*, celebrated schools in the middle ages which still exist. In these schools each scholar defrayed his board and education by means of the small alms given to him by the rich, under whose windows he sang twice a week, or which he received at

¹ Gustav. Pfizer, *Luther's Leben*: Stuttgart, 1885, 8vo.

² M. Michelet, *Mémoires de Luther*, tom. ii. p. 3.

³ Mathesius, *Pred. i.*

church for singing in the choir ; a school of trials and hardships, out of which proceeded the great lights which have illuminated Germany. But the rich people of Magdeburg were by no means charitable ; since Luther, notwithstanding his fine voice, could not make wherewith to pay his masters beyond one year. John Reinick was more fortunate. At length Martin, having spent his last groschen, left the hard-hearted city in 1498. Having bid adieu to his companions and his young friend, who subsequently became inspector of mines at Mansfeld,¹ he again took to the road with his pilgrim's staff and wallet, and turned his steps towards Eisenach, a small town of Thuringia, belonging to the dukes of Saxony, where his mother had numerous relations. He walked along St. George's, the main street, in which, perceiving a mansion of noble appearance, he stopped, laid his knapsack on the ground, and began to sing.² A lady appeared at the window. Moved by the tones of a voice made eloquent by want, she threw two or three copper coins to the boy, who gladly picked them up, gratefully thanking his benefactress. This lady, whose name was Ursula Cotta, the widow of a rich burgess of the town, observing the tearful eyes of the little mendicant, beckoned him to come up ; and the boy, ascending the wooden staircase, found, on reaching the dining-room, a repast of wine and fruit ready spread.³ His hunger and thirst appeased, he rose from table, commanding to God her who thus compassionated the poor ; and then, as a mark of gratitude, embraced Ursula's child, to whom he put some questions on the Catechism. Staff in hand, he was about to depart, when the widow stopped him and desired him to remain. He was another child whom Providence sent to her, and whom she felt inclined to rear : the poor little fellow found a second mother.

It was at the table of his benefactress, still young, that he understood for the first time the German distich, which he afterwards placed by way of commentary on the margin of his Bible in the vulgar tongue, at the 30th chapter of the Proverbs :—

¹ Luther's sämmtliche Werke : Halle, 1774.

² Andr. Toppii, Historie von Eisenach, p. 74.

³ Dr. Martin Luther und seine Zeitgenossen, von Ant. Theod. Effner : Augsburg, 1827, 12mo. vol. i. p. 36.

"There is nothing on earth more delightful than woman's love, when one is so fortunate as to obtain it!"¹

Secure from want, Luther set himself vigorously to work. "Do not speak disparagingly," he said, "of the little singers who go from door to door, begging the bread of charity, *panem propter Deum*; for I myself have also sung at the doors to get bread, and especially at Eisenach, my dear Eisenach!"²

It was found that this child who possessed so fine a voice, loved music passionately. Cotta presented him with a flute and a guitar, upon which he learned to perform without a master. When he had studied and begged, he would return to the hospitable mansion, and upon one of these loved instruments essay some old German chant which he had picked up on his journey; such as, "Let us bless the child who is born to us;" or, "Good Mary, star of the pilgrim." The widow listened, and commended him.³

At Eisenach, Luther studied grammar, rhetoric, and poetry, under a celebrated master, J. Trebonius, rector of the monastery of Discalced Carmelites. Trebonius was in the habit of delivering his lectures uncovered, in honour, as he said, of the consuls, chancellors, doctors, and teachers, who might one day emanate from his school.⁴ The acute mind, natural eloquence, rare flow of language, and ability of composition, both in verse and prose, of the scholar, soon caused him to be remarked; he had no

... "Nichts lieber ist auf Erden
Denn Frauen-Lieb', wem sie mag zu Theil werden."
Tisch-Reden : Eisleben, p. 442.

¹ Henry Cotta, whom Luther had examined on the Catechism, became burgomaster of Eisenach. Luther invited him to his table more than once. On the death of Henry Cotta, his widow, Catherine (Auerbach), caused to be engraved on her husband's tomb the following epitaph:

"Ipsum cœu natum est complexus amore Lutherus;
Fecit eum hospiti jure domusque frui."

—Cyprian, Hilaria Evangelica, tom. iii. p. 43.

² Ulenberg, Historia de Vita, Moribus, Rebus gestis, Studiis, &c., Doot. Martini Lutheri : Coloniæ, 1622, 12mo. p. 5. Gulielmus Ernestus Tenzelius, Colloquia Mens. 1691, p. 767. Pfefferkorn's Merkwürdige und auserlesene Geschichte von der berühmten Landgrafschaft Thüringen : 4to. p. 363.

⁴ "Sedent inter hos pueros ex quibus Deus consules, cancellarios, doctores et magistratus faciet, quamvis ad vos jam lateat; hos non immerito honoratis." —Seckendorf, Commentarius Historicus et Apologeticus de Lutheranismo : Leipzic, 1694, fol. p. 23.

rival among his fellow-students. Luther has on more than one occasion eulogized his professor.¹

After he had tasted the charms of literature, he directed his eyes to Erfurt, the seat of a renowned academy. He was eager to go there, says his beloved disciple, to quench his thirst at the fountain of sound learning. His father readily acceded to his desire. "My dear Hans," says Luther,² "has permitted me to attend the University of Erfurt, where, thanks to his affection and labour, I shall complete my scholastic studies." He might have been easily initiated into all the liberal arts, if he had found masters worthy of him. It is probable that the charms of philosophy, and the harmony of the language of the ancients, might have tended to humanize his disposition, if he had been able to devote more time to them. While at Erfurt, he devoted himself, with all the fervency of passion, to the difficult study of logic, which he afterwards forsook in order to converse with the great minds of antiquity—Cicero, Virgil, Livy. He read their works, not as a student who merely seeks to understand their verbal meaning, but with an inquiring judgment, that sought to extract from them information, advice, and principles for his future guidance. From all these flowers he formed a nosegay, the sweet fragrance of which might perfume the path he had to pursue, and soothe in after years the afflictions of his head and heart.

¹ Melancthon, in *Vita Lutheri*, Decl. tom. iii. p. 497.

² In the Register of matriculations of the University, we find, in the year 1501, the name of Luther thus inscribed by the rector, Jodocus Trutvetter: "Martinus Ludher, ex Mansfeld." At a later date, in 1502, during the deanship of John Hœnsheim of Rheinsberg, the letter h is effaced, and we read, "Martinus Luder ex Mansfeld, Baccalaureus philosophie." In 1520, John Crotus, the rector, who, with Hutten, composed the *Epistole Obscurorum Virorum*, was desirous of celebrating the return of Luther from Worms. He selected an accomplished calligraphist, who drew upon two of the leaves the arms of the apostles of the Reformation. On the right, at the top of the page, are those of Luther,—a full-blown rose; in the centre, a heart on fire, surmounted by a patriarchal cross, in a golden field; in the corners the letters M. Luth.

"Ludder, or Luder, was," says Erasmus (*Epist. ad Goclenium*), "the real name of Luther, which he dropped, because in the language of Saxony Luder signifies a rake or good-for-nothing fellow."

The library of the Vatican, at Rome, contains several autographs of the doctor; two letters, in Latin, dated from Wittemberg in 1516, and signed F. Luder; three in German, signed M. Luther; and the translation of *Aesop's Fables*, in German. John Maurice Gudecus, in his *History of Erfurt*, book iii. ch. xxii. p. 215, always writes Luder.

At Erfurt, he had for professors, Jodocus Trutvetter, then styled the Doctor of Eisenach, and whose death he afterwards accused himself of hastening by his invectives against scholastic theology ;¹ Jerome Einser, who elucidated the poetical work of Reuchlin ;² Gerard Hecker, an Augustinian monk, who apostatized from Catholicism and introduced the doctrines of the Reformation into his monastery ;³ Bartholomew Usingen, surnamed Arnoldi, who remained constant to his faith and boldly combated the new doctrines ;⁴ John Grevenstein, who loudly inveighed against the execution of Huss at Constance, and regarded the curate of Bethlehem as a martyr ;⁵ John Bigand, who continued all his life attached to his pupil.⁶

At that time every monastery in Germany had a library, partly composed of manuscripts, with beautiful illuminations heightened with gold and silver ; laborious works in which were reproduced the treasures of Pagan antiquity, that but for the monks would have been for ever lost. Luther's most pleasant hours were spent in the library of the Augustinians of Erfurt. Thanks to Guttemberg, an humble mechanic, the industry of the conventional brethren was no longer necessary ; printing had been discovered. At Mayence and Cologne the sacred books were published in every form and size. The monastery had purchased at a large price some Latin bibles, which were reluctantly shown to visitors. Luther opened one, and his eyes rested with inexpressible ecstasy on the story of Hannah and her son Samuel. "My God!" he said, "I would seek no other wealth than a copy of this book." A mighty change was then wrought in his mind. Human language, attired in poetry, seemed to him contemptible in comparison of the inspired word ;

¹ "Tineo causam acceleratae sive mortis fuisse . . . profanationibus . . . quibus scholasticam theologiam incredibiliter contempsi."—MSS. Bib. Jenæ, 17, dec. Spalatinus.

² Altes und Neues, ann. 1720, p. 14.

³ Georg. Groschii, Bertheidigung der Evang. Kirche, p. 249.

⁴ Fabricii Cent. p. 20. Dr. Jöcher's Gelehrten-Lexicon, tom. iv. p. 1748.

⁵ Op. Luth. Halle, tom. xx. p. 1687.

⁶ Fabric. l. c. p. 18.

On the subject of Luther's residence at Erfurt, consult Christ. Motschmann, Erfordia Litterata, tom. v. pp. 696—701; Nicol. Sinnhold, Commentatio de Meritis Lutheri in Civitatem et Eccles. : Erfordensem, 1746; Henr. Wolfgang Fratzscher, De Acad. Erf. de Lutherio bene Merita : Cobl. 1751.

he became disgusted with the study of the law, to which Hans, his father, had wished him to devote himself. How small in his sight became Jodocus Trutvetter, his master, who enjoyed a deserved reputation as a canonist, when compared with Moses, or still more with St. Paul ! He was then twenty years old, and study had exhausted his strength ; he became ill. An aged priest came to confess him ; the youth was pale, wasted, and given up to thoughts which aggravated his complaint. "Courage, my friend," said the good priest to him ; "you will not die of this malady ; God preserves you for a great end ; he will make you a distinguished man, and you in your turn will comfort others, for God loves you, since he chastises you." Doubtless, this confessor was no soothsayer, and little suspected the designs of Providence in regard to his penitent.

During the course of his studies, Luther was desirous to see his aged parents again. Hans, his father, was no longer a husbandman : he had become a master miner, and had numerous workmen under his direction. Margaret Lindemann no longer carried wood on her shoulders : she kept at home, attended to housekeeping, educated her children, and increased in piety as she advanced in years. It was indeed a happy and holy household, such as then were numerous in Germany. In passing through Eisenach, Luther hoped again to see the mansion before which he had stopped to sing,—to revisit and joyfully embrace his kind friend Cotta ; but he was not to realize these agreeable expectations. He started very early in the morning with one solitary companion, when, at a short distance from Erfurt, he slipped, and the knife which he carried, opening as he fell, cut the femoral artery. His companion lifted him on his shoulders, and carried him back bleeding to the city. While the surgeon was tying the artery, the patient, clasping his hands, looked up to heaven, and commended himself to Our Lady. "Kind Virgin," said he, "help me, or I die!"¹

Luther was to undergo other trials.

He had these two years taken his degrees in philosophy, and commenced the study of the physics and morals of Aristotle, when a fortuitous event gave a new direction to his thoughts.

¹ Dr. Martin Luther's merkwürdige Reisegeschichte, von Johann Theodor Lingke, Archidiaconus zu Torgau : Leipzig, 1760, 4to. p. 11, note.

HIS EARLY LIFE.

His intimate friend, young Alexis, was struck dead by lightning by his side at Stotterheim, near Erfurt. Luther closed the books of Aristotle, which he had scarcely opened,—a divinity unknown to him, whom he persecuted to the hour of his death, and whose philosophy he denounced as Satanic.² Astounded, like Paul on the road to Damascus, the student lifted his eyes to heaven, and imagined he heard a voice which called to him—“To the monastery!” Then, having invoked the protection of St. Anne, he vowed to embrace the monastic life.³ At nightfall, without saying farewell to his fellow-students, he left his chamber with a small packet, in which he had carefully wrapped up Plautus and Virgil, and knocked at the door of the Augustinian monastery. “Open, in God’s name!” “What want you?” asked the porter. “To dedicate myself to God.” “Amen!” replied the monk, opening the door. Next morning Luther sent back to the university his insignia of master; the gown and ring which he had received in 1505.

This precipitous flight was soon sounded abroad. The professors sent after Luther several of the students to whom he was most attached; but he refused to see them, and for a whole month concealed himself from their observation. He wrote to his father the resolution which he had formed of devoting himself to God. The offended Hans wrote Luther an angry letter, in which, instead of addressing him with the German *Ihr*, which by way of compliment to the scholar he was in the habit of giving him, he only employed the *Du* of anger or contempt.⁴ He desired to see his son become a learned professor of law, who might make a rich marriage, and bring honour to his family.⁵ But the youth believed himself to be called by God, and the father’s voice was unheeded. Who knows what a mind like his might have become

¹ Martin Luther’s Leben, von Gustav Pfizer, p. 2. Chytraeus, in his Chronology, p. 223, places this occurrence in the year 1504.

² “Nonne Lutherus totam philosophiam Aristotelicam appellavit diabolicalm!”—Eras. Epistola, ep. 99, lib. xxxi.

³ “Adjuva me, o sancta Anna, cucullum enim monachi jam induam.”—Coll. Luth. tom. ii. p. 12. Cochlaeus, in Act. Luth. fol. 2. Melanthon, in Vita Lutheri, p. 6. Ulenberg, Historia de Vitæ, Moribus, &c. p. 6.

⁴ Pfizer, loc. cit. c. i. p. 22.

⁵ “Er dachte, sein Sohn solle ein Rechtsgelahrter werden, sich anständig verheirathen, und ihm Ehre machen.”—Leopold Ranke, Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation: Berlin, 1842, tom. i. 8vo. p. 290.

after that thunderbolt which killed the friend whom he loved so affectionately ? Perhaps it might have been given up to despair,—perchance to madness,—if an asylum had not existed to dissipate its fears, and where it might find the peace that it had lost. Thus it is that to the poor monks Luther was indebted for his reason, and doubtless his life. It must be admitted that the patient soon lost all memory of the physician !

But mankind is indebted to the cloister for its greatest blessings. Were we to recount them, our intention might be suspected ; let us therefore for the moment speak as Protestants.

In the middle ages, the monasteries were the shelter of arts and learning. The monks were at that time the only representatives of knowledge ; in the cloisters alone were to be found painting, sculpture, poetry, the love of antiquity. Witness all the splendid buildings, the temples, chapels, and houses of prayer which they reared !—the monasteries, the abbeys, the priories which they founded and endowed !—the bridges with which they spanned rivers !—the hospitals and infirmaries which they threw open to the helpless and the sick ! — the colleges and seminaries which they instituted ¹. It was in them that civilization took refuge. Without the cloisters Europe would have grown old, and perhaps perished in barbarism. Every monk had his appointed occupation. Some sowed the soil, cleared forests, cultivated waste lands, stemmed torrents, taught and transmitted the principles of irrigation, cropping, grafting, and agricultural science. Others were employed in transcribing and deciphering ancient charters,—thus preserving the titles of our corporation liberties, or in annotating and translating the text of Greek and Latin authors ; whilst ordinary scribes laboured with the patience of angels in illuminating with vermillion and azure the hymns and proses of the Church. In Italy, for example, the cloisters during the fifteenth century were transformed into the studios of painters, architects, and sculptors. When prayers were over, the monks hastened to work ; some with the chisel, others with the compass or the pencil. Italy is replete with the glory of the monks. At Florence, the greatest wonder of the Pitti

¹ “Quam longè nos majores nostri in bonis operibus superant nemo non videt, verbi gratia, quam magnifica sedicia, quæ antiqua monumenta posteris reliquerunt !”

gallery is the St. Mark of Fra Bartolomeo. France sent for Fra Giocondo to build one of the finest bridges of the metropolis. A mediæval monastery may be said to have presented the very appearance of a hive of bees. Some carved in wood, which under their hands assumed every form, and often the life-like expression of marble ; others devoted themselves to palæographical investigations.¹ Some were engaged on the study of the starry heavens ; others on that of a world perhaps more wonderful—the human heart. Asia Minor was full of cloisters, in which poor monks were occupied day and night in transcribing the works of the poets and orators of ancient Greece and Italy.² One hundred and fifty of these sanctuaries of learning existed in Calabria and the vicinity of Naples. Observe that monastery which projects from Macedonia, over the waves of the Egean Sea,—it is that of Mount Athos : no human institution will ever bestow upon civilization the same services as did that house of prayer. Sixty-three palaces of French kings are recorded, in which monks were employed in copying royal charters. The Church maintained a multitude of scribes, all consecrated to God, and exhausting their skill in copying in the *scriptoria* manuscripts, sacred or profane. It was an African monk, Eutholicus, who invented accentuation ; another devised uncial letters.³

Whatever has been said of them, Occam, Scotus, and Durandus were remarkable men. They assisted in bringing knowledge to perfection, and paved the way to the great discoveries of the sixteenth century. Luther was not always unjust to the schoolmen : he has set forth the claims of one of them, Peter Lombard, to the esteem and gratitude of mankind.⁴

The monasteries are still further entitled to consideration. It was in their retirement that so often in Germany disputes between the nobility and their vassals were settled ; and in justice to the monks it must be admitted, that in them the oppressed found eloquent defenders. If, unfortunately, their voice was unheeded, and the chief appealed from it to his sword, then the

¹ North American Review.

² British Review, 2nd March, 1838.

³ Montfaucon, Des Endroits et des Pays où l'Ecriture Grecque fut en usage.

⁴ "Ein sehr fleissiger Mann und eines feinen Verstandes, und hat viel treffliche geschrieben."

cell became a shelter where the vanquished found protection, comfort, and food, until he could be reconciled to his lord. How often did the conqueror expiate there his triumphs and his sins in tears and sackcloth ! Let it be borne in mind that the cloister was the holy ark¹ which brought together in the great shipwreck of literature the inspired writings, and which saved them from the hands of the Vandals ; that to the monks we are indebted for the first translations of the Bible in the German language ; that Ottfried of Weissemburg, in the tenth century, versified the Old Testament and the Psalms ; that Rabanus Maurus, and Walfrid, had translated the whole Scriptures ; and that in the fifteenth century, at Augsburg and Nuremberg, versions of the Bible were published by those very religious hermits whom the Reformers treated so cruelly. Has not one of them said : “ When we wish to represent the devil, we take a monk as our model ? ”² And yet it was these very devils which have given to the world Erasmus, Reuchlin, Ulrich von Hutten, Agricola, &c. &c.

¹ Johann Frick, in Preface to *Ueber die neue lutherische Ulmer Bibel*.

² “ Wir Lutheraner bilden den Versucher Satans unter der Gestalt eines Mönchs mit seiner Kutte, ab.”—Christian Thomasius zu Halle, in den kurzen Lehrsätzen von der Zauberei, pp. 44, 45.

Herder, in his Preface to the *Legends*, and the *Historical Magazine of Protestant Missions*, have given beautiful testimony in favour of the German monks. We refer to the ninth chapter of the work of Hoenighaus, *Das Resultat meiner Wanderungen durch das Gebiet der protestantischen Literatur*, which has been translated under the title of *La Réforme contre la Réforme*, for a specimen of the admissions by certain Protestants in favour of the religious orders.

What in the course of years the monks beyond the Rhine achieved for Christianity and civilization will be found mentioned in No. 1 of the Confirmatory Evidence.

CHAPTER II.

LUTHER IN THE MONASTERY. 1507—1510.

Staupitz, Vicar-General of the Augustinian monastery which Luther entered.—His erroneous ideas of grace.—Cloistral life of the monk.—He is wholly absorbed in prayer and study.—Trials which he undergoes.—He falls sick.—Receives the orders of priest.—Says his first mass.—State of his mind.—Hans assists at the Holy Sacrifice.—Would prevent his son from taking Orders.—Luther is beset by fresh trials and doubts.—Comforted by a brother monk's explanation in what faith really consists.—Peace appears to return to the sick man's mind.—His symbolism in regard to justification.—The Catholic doctrine on this head.

OVER the Augustinian monastery, which Luther entered, Andrew Prolesius had presided as vicar-general for nearly half a century.¹ He was succeeded by Staupitz. Both were men of talent, but they had adopted certain theories on the total privation of free-will, the germ of which, it is said, lay concealed in the discourses of the Dominican Tauler.² They considered man to be an inert creature, that could not obtain salvation except through the divine energy; whilst, in the Catholic system, a double activity,—that of God and of man,—met, interpenetrated and assimilated in some manner of way to work out regeneration.³ Grace comes to quicken man, but man is bound to correspond thereto. God offers to draw man out of the gulf of perdition; but it is necessary for man to extend his hand to his deliverer. Such is the comforting doctrine which leaves us in the possession of full liberty. If the Church declares that grace is entirely gratuitous,⁴ she tells us, at the same time, that it is offered to all; so that eternal death springs from man's free refusal to accept of the assistance of heaven.

¹ Ranke, 1. c. tom. i. p. 285. Christ. Wilh. Walch, Geschichte der evang.-luther. Kirche, pp. 223—232.

² N. Humi, Christliche Betrachtung der neuen paracelsischen und weigelianischen Theologie, Witt. 1622, 8vo. Buddei Isagoge ad Theologiam Universam, pp. 608, 609. Ech charges Tauler with various errors on the subject of grace, unintentional doubtless, for the Dominican is considered one of the glories of his order.

³ Möhler, Symbolism, translated by Robertson, vol. i. p. 121, 1843, 8vo.

⁴ Concil. Trid. Sessio VI. cap. ii.

We have seen that Luther entered the monastery with a mind much excited by the sudden death of his friend ; alarmed lest the earth should open under his feet, and he should fall without premonition, like Alexis, into the hands of his Maker. This imagination for a long time disturbed his slumbers : at night, he fancied he heard the voice of the deceased calling upon him to do penance. Luther, who had as yet tasted no carnal indulgence, who was then so pure and innocent, believed himself to be a great sinner. To avert the anger of God, he fasted, and mortified himself like an anchorite of the Thebaid. Above all he feared demoniacal possession, and it was solely by dint of prayer that he could chase away the phantasm. On one occasion, while the priest at mass read these words in the gospel for the day : "Jesus was casting out a devil, and the same was dumb ;" Martin, in an agony of fear, cried out, " Ha ! I am not, I am not !" ¹

His cloistral life was truly that of a hermit. " If ever," said he, " an Augustinian went direct to heaven out of the walls of an abbey, I deserve to go there : this, every one of my brethren will testify of me. I fasted, watched, mortified myself, and practised all monastic severities till I endangered my health. Our enemies will not believe this : they speak of the charms of the conventional life who have never had any spiritual temptation." ²

Occasionally a hymn, or rather a prose of the Church, soothed his disquietude : he especially loved the Gregorian chant, and his greatest pleasure was to take a part with some of the children of the choir. He had a fine *contralto*.³

Sometimes, also, he left the monastery at sunrise, went far into the country, and, sitting at the foot of a tree, preached the word of God to the shepherds, to the sound of whose rustic music he would afterwards sleep.⁴ At evening, he would re-enter his solitary cell, betake himself to prayer, and slumber to the murmur of the little fountain whose waters, flowing through a thousand channels, bedewed the rosetrees of the abbey.

His noviciate was a painful one ; his superiors, aware of his propensity to pride, tested his vocation by a rigorous ordeal.

¹ Lingaeus, in *Vita Lutheri*, p. 4.

² Math. in *Vita Lutheri*.

³ Razebergius, MSS.

⁴ Ranke, l. c. tom. i. p. 292.

Luther was obliged to sweep the dormitory, open and shut the doors of the church, wind up the clock, and beg publicly with a wallet on his back.¹ The monk complained: the university of Wittemberg interfered, as did the good Staupitz, who put a stop to such a probation, under which it was feared he would sink.²

He made his profession in 1507, and in the same year received the orders of priesthood. "Do you promise," said Lasphius,³ the prelate who ordained him, "to live and die in the bosom of our good mother the Catholic Church?" "I do promise," replied the neophyte. On the second of May, the fourth Sunday after Easter, Luther first offered up the holy sacrifice: it was an eventful day, a great solemnity in his life.⁴ "To-day," he writes to John Braun, of Eisenach, "I shall say my first mass: come and hear it. Poor youth, unhappy sinner! God, in the abundance of his mercy, has condescended to elect me. I shall strive to prove myself worthy of his goodness, and in so far as it is in the power of a creature of dust like myself, to accomplish his designs. Pray for me, my dear Braun, that my sacrifice may be acceptable to the Lord."⁵

Hans Luther came to unite his prayers with those of Braun, by assisting at his son's first mass. "My father," says Martin, "was by no means pleased; on the contrary, he was enraged with a son who feared not to disobey him. The plague came and carried off two of his children: I myself was confined to bed, sick and nearly dying; my superiors urged my father to let me embrace the monastic life, and dedicate myself to the altar. Hans demurred: he had other designs for me; at length they managed to overcome his reluctance; he yielded, but with ill grace. 'God grant,' he said, 'that he be not deceived in his vocation!' Before the day of my first mass, I wrote to him: my father brought me twenty guilders."⁶

¹ "Primum ejus officium in cenobio fuit cloacæ expurgatio."—Pfefferkorn, l. c. p. 358.

² Mathesius, l. c. Pred. I.

³ Friedrich Keyser, Reformations-Almanach für 1817: Erfurt, 18mo. p. 89.

⁴ Buchholz, Chronolog. sub ann. 1507.

⁵ Sancto et venerabili Christi Mariæque sacerdoti, Johanni Braun, Isenensis Vicario, 23 Apr. 1507. De Wette, l. c. tom. i. pp. 3, 4.

⁶ Mathesius, fol. 3, a. Colloquii Latinae, tom. ii. f. 13, 14, 6, 5.

After mass, they sat down to refreshment ; Hans was beside his son, who expected to receive from his father's lips the ordinary congratulations :—" My dear father," said Luther to the old miner, " pray, why are you so dull, and whence is it that you have so unwillingly allowed me to assume the habit of a monk ? Yet it is an honourable garb, my father ! " ¹ Hans rose, and turning to the doctors, the masters in theology, and the other fathers, said to them, " Have you not read in the Scriptures, that one ought to respect his father and mother ? " " Yes, it is so written," replied the company : and Hans fixed his eye upon Martin, who remained silent. They began to talk of general subjects, but the father resumed loudly, " Heaven grant that this be not a lure of the devil ! Come, let us drink to each other, and may Martin love us a little better ! " Luther had been much agitated when he ascended the altar : at the canon he was so overcome with dread that he would have left the church without completing the sacrifice, had the prior not prevented him.²

Study continued to afford delight to Luther. He read Occam, whom he preferred to St. Thomas and to Scotus ; Gerson, whose learning he never ceased to commend ; St. Augustine, whom he esteemed more than all the fathers ; and especially the Bible, which he considered the only source of divine doctrine.³ Reading had such charms for him, that more than once he forgot, during whole weeks, to recite his office : so that when evening came, instead of going to bed, he had to light his small lamp and spend part of the night in repairing the omission, that he might not disobey the rules of his order.

The priesthood increased the devotion of Luther, whose time passed away in study and in prayer ; his cheeks withered, his colour fled, and the youth, so fresh and rosy, when he sang at the doors of Magdeburg, fell into a sort of consumption, which called forth the compassion of Mosellanus.⁴ This learned in-

¹ Tenzel's Bericht von der Reformation, tom i. p. 148. Luther's Werke : Halle, tom. xix. p. 1808.

² Martin Luther's Leben, von Gustav Pfizer. Coll. Lat. tom. ii. pp. 13, 14. Cochlaeus, in Actis Lutheri, p. 2. Ulenberg, l. c. p. 6.

³ Seckendorf, l. c. p. 21.

⁴ Concerning this scholar, see Erasmi Epistolæ, tom. i. fol. Lugd. Bat. 1606, pp. 323, 404, 405, 567, 797, 856.

dividual describes him as worn, exhausted, and emaciated to such a degree, that his very ribs might have been counted.¹ His superiors began to fear that this fever of devotion might injure both his mind and body, and they endeavoured to remedy it. Staupitz, vicar-general of the Augustinians, who had a warm friendship for him, and whom Luther always loved so tenderly, said to him: "Enough, enough, my son: you speak of sin, and know not what sin is; if you desire the assistance of God, do not act like a child any longer." One day when he confessed some wretched petty faults, with as much contrition as if he had been accusing himself of enormous crimes, the priest stopped him and laughed: "You are a fool," said he to him; "God does not wish this from you, it is you who seem to wish it from Him."²

But Luther regarded neither the counsels of Staupitz nor the advice of his confessor. He was to be seen at the foot of the altar with clasped hands, his eyes raised heavenward, and full of tears, imploring pardon from God. Often at night he knelt at his bed's head, and remained in prayer until sunrise.³ One morning the door of his cell was unopened at the usual hour; his masters were uneasy; they knocked on the partition of his oratory, but received no answer. They then burst open the door, and found the monk in a state of ecstasy, his face on the ground and scarcely breathing. Then one of the brethren taking his flute, began to play one of the tunes admired by Luther, who gradually returned to consciousness.⁴ We must admit that these German monasteries, where the superior, like Staupitz, unbent himself in study and reading the classical poets, where they cured mental

¹ Löcher's vollst. Reformations-Acta, iii. p. 247. There is in the sacristy of the parish church of Weimar an old painting of the date of 1572, by Vicher, one of the pupils of Lucas Cranach, at the foot of which the master has put his monogram, which very much resembles the two arms of a telegraph, and in which Luther is represented in the dress of a monk (Augustinian friar), in that of Chevalier George (at Wartzburg), and in that of a doctor (the ecclesiastic of Wittemberg); the figure of the Augustinian monk bears a strong resemblance to the likeness of Mosellanus. These three portraits, copied by Jagemann, are considered by the author of the Almanac of the Reformation, published at Erfurt, to be the most accurate that we have of Luther. They resemble, moreover, the original ones by Lucas Cranach, at Weimar, Gotha, and Erfurt, and the paintings by Holbein, in the museums of Bâle and Florence.

² Gustav Pfizer, Luther's Leben, I. c.

³ Gustav Pfizer, I. c.

⁴ Seckendorf, I. c. p. 21.

diseases by the aid of music, and where monks were dying of love for God, do not greatly correspond with the representation given of them by the philosophers of the eighteenth century.

Poor young man, who found only affliction and despair in the service of God ; who tried by all means to love Him, and whose aspirations to heaven halted on the way ; who consumed himself by prayer, by fasting, by mortification, and to whom prayer and unabated fasts brought neither gladness nor consolation, as if his heart had been dried up in crime ! The struggle was too severe, he must have yielded. That chain of terrors and temptations was too weighty for him ; he might perhaps have disengaged himself from it by despair, for he could not drive away the phantoms which haunted him by night, disturbed him in his studies, and tormented him at the very foot of the altar whither he fled to escape from them. Thus at his age was he misled by the caprices of imagination, and assumed the dreams of an over-worked brain to be the chastisement of the Lord. If, when the bell awoke him, he took up his breviary, his eyes always lighted, as he tells us, upon passages of Scripture which alarmed him. He read : "Direct me, O Lord, in thy justice and truth." "Now," said he, "the justice of God seemed for me his wrath."¹ Strange hallucination of a disordered mind, which could not perceive that Justice always embraces her sister Mercy !

One day as he was walking, a prey to his accustomed melancholy, he met an aged monk, whom he mournfully questioned as to his doubts.

"My brother," said the religious to him, "I know a remedy for the evils which torment you."

"And what is it?" replied Martin, with faltering lips.

"Faith," said the monk.

"Faith?" returned Luther, whom this word had unhinged, "faith?"

"Yes, my brother, faith freely given ; to believe is to love and he who loves will be saved."

The eyes of the morbid man flashed with unusual fire.

"Faith ! to believe ! to love !" he repeated, like one who wakes from a deep trance.

¹ Ranke, l. c. tom. i. p. 292.

"Yes," continued the monk, "have you read the words of St. Bernard, in his discourse on the Annunciation?" "Believe, that through the merits of Jesus thy sins will be forgiven; it is the evidence which the Holy Spirit infuses into the heart of man; for he says, 'Believe, and thy sins shall be forgiven.'"

"Faith by love, justification by faith, and justification freely given," was all that Luther saw in the discourse of his brother monk. It was a gleam, but a deceitful one.

From the moment of this brief interview, in which each speaker had scarcely time to exchange more than a few words, there were no farther terrors or nocturnal possessions; Luther slept in peace. During the day, there were no more spiritual fears, his studies were undisturbed; he assisted at the offices of the Church like the rest, with a recollection which no alarm interrupted; he prayed, he fasted, and no longer believed himself the outcast of heaven. One solitary word had effected this change; assisted by the word FAITH, all was explained to him. If he had been assailed by vain alarms, had despaired, and doubted of his salvation and of the mercy of God, it was because he had not believed;—if he had suffered in his mind since he knew himself, it was in consequence of his want of faith; if his superiors had fruitlessly endeavoured to comfort him, it was because he understood not the language so admirably employed by the poor monk, or because the love which he felt was not such as his. With faith he had received a new existence. He was still an invalid, but his complaint was altered; it was a sickness not of fear or despair, but of love; for with him everything was passion. Free faith or grace became thus for him a symbolism which expressed the pure essence of Christianity; a mirror, or, as he called it, a truth which till then had been obscured and concealed, or which had been replaced by practices, observances, an exterior worship and traditions, which sooner or later must be abolished, if they wished to return to the primitive purity of the divine word. A chapter of St. Paul to the Corinthians, upon which his attention rested after his conference with the monk, appeared to him an illumination from God himself, who took care to confirm by the apostle the great truth which he had found. He closed the book, overjoyed with his good fortune; but his gladness was to be of short duration.

He began to meditate a system upon justification, which he should soon raise to the authority of a dogma, and which should form the fundamental article of the creed of his new Church. It is necessary, then, for us to form an idea of what Luther believed on the subject of justification ; and who better than Bossuet can inform us of this ?

"Justification is that grace which, remitting to us our sins, at the same time renders us agreeable to God. Till then, it had been believed that what wrought this effect proceeded indeed from God, but yet necessarily existed in man ; and that to be justified, namely, for a sinner to be made just, it was necessary he should have this justice in him ; as to be learned and virtuous, one must have in him learning and virtue. But Luther had not followed so simple an idea. He would have it, that what justifies us and renders us agreeable to God was nothing in us ; but we were justified because God imputed to us the justice of Jesus Christ, as if it were our own, and because by faith we could indeed appropriate it to ourselves.

"But the mystery of this justifying faith had something in it that was very singular. It did not consist in believing in general in a Saviour, his mysteries, and his promises ; but in believing most assuredly, each one in his heart, that all our sins are forgiven us. 'We are justified,' said Luther without ceasing, 'from the time we with certainty believe ourselves so.' The certainty which he required was not that moral certainty alone, which, grounded on reasonable motives, excludes trouble and perturbation ; but an absolute and infallible certainty, by which the sinner is to believe himself justified with the same faith as he believes Christ came into the world.

"Without this certainty there was no justification for the faithful ; for they were told they could neither call on God nor trust in him alone, whilst they had the least doubt, not merely of the divine goodness in general, but of that particular goodness by which God imputes to each of us the justice of Jesus Christ ; and this is what he called special faith.

"Here a new difficulty arose, whether, in order to be assured of his justification, it was necessary, at the same time, that man should be satisfied with the sincerity of his repentance. This immediately occurred to every one ; and, since God pro-

mised to justify the penitent only, if we are assured of our justification, it seems necessary that we should be certain of the sincerity of our repentance. But Luther abhorred this last certainty; and so far from being assured of the sincerity of repentance, ‘one was not even assured,’ said he, ‘by reason of the most hidden vice of vain-glory or self-love, that he did not commit many mortal sins in his very best actions.’

“Luther went still much farther; for he had invented this distinction between the works of God and those of men, ‘that the works of men, however beautiful in appearance, might seemingly be good, yet were they grievous sins; on the other hand, the works of God, however deformed in appearance, might seemingly be bad, yet were they of an eternal merit.’ Deceived by his antithesis and by this play of words, Luther imagined that he had discovered the true difference between the works of God and those of man; not reflecting that the good works of man are also the works of God, who, by his grace, produces them in us, which, according to Luther himself, should give them an eternal merit; but this is what he was resolved to avoid, on the contrary concluding, ‘that all the works of the just would be mortal sins were they not fearful of their being so; nor could there be any avoiding presumption, or having a true hope, if, in every action they performed, they did not fear damnation.’

“Repentance, doubtless, is not compatible with mortal sins actually committed; for to be truly repentant of some grievous sins, and not of all, or to be sorry for them, whilst one commits them, is impossible. If, therefore, we are never certain, that in every good work we fall not into divers grievous sins—if, on the contrary, we ought to fear our constantly falling into such, we can never be assured of being truly penitent; and could we be assured of this, we need not, as Luther prescribes, fear damnation, unless we at the same time believe that God, contrary to his promise, would condemn to hell the contrite of heart. And if, on account of his own want of disposition, of which he was not assured, a sinner should happen to call in doubt his justification, Luther told him he was not assured of his good disposition; nor did he know, for example, whether he were truly penitent, truly contrite, truly afflicted for his sins; yet he was

not the less assured of his entire justification, because it depended not on any good disposition on his part. On this account this new doctor declared to the sinner, ‘Believe firmly that thou art absolved, and thou art so, whatever be thy contrition.’ This is equivalent to saying, whether you be penitent or not, you need not concern yourself. ‘All consists,’ said he, continually, ‘in believing, without hesitation, that you are absolved;’ whence he concluded, whether the priest baptized or gave you absolution in earnest or in jest, is a matter of no consequence, because in the Sacraments there was only one thing to fear, namely, the not believing strongly enough that all your crimes were forgiven you, when you had once wrought on yourself to believe so.”¹

So, that is well understood; faith, as the Catholic school teaches, is a firm conviction by which the mind believes with a full and entire certainty the revelation of the mysteries of God.² But as justification is the complete renewal of man, faith alone cannot make us just in the sight of God. In order, therefore, to accomplish our regeneration, it must be, in the language of the school, *formata, animated, active, vivifying*; in other words, that, having its origin in love, it operates and acts by works, like as it were a fire out of which charity springs forth, as does the spark from the flint.³

The Protestant faith, such as Luther conceived it, in no manner resembles the Catholic belief. It is, as he will afterwards tell us, when he would define it, a pearl which Jesus deposits in our hearts, which shines by its own fire alone, and has no need of love or of works to make it radiate.⁴ It seizes upon God as light dispels darkness. Once this theory is admitted, we are able to understand a number of passages which, at first, shock or affect the head of him who finds them in Luther; for example, that man, as he maintains, cannot forfeit heaven by

¹ Bossuet, *Variations*: Dublin, 1845, vol. i. p. 38.

² “Certissimæ assencionis vim habet quæ mens Deo sua mysteria aperienti firme constanterque assentitur.”—Catech. Trid. p. 17.

³ “Quemadmodum à sulphure ignis emicat, ita per fidem in nobis exempli succedit.”—Pallavicini Hist. Concil. Trid. lib. viii. cap. ix. No. 6.

⁴ Luther's Werke: Witt. part i. p. 49. Mcahler, l. c. tom. i. p. 182 (tranl. Robertson).

any sin, but only by unbelief ;¹ that penitence and confession, satisfaction and works, are mere human superfetations ; or rather, as Melancthon will have it, that eating, drinking, working, are all sinful, and that he who possesses faith has no longer a judge in heaven, but only a father overflowing with love.²

Presently, when Tetzel preaches the doctrine of indulgences, we shall see how Luther will deny their efficacy ; of what use, indeed, were an indulgence to the possessor of such a pearl as that found by our soul-sick man ?

CHAPTER III.

LUTHER AT ROME. 1510.

Staupitz sends Luther to Rome.—His departure.—His sensations on seeing Italy.—Luther at Milan and Florence.—His impressions and prejudices.—As a native of the North he does not understand the new world which he visits.—His ignorance of aesthetics.—He judges Italy like a German.—His residence in Rome.—His farewell to that city.—His account of it.

IT was in vain for Luther to debate, pray, read the Bible, implore the prayers of devout people ; he could not find peace. His mind, as soon as it ceased to be employed, fell back into agonies and fears. Doubt kept watch by his pillow. To distract his thoughts, he betook himself to the study of some of those theological questions which had been discussed by the great schoolmen, among others, by the divine Thomas, author of the Summa ; but, at the bottom of these philosophical speculations his heart always found a secret bitterness.

The vague narratives of travellers who had been in Italy were current in Germany. Like the fabulous descriptions brought by pilgrims from the East, they were stamped with the marvellous sufficiently to lay hold of the imagination. They spoke of Rome. Luther's thoughts were constantly turned to that city : they rested especially on the idea of the pope, that object of the

¹ Auslegung der Briefe an die Gal. Witt. part i. p. 70. Mœhler, l. c. p. 183.

² Melanchth. Loci. Theol. "Qualisunque sint opera comedere, bibere, laborare manu, docere, addo etiam ut sint palam peccata."

veneration of nations, whom he desired to see face to face, in order that he might understand the fascination which he exercised over their minds. Staupitz, whether he believed that travelling in a foreign country would assuage a mental fever which threatened to become fatal, or required to settle some differences which had arisen between Rome and his order,¹ determined upon sending him to the capital of the Christian world.² Luther, who had in the first instance refused, was too much harassed with repeated assaults of doubt to resist longer. He hoped to find peace of mind in the land of the martyrs.³

His preparations for the journey were soon made. He set out on foot with one of his brethren, staff in hand, and enough of bread in his wallet to support him for the first day. Thereafter, the travellers had to depend upon monastic charity for their necessary food. Luther took with him six ducats, wherewith to pay the guide appointed to show him the wonders of the eternal city.⁴

"How his heart beat with pleasure," says Niemeyer,⁵ "at the prospect of seeing both the pope, that living word of God, that splendour of Christ and the apostles! and Rome, that land illuminated with the rays of the sun of souls, which must be a celestial paradise!"⁶

We know the effect of a first impression; how it shades or colours for ever all subsequent ones. From the time our pilgrims quitted German ground, they experienced gloomy weather, heavy and thick clouds, equivocal hospitality. They looked behind, and regretted their Sion, that Suabia and Bavaria, through

¹ Christ. Juncker, *Vita M. Lutheri . . . nummis illustrata*: Francof. et Lipsiae, 1699, 12mo. p. 14.

² "Staupitius traducit Lutherum Wittebergam anno 1508. Post triennium Romanum profectus est propter monachorum controversias."—Melanchth. Declam. tom. iv. p. 508.

³ "Causa profectio[n]is m[ea]s erat confessio quam volebam à puerit[er] usque texere et pietatem exercere."—Coll. Lutheri: Francof. 1572, tom. ii. p. 14. "Er begab sich, dass Dr. M. Luther nach Rom verreisen musste, welches er desto williger über sich nahm, dieweil er hoffte, er wollte durch Visitirung der heiligen Oerter Ruhe und Trost für sein Gewissen finden."—Benj. Lindner, in dem Leben Dr. L.

⁴ Pfizer, *Luther's Leben*, l. c.

⁵ "Luther's Aufreten, vorbereitet durch das vergangene und einwirkend auf das ihm gegenwärtige Zeitalter."—Reformations-Almanach, p. 58.

⁶ Niemeyer, l. c. p. 92.

which both had formerly travelled, where “the inns are so good, the people so affable, and treat strangers so well for their money.”¹ After a very fatiguing and tedious journey, they reached Italy ; and their golden visions took flight. Their eyes could not endure the glare of its wide horizon ; its sky seemed to them too scorching, its twilights too sultry, and its nights too cool. Its wine inflamed the brain, and its very water was deleterious. One day when Luther was walking with his comrade, and they had travelled a long distance under an insupportable heat, he stooped to take, in the hollow of his hand, a little yellowish water ; this water, which had all day been exposed to the direct influence of the sun, intoxicated him as if it had been wine. He staggered and was half frantic, when God enabled him to procure some pomegranates, the refreshing juice of which soon restored him. Ten years after this, Luther still thanked Heaven for this wonderful good fortune.²

In Germany, while in the monastery and his father’s house, he rose with the sun, to inhale the morning breezes, and enjoy the sight of the fields, so green at that hour in Saxony ; he frequently, also, slept with the window open, during the heat of summer. He thought that it was unnecessary to make any alterations in his habits. One evening, on going to bed, he forgot to shut the window of his small chamber, and when he awoke, his head ached horribly : it was a dead, heavy pain, so that next day our two monks could with difficulty overtake a German mile.³

On entering Lombardy, upon the banks of the Po, they came to a monastery of the Benedictine order, the grandeur of which astonished our poor pilgrims. “Its annual revenue is thirty-six thousand ducats,” says Luther, “twelve thousand from the produce of the land, twelve thousand from various leases, and twelve thousand from boarders.” But he immediately adds,

¹ “Wenn ich viel reisen sollte, wollte ich nirgends lieber denn durch Schwaben und Bayerland ziehen, denn sie sind freundlich und gutwillig, herbergen gerne, gehen Freunden und Wandersleuten entgegen, und thun den Leuten gütlich und gute Ausrichtung um ihr Geld.”—Luther’s Werke : Halle, tom. xxii. p. 2359.

² “Acerbissimum capitis dolorem sensit, qui tamen suppeditatis ab hospite malis punicis sedatus est.”—In Narr. de profectione Lutheri in urbem Romanam.

³ Tisch-Reden, p. 602.

which reconciles us with the wealth of the monastery : “ In the cloister I was handsomely entertained.”¹

At Milan, he went to mass, but he could not understand the office ; to the questions of surprise which he put to those present, he received the invariable answer : We use the Ambrosian ritual. He resumed his inquiries, and a priest informed him that the clergy of Milan, not knowing what ritual to adopt, prayed that God might indicate it to them by a miracle. They therefore put the missal of St. Ambrose, and the missal of Pope Gregory upon the same altar, where the volumes remained all night. On the morrow, when they opened the doors of the church, they found the missal of St. Ambrose uninjured, and that of Pope Gregory torn to shreds. Wherefore it was determined that Milan should not follow the Roman ritual.²

What astonished him most at Florence was the hospitals. “ How excellently these hospitals are kept ! ” he repeats ; “ such clean, well-curtained beds, dormitories so comfortable, wine and bread of so good quality ! How attentive the servants, the physicians how skilful ! When a sick person is brought there, his clothes are quickly taken from him, in presence of a notary, who makes a list of them, and gives him a receipt for them. The bed is quite ready, with fine white sheets ! Two doctors appear, and brethren who bring wine in a goblet, dazzlingly clear, and food upon dishes in which one might see oneself.”³

At Montefiascone, on the ridge of the Apennines, Luther saw, far stretched out before him, a barren and dry country, full of bare and rugged rocks, where he had expected to find myrtles and orange-trees. What a contrast to the Saxony which he had left, with its lovely flowers, thick woods, and brilliant verdure ! His eyes were disenchanted. He entered a small tavern, where some monks seated at table, drank, gesticulated, chatted with a volubility peculiarly Italian, and discoursed somewhat freely, he tells us, on sacred things. He had imagined that the shadow of the Vatican would stretch itself as a mantle over human nature ;

¹ “ In selbem Kloster bin ich gewesen, und ehrlich traktirt und gehalten worden.”—Luther’s Werke : Halle, tom. xxii. p. 1468.

² Luther’s Werke, tom. xxii. p. 1513.

³ Ibid. tom. xxii. p. 786.

such miracle he expected from the papacy. As the miracle did not come to pass, he went away, afraid of some unpleasant consequences with which his fellow-traveller was threatened, for asserting too boldly the honour of the cowl of his order.¹

Like nature, mankind appeared to Luther poor, wretched, disinherited of his former graces, and off the road to heaven. Everywhere on his journey, he saw images placed in niches, crowned with flowers, with incense burning beneath them, and people invoking the intercession of the saints whom they represented. "Miserable creatures," he exclaimed wofully, "who stand much more in awe of St. Anthony or St. Sebastian than our Lord Jesus, and who, to protect a house, paint on it the image of one of the blessed; godless people, who believe neither the resurrection of the body nor eternity, and who only dread the evils of this world!" As if that devotion to the saints did not give evidence of a belief in another life! If, in the mind of an Italian, there was no eternity, to what end this *dulia* of creatures who are but dust? There was evidently too much of the blood of the old German in the veins of Luther, who yielded, without being aware of it, to the hatred inborn in a German heart to all that comes from beyond the Alps. Our traveller resembles the painter Lucas Cranach, who in his pictures gives a flowing beard, dark eyes, and high forehead, to the Teutonic heads, and represents the Italian figures with unfledged chins, a rigid countenance, and effeminate features. Luther has remarked the little ardour shown by ultramontane husbands to their wives, and concludes, that marriage is not honoured among the Italians, whom he terms the children of sin.²

He hastened his journey, as he was anxious to reach Rome on the eve of St. John; "for," says he, "we know the old Roman proverb: Happy that mother whose son shall say mass on the vigil of St. John. Oh! how I should have wished to make my poor mother happy! But that was beyond my power, and I was much vexed on that account."³

At length arrived in Rome, all his dreams of happiness and

¹ Niemeyer, l. c. p. 92. It must not be forgotten that this is the narrative of a Protestant.

² Tisch-Reden, p. 607.

³ Luther's Werke : Halle, tom. v. p. 1646.

hope returned to beset him. His heart beat violently. On his knees, with hands raised to heaven, he bowed his head, hailing the city with every kind of epithet of love and respect. "Rome, holy city, thrice sanctified by the blood of thy martyrs!"¹ He had scarcely passed through the *Porta del Popolo*, when his visions dissolved in air.

The poor monk had only acquired his knowledge of man from his breviary. He knew the old Romans on whose soil he stood ; their mythology, their gods, their heroes, perhaps ; such as clerks and laymen learn of them on the benches of a school ; but modern Rome, the Rome of the popes, was a book which he had never opened. When, therefore, he passed under the *Porta del Popolo*, his imagination no longer recalled that German emperor, who, with a numerous army, having come to exterminate, even to its name, the ancient city, dared not to venture farther than that spot, awed by the spiritual sword which a pope held in his feeble hands. He no longer saw the shades of Philip Augustus of France, and John of England, stop trembling before an old man, who could oppose to them only soldiers without provisions and clothing : there were there, nevertheless, magnificent imageries ! When he drew nigh to the Vatican, and the pope made his appearance, what did he perceive ? courtiers who kissed with humility the pontiff's slipper ; and his eye could not distinguish among that sycophantish crowd, those spirits who "came," says Navagero, "to beg for a new crusade, in order to recover in the East some ancient manuscripts." The past was dead to Luther, who knew not what Rome had done for mankind. Of all the popes who sat in the chair of St. Peter, he knows not the title to admiration and gratitude. He leaves a country which is threatened by the Turk, and he forgets that if the Koran is not the Gospel of the north, it is because a pope has arrested its triumph. He has seen brute force reign in Germany, and her barons press their iron gauntlets on all who resisted their will ; and it does not occur to him that intellect has no protector, under God, save his vicar upon earth ; that the papacy, in crushing material force and constraining it to bend

¹ "Anno 1510 cùm primùm civitatem inspicarem, in terram prostratus dicebam : Salve, sancta Roma."—Luther's Werke : Halle, tom. xxii. p. 2574.

before the laws of morality, has afforded the finest spectacle which man can ever behold.¹

What he cannot hear without agony of soul and body, are the lines of the poet Flaminio, which place Julius II. above all the kings of the earth.² Now, never did German love so ardently as Luther, at this time, his prince and his country ! He recalls to his mind those Roman cohorts which formerly crossed the Alps to carry into Germany fire and sword. It was from this Capitol, the steps of which he is about to ascend, that Cecinna formerly marched forth to enslave Germany. In their progress through Switzerland the pilgrims had not been allowed to pass unobserved the city where the savage warrior put to death the old man of Aventicum, in spite of the tears of Alpulina, the priestess of the goddess Isis. Had the patriotic prayers of Luther been heard, Maximilian would have reigned at Rome ; Bologna, Urbino, Parma, Piacenza, would have been the four diamonds of his emperor's crown. Prejudice blinded him, as it did Hutten. Neither of them understood Julius II. They smile and weep, perhaps, when they see in the hand of the pope the great sword with which Michael Angelo armed him ; as if they could be ignorant that that sword had saved the existence of Italy as a nation, and that without that sword, which Julius had the right to wield, as a temporal prince, Rome perhaps would have fallen into the hands of the doge of Venice, or of the French monarch. The spirit of nations, history, æsthetics, have all been forgotten by these men of the North.

To understand Luther's fallacies on entering Rome, we must be familiar with his threefold existence as child, beggar, and monk. Monk, beggar, and child, when he prays, it is on the stone ; the altar before which he kneels is almost always of wood ; his church is blackened by time, and the cope of her priests is a wretched woollen stuff. Let us figure to ourselves, then, this German, after a journey of 400 miles, suddenly transported into the heart of a city of heathenish bustle ; he who has never heard but the murmur of the small fountain of his

¹ Ranke, History of the Popes. British Review, 1836.

² "Quem divum genitor Romanā in sede locavit
Et sumnum in terris jussit habere locum."

Carm. ill. poet. Ital. vol. iv. p. 357. -

monastery, who had no other recreation than the flute on which he played when his prayers were over, and in whose eyes the greatest wonder of the world is still the ceremony of taking the habit of an Augustinian friar ! How he must be astonished ! He dreamt of an austere religion, the brow girt with a crown of thorns, sleeping upon the bare ground, quenching the thirst with the rains of heaven, clothed like the Apostles, walking over stony paths, with the cross of Jesus in its hand. And he saw cardinals in litters, on horseback, and in carriages, bedizened with gems, and marking their way by clouds of dust, which often prevented him from seeing the retinue and kneeling to ask their blessing. The poor scholar, who often in his childhood had nothing but a cold stone for his pillow, walks before marble palaces, alabaster columns, gigantic obelisks of granite, fountains, villas, gardens, grottoes, and cascades. If he desires to pray, he enters a church which seems to him a very world, in which diamonds sparkle on the altar, in which are gilded soffits, marble pillars, and mosaics in the chapels ; in place of those country churches which, in his own land, have no other ornament than the flowers placed on the altar on Sundays by pious hands. If he is thirsty, instead of one of those streams which run through wooden pipes, as at Wittemberg, there are fountains of white marble "large as a German house." If he is fatigued, he finds on his way no longer a simple wooden bench, but some ancient alabaster seat, recently discovered. If he looks for a sacred image, he only sees Pagan devices, Olympic divinities, Apollo, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, on which a thousand hands of sculptors are at work. There are the gods of Demosthenes, of Praxiteles, the feasts and pomps of Delos, the stir of the Forum, worldly follies ; but who will show him that cross of wood of which the Apostle St. Paul has spoken ? He perceives no memorial, no representation of it. He fancies that he is dreaming, he is angry ; and because Rome is not made according to his ideas, he condemns Rome.

Let him fly from sights of the real meaning of which he is ignorant, to bury himself in the silence of contemplation to escape the profane festivals of the papacy, and be offended with all the gorgeousness of ceremonies, warm and brilliant as the sun which lightens them, and of which the view torments him.

The Roman people must have festivals, because under a sky ever bright, a worship is more than a creed. Here, the idea, to penetrate the mind requires to be turned into imagery ; for Luther, the idea might be enough ; not so for the Italian, he must have appearance, visibility. If Italy has always shown itself impervious to the temptations of the Reformation, does it not arise from the circumstance, that the Reformation, mistaking the character of nations, has only spoken to reason ? In later times, has not the Reformation itself, in Saxony, its cradle country, been obliged to borrow from the Catholics some of their outward pomps, to embellish the bareness of her churches, and captivate the material eye ? A Lutheran prince, the head of the house of Brunswick, has been the first to comprehend all the influence of symbolism on the mind. Thus, the amazement of Luther, and, if they will, his childish reserve in this semi-pagan world, proves how far he was a stranger to the mere conception of *sæsthetics*. When, therefore, the iconoclasts of Suabia pull down the images, if Luther is concerned, it will not be from any interest in art, but because he has found in the Bible some passages in favour of symbolic representations ; if the text had been obscure to him, he would have burned the images. Of the wonders which Rome displayed in the time of Julius II. he saw nothing. No gleam from the crown of Perugino or Michael Angelo dazzled his eyes ; he remained cold and dumb before all the treasures of painting and of sculpture collected in the churches ; his ear was closed to the strains of Dante which the people sung in the streets. At a later period the name of the eternal city recurred often to his thought and his memory ; one would wish, then, in his narratives, to light upon some poetic aspirations ; but in vain. That which seems most to have struck him, after the licentiousness of some priests, the triumphal pomp of the pontiff, and the bare shoulders of the Roman ladies, is the extent of the city, which equals the distance from Wittemberg to Polersberg, about a German mile ;¹ and the money and time already expended on the church of St. Peter. His habit was to draw up a proposition in numbers, by which it might be more palpable to the reader ; as in the case of St. Jerome, whose salvation appeared to him so

¹ Tisch-Reden, p. 609.

uncertain, that he would not accept 10,000 guilders to take his place in the next world.¹ Now Julius II. had already expended more than 50,000 guilders in rebuilding St. Peter's; therefore, he is to be condemned. So also thought Hutten.

Now, if any one is curious to know what this young monk, who wished that his mother was dead in order that he might deliver her, by his prayers, from the flames of purgatory,² saw during his residence in Rome . . . let him attend for a moment:—

• “In a great street, that which leads to St. Peter's, I have seen with my own eyes the statue of a woman, clothed with the Papal insignia, and holding a child in her arms. The pope never goes by that way.”³

Now there is only one street which leads to St. Peter's. How then does the pope go to reach it? And has no pontiff—neither Alexander VI. nor Julius II.—ever thought of pulling down from its pedestal that statue which stands in its niche to insult the papacy?

It is not difficult to tell the name of the statue: “It is of that Agnes, born at Mayence, sent to England as cardinal, thereafter recalled to Rome, crowned pope, as successor to Leo IV., in 857, and delivered of a child in the street in which her image is erected.”⁴

“Truly,” adds the monk, “I am astonished that the popes allow it to remain; but it is there as a miracle of God, who strikes them with blindness!”

Is not this miracle the ridiculous story which Luther, on his return from Rome, went about telling to his fellow beer-drinkers, which he had found in Gervase of Tilbury, and for which, at the present day, every enlightened Protestant blushes?

¹ “Ich wollte nicht zehntausend Gulden nehmen, und in der Gefahr stehen, für unsern Herrn-Gott, da Sankt Hyeronimus inne stehtet.”—Tisch-Reden, p. 118.

² Mathes. Predigt I. Wilhelm Ernst Tenzel, Bericht von der Reformation, p. 158.

³ Les Propos de Table de Martin Luther, revus sur les Editions originales, et traduits pour la première fois en Français, par Gustave Brunet: Paris, 12mo. 1844, p. 116.

⁴ Les Propos de Table, p. 116. Cons. Dissamina di C. Boccacio intorno alla Papissa Giov.: Firenze, 1828, 8vo. W. Smets, Das Märchen. v. d. Papstin Johanna, neu erörtert: Cologne, 1829.

Behold another miracle ! Luther had heard—

“ A disputation in which thirty doctors took part, and which turned upon the power arrogated to himself by the pope, of commanding with his right hand angels from heaven, and with his left hand souls from purgatory ; and of being of a nature which partakes of man and the Godhead.”¹

Is it probable that Julius II., who then reigned at Rome, would have permitted such a disputation ? And then, after him, what pope has ever said that with his right hand he could make legions of seraphim march ? Would it have been Rovere, who so often had recourse to cannon to conquer his enemies ?

Subsequently, Luther tells us, that a monk had been strangled in his bed for having laughed at the papacy ;² a treatment inevitably incurred by whoever should take it into his head to ridicule the pope !

Now the pope who causes this slanderous monk to be strangled is Leo X. And the monk who is found dead in his bed, is Giles of Viterbo, whom his holiness afterwards made cardinal !

We forget a curious discovery. “ Saint Ulrich, bishop of Augsburg, mentions in a letter that Pope Nicholas I., who wished to establish celibacy, determined on draining a fish-pond in the vicinity of a convent at Rome ; when the water was drawn off, there were found in the mud more than 6,000 skulls of children, who had been thrown in and drowned there. Such are the fruits of celibacy,” adds the monk.³ A double outrage ; upon truth and chemistry.

¹ Tisch-Reden, p. 464.

² “ Der Herr Ludovicus, ein Barfüssar-Mönch, und Egidius, ein Augustiner, des andern Morgens sind tod gefunden worden, und die Zungen sind ihnen ausgezchnitten und in Hindern gesteckt worden.”—Tisch-Reden, p. 608.

³ Les Propos de Table, p. 90. We mentioned, in our former edition, that we had in vain sought for the letter of St. Ulrich. The learned translator of the Table-Talk, M. Gustave Brunet, has made the like researches, with similar want of success, as he informs us in a note at p. 90 of his translation. One of these excellent works, which one is glad to find in the service of historical knowledge, the *Reformatio Difformis et Deformis*, of Father Rapperswil, Strasburg, 1726, 4to. p. 249, part i. ch. i., naturally explains the inutility of this double investigation, by the fact of Nicholas having been dead when St. Ulrich wrote his pretended letter. “ Hanc historiam, quamvis falsissima sit, et antequam S. Udalricus nasceretur, Nicolaus jam obierit, ac consequenter nondum natus ad jam defunctum scripsiterit, tamen hi Cretenses eam ut populo verissimam depingunt.” The *Cretans* of the father are the centuriators of Magdeburg, who have registered the fact of the letter in their work, Century ix. ch. x.

Luther had entered Rome as a pilgrim, he left it like Coriolanus ; exclaiming with Bembo :—

“ Adieu, Rome, whence every one who desires to live piously should flee ; adieu, city, where all things are lawful, except to be good.”¹

However, in remembering these verses at a later period, ought he to have said that all these Italian mass-priests were blockheads, who know nothing of Latin, and were unable even to speak their mother-tongue ?²

Erasmus the monk-hater was more just. “ For my part,” he said, “ whoever is sufficiently learned is to me an Italian, and he who is well read in the Greek authors is a Greek, even though he has no beard.”³

CHAPTER IV.

LUTHER A DOCTOR. 1512.

Frederick, Elector of Saxony, founds the University of Wittemberg.—Martin Pollich.—Frederick calls Luther to Wittemberg.—The senate nominates him preacher to the city.—Luther in the pulpit.—Style of his discourses.—Is made licentiate and doctor.—Leaves the pulpit to teach theology.—Leaves Wittemberg by direction of the vicar-general, Staupitz, to visit the monasteries of his order.—The plague breaks out at Wittemberg ; Luther's conduct during that scourge.—His temptations and doubts.—Is he still a Catholic ?—His letters to various friends.

FREDERICK, elector of Saxony, was a prince friendly to literature and art, an accomplished musician, and a scholar who knew by heart the classic poets of antiquity.⁴

¹ Vivere qui sanctè vultis, discedite Roma ;
Omnia hic esse licet ; non licet esse probum.

² . . . “ Wie die Messpfaffen in Italia und Gallia ungelerte Esel weren, die kein recht Latin verständnen, haben auch ihre rechte Muttersprache in Italia nicht gelernt.”—Tisch-Reden, p. 607.

³ “ Mihi Italus est qui quis probe doctus est, mihi Græcus est quisquis in Græciorum auctoribus diligenter ac feliciter versatus est, etiam barbam non habeat.”—Ep. tom. i. p. 379.

⁴ Frederick's influence upon the movements of the Reformation has been estimated in the notes which accompany the work of Franz Wolkmar Reinhard, *Sämmtliche Reformationspredigten* : Sulzbach, 3 vols. 8vo. tom. iii. p. 90, et seq.

In 1502, he requested from the pope authority to found a university at Wittemberg;¹ the pope granted it. At the time when Luther was preparing for his degree of doctor, two men, both belonging to the party of the humanists, were devoted heart and soul to Frederick's institution. These were Martin Pollich and John Staupitz.²

Like his colleagues, Martin Pollich was a nominalist. At Leipsic, where for some time he was professor, the school divinity had been the subject of his ridicule; all its divines, in succession, had fallen under the weight of the doctor's sarcasms; even Thomas, the angel of the schoolmen, had not been spared.³

The elector had heard Luther preach several times, and admired his discourses.⁴ He consulted Staupitz on the choice of the professors whom he wished to appoint to his institution. Staupitz mentioned Luther to him as one of the young priests of whom Germany had bright expectations; and Luther immediately was nominated to the chair of philosophy at Wittemberg. The prince's letter was so urgent, that he had not time to take leave of his masters. "Scarcely," he writes to one of his friends, "was I able to pack up, and embrace those whom I love."⁵ His trunk was light; it contained a gown of coarse dark cloth, two Bibles, one in Greek and one in Latin, some books of ascetic devotion, and a small quantity of linen. On leaving Erfurt, tears moistened the eyes of the young monk; perhaps he had a fore-glimpse of the future; perhaps he had an impression that he was going to encounter trouble and annoy-

¹ The grant is to be found in Grohmann, *Geschichte der Universität: Wittemberg*, p. 110.

² Grimm, *de Johanne Staupitzio ejusque in sacrorum Christianorum restaurationem meritis*. In Illgen, *Zeitschrift für die hist. Theologie*. N. F. i. ii. p. 78.

³ Loscher, in the *Unschuld. Nachrichten* of 1716, and in the *Reformations-Akten*, tom. i. p. 88, has given an account of some of the propositions of this professor, who is interred in the parish church of Wittemberg, with this inscription on his tomb: "Hujus gymnasii primus rector et parens."—Consult. Schettgenius ad Fabricii Bib. Lat. Med. Ävi, tom. vi. pp. 4, 5. Cat. Bib. Bun. tom. vii. p. 1525.

⁴ "Elector Saxoniae audierat eum concionantem et vim ingenii et nervos orationis ac rerum bonitatem expositarum in concionibus admiratus fuerat."—Melanthon, *Vita Lutheri*, Decl. tom. iv. p. 503.

⁵ Luther's Werke: Halle, tom. xxi. p. 525. Dr. Martin Luther's Reisegeschichte, von Lingke, p. 25.

ances ; but he could not disobey. He set out, and went to the monastery of the Augustinians.

Physics and ethics were sciences for which he had no great taste. How much he preferred to them theology, of which he was passionately fond,—“ that mistress of the world, that queen of arts,” which he extolled through the whole course of his life !¹ So, to one of his friends who inquired how he fared in his collegiate existence, he replies : “ Thank God ! I am very well, but I should be still better if I were not obliged to teach philosophy.”

The philosophy was that of Aristotle, “ that devilish master,” as Luther afterwards called him, “ who would build upon man instead of upon God ; ”² that epicurean who thought that God governed the world as a sleepy nurse rocks an infant.³ It appears that the youth of Wittemberg soon flocked in crowds to the professor’s lectures. They admired his clear, cutting, and ironical language ; his contempt for the great lights of the school, and for the teachers, his predecessors, “ echoes of the past, who emit but human sounds, like the rest of those foolish philosophers who look into man for an explanation of moral phenomena, instead of going to their source, to wit, to God and his Word.”⁴

The senate of Wittemberg, on the recommendation of Stau-pitz, appointed him preacher of the town ; and the bishop approved their choice. This was a new mission for Luther, who was alarmed by its responsibility. He was afraid of sinking under it, and he told his friend what apprehensions beset him. The doctor revived his courage. Luther still strove against it, and nearly lost his temper. “ You seek my life, then, doctor. I shall not endure it three months.” “ Well,” replied the master of theology, “ to live or die for the Lord,⁵ what a noble sacrifice ! ” Luther submitted.

He then ascended the pulpit and preached alternately in the cloisters, the chapel of the castle, and the collegiate church. He erred in being diffident of his powers, for his success was

¹ See Tisch-Reden, pp. 179, 185, et passim.

² Tisch-Reden, p. 464.

⁴ Pfizer, Martin Luther’s Leben.

³ M. Brunet, l. c. p. 369.

⁵ Cochlaeus, Acta Luth. p. 3.

great. His voice was clear and sonorous ; his attitudes, graceful and free. He had said to Staupitz that he would not imitate his predecessors, and he kept his word. For the first time, a Christian preacher was seen to abandon the schoolmen, and draw his texts and illustrations from the writings of inspiration.

Some of his discourses have been printed. In these are to be found various assertions opposed to the ordinary doctrine. Here, the preacher, taking hold of a text from St. Augustine, maintains that faith alone attains to what the law commands ; there, without directly inveighing against fasts, pilgrimages, and prayers, he exalts faith to the verge of depreciating works. Here, he affirms that the priesthood has contaminated the kingdom of God, by superstitious observances which only serve to kill the soul ; there, if he still allows some virtue to indulgences, he denies to them the title of a spiritual remedy ; indulgences, according to his view, can no more cure concupiscence than they can generate love. The same formula—salvation by faith—constantly recurs in his discourses. He mourns while imagining that man has too long despised the blood of Christ ; that he has sought heaven through angels and saints, as mediators, when to Him only who died for our sins is he bound to cry for pity and mercy ; this is not so much error as mistake ; he has but one step farther to go to destruction.¹ Whenever he had a moment's leisure, he took himself to the study of theology ; he loved especially to read the epistles of St. Paul, the treatise of St. Augustine against Pelagius, and the sermons of Tauler. In the discourses of the Dominican, which were then printed, Luther believed that he had found three rules of faith to be adopted : free-will, justification by faith alone, and the unprofitableness of works.² If we add to these some books of Latin poetry, a Concordance of the Bible, and some treatises of Aristotle, we shall have the whole library of the monk of Wittemberg.³

His dearest wishes were to be realized ; he received the office and degree of a bachelor of theology ; and, without giving up the pulpit, he was entitled from that moment to interpret the

¹ Sermo Lutheri in Nativitate Christi, 1515. Sermo de Propria Sapientia, 1516. Sermo X. post Trinit. Leescher, tom. i. p. 761.

² Thaulerii Johannis Sermones : Augsb. 1508, 2nd edit.

³ Histori so zwen Augustinerordens gemartert seyn zu Brüssel in Brabant.

sacred text. It is Luther, who, in Protestantism, has created that learning, which since then has been so often abused ; that system of exposition, which under the breath of his successors has everything tarnished and discoloured ; has substituted inquiry for faith ; has coldly analyzed inspiration ; has sacrificed the spirit to the letter ; and treated the volume of good tidings as a book which has issued from the hands of man ; "a poisonous blast," says De Wette, "which would seek to extract life from death itself."¹

This daily exercise of preaching prepared him for the great struggles in which he was about to be engaged against the papacy. His audience was numerous, and partly composed of young students who were conversant with the writings of Hutten, and had taken a share in the intellectual discussions with which Germany had been agitated since 1500. The university of Wittemberg became daily greater in public opinion. "As the cypress, whose top rises over all the trees of the garden ; as the moon, whose light overpowers that of the stars of the firmament ; so," says Juncker,² "did the university eclipse all other academies." Erfurt was jealous of it, and repented having lost Luther ; and rightly so, for never before had been heard from any chair in Saxony an exposition so luminous as that of the professor, upon the Old and New Testament. It was the text of the Vulgate which he explained ; that version which then he deemed so excellent, but was so soon after to revile. This philological labour became quite a passion ; he spent days and nights on it, scarcely eating or sleeping. Sometimes professors attended his course of lectures, and went away astonished. Old Pollich, known by the name of *Lux Mundi*, or Light of the World, heard him on one occasion, and, struck with admiration, exclaimed, "This monk is far-sighted ; he has wonderful fancy, and will occasion no small trouble to the professors."³

Staupitz kept his eye upon Luther, on whom he spared neither counsel, instruction, nor applause. As a reward for his conduct,

¹ De Wette, Ueber den Verfall der protestantischen Kirche in Deutschland, und die Mittel, ihr wieder aufzuhelfen, p. 355. Reformations-Almanach, 1817.

² "Tunc suum efferebat caput velut in hortis alta cupressus eminent reliquas juxta arbores, aut inter ignes luna minoreas promicat."—Juncker, l. c. p. 17.

³ "Hic monachus profundus habet oculos ; mirabiles habet fantasias ; omnibus doctoribus facesset negotium."—Ulenberg, pp. 8, 9.

he offered him the degree of doctor. This was an expensive title, and Luther had no means, his lectures being gratuitous. He had not even always at command a professor's gown. The elector looked after the wardrobe of the monk, who, when his cassock began to wear, received a new piece of cloth which he gave to the tailor, and for making which the prince also paid.

On the 18th October, 1512, the feast of St. Luke, Luther received his degree of doctor, in a numerous assembly, presided over by Andrew Bodenstein (Carlstadt). This was the same archdeacon whose learning Luther at that time praised so highly, and whom he subsequently held up to the ridicule of the people of Saxony. "He was a poor devil," he says in his *Tisch-Reden*, "who knew nothing; a sorry dialectician, an illiterate declaimer, who for two guilders conferred the degree in theology, although he knew that the *nolite vocari Rabbi* of Scripture forbade him to do so." On that day Luther took the ordinary vow of obedience to the Church and its canons; "while," as he afterwards tells us, in seeking to justify his apostasy, "I was in the swaddling-bands of popery, and God had not yet opened my eyes." On the 19th Carlstadt invested Luther with the order of the doctorate, at the sound of the great bell.¹ The monk could then indulge in his full contempt for Aristotle, and make Wittemberg laugh at the expense of the philosopher. These shouts were so vociferous that they were heard at Erfurt and Cologne.² Erfurt saw with pain her pupil attack so fiercely one of those semi-divinities so often crowned by the schoolmen, and Cologne was tempted to despise this combat between two adversaries of so unequal weight; but the humanists of these two cities were gladdened by the appearance of this new combatant, who strove, by the help of the Scriptures, to overturn the authority of tradition. Reuchlin especially triumphed, for he knew the worth of the Augustinian

¹ "Decimæ octavæ Octobris, quæ fuit festivitas S. Lucæ, religiosus Pater, frater Martinus Luder, ordinis F. Eremitarum S. Augustini, S. Theologæ Licentiatus, hora prima pomeridiana secundum formam statutorum à Magistro nostro eximio Domino Archidiacono omnium Sanctorum Andreæ Bodenstein ex Carolstadt vesperatus est, presentibus Dominis de Universitate, plurimisque aliis venerabilibus hospitibus; sequenti die ad pulsum majoris campanæ congregatus ut prius Patribus et hospitibus idem Pater à prefato Magistro nostro Andreæ Doctoralibus insigniis in S. Theologiæ secundum formam statutorum est insignitus."—In libro Statutorum Facult. Th. Witt.

² Pfizer, *Martin Luther's Leben*.

friar. Reuchlin had imagined the existence of a conspiracy against literature, in which was implicated every one who wore a frock or a hood. Accordingly Germany awoke one day, threatened, it was said, in its freedom of thought by some monks whose repose was nowise dependent on the obscuring of literature, as they affected to make it be supposed. In their exaggerated zeal they would have wished, it was said, to destroy the books in which the revelation of Jesus was impugned. According to Reuchlin, had they been permitted to do so, they would have consigned to the flames every writing which savoured of Judaism, as Calvin had the treatise on the Trinity by Servetus; but they would not have burned the Spaniard; this justice Erasmus has openly done them. Luther, in his hatred against the monks, naturally took the side of Reuchlin.

There then reigned at Dresden Duke George, a valiant warrior, who meddled with theology; he was an enthusiastic Catholic, whose magnanimous character all the calumnies of the Reformers have been unable to sully. The duke wished to hear Luther. The monk, therefore, preached in presence of the court,¹ and, as was his wont, ridiculed the school divinity then paramount at Dresden. The divines, and Duke George especially, listened coldly to the preacher. Yet this prince, Luther says, had more knowledge of the Bible than any other man in Germany.²

The doctor resigned the pulpit for a time, for other duties imposed him by the vicar-general. Staupitz, requiring to be absent, enjoined his protégé to visit the monasteries of the province. This afforded Luther an opportunity for practical observation of the internal life of the cloisters. If we are to believe him: "The Bible was a book rarely to be found in the hands of the religious, who were better acquainted with St. Thomas than with St. Paul;"³ this is the greatest charge which he has laid to the monks of that time, and it was unmerited.

¹ He expounded this idea: "Saluti fiduciam nulli mortalium esse abjiciendum, quod si qui verbum Dei animis attentis audirent, veri Christiani discipuli ut ad vitam eternam electi et prædestinati essent."—Ex Fab. Orig. Sax. lib. vii. p. 889.

² "Ich glaube, dass Herzog Georg die Bibel fleissiger gelesen habe, denn alle unsere vom Adel."—Tisch-Reden: Eisleben, p. 622.

³ Tisch-Reden, p. 606.

The powers committed to him were very extensive ; he was authorized to depose those who gave scandal to their brethren. At Erfurt, he acknowledged as superior John Langus,¹ who subsequently was one of the first to cast off the monk's habit, and marry. The monastery of Neustadt was a prey to quarrels which disturbed its peace ; Luther restored order, by demanding from the prior, Michael Dressel, whose incompetency had fomented these disturbances, his resignation and the seal of the order. His letter to that monk is a mixture of decision and mildness ; if he opens up sores, he has balm to soothe them. Humility and love are the two virtues which he recommends ; humility, above all, he says, is the mother of charity. As his words might afflict the monk, he hastens to console him by attributing the tares in the monastery to the weight of occupations which prevented him from rooting out the weed from the Lord's field.² Perhaps, also, he adds, it is because you have not prayed to God, our father and creator, and "with clasped hands, have not entreated Him to direct your ways and to enlighten you with His justice."³

At Grimma, he was informed that a monk of the name of Tetzel was preaching indulgences at Wurzen, and that he maintained that for every *grosschen* which fell into the purse of the beggar, a soul escaped from purgatory to heaven. Luther shook his head, and said merrily, "By God's help, I shall make a hole in his purse."⁴

On his return to Wittemberg, the poor monk, who at evening counted the hours that still remained of his existence, who was alarmed by that immense responsibility to which Staupitz wished to condemn him, and who knew not where to find the necessary means of paying for his doctor's gown, was oppressed with work. In a letter to Langus, he draws an amusing picture of his occu-

¹ Acta Historico-Eccles. tom. xi. p. 119. Lingke, l. c. p. 29. Fabr. Centifol. p. 225.

² De Wette, Martin Luther's Briefe, tom. i. p. 31.

³ Consult, on Luther's visitation of the monasteries, Theodor Lingke, Dr. Martin Luther's Reisegeschichte. Motschmann, in Erfordia Litterata, No. 5, Joh. Jak. Vogel, Tetzel's Leben, pp. 148—154. M. Paul Christian Helscher, von Dr. Luther's dreimaligen Anwesenheit in Alt-Dresden : 1728, 8vo. pp. 23, 27. Anton Weck, Beschreibung von Dresden, pp. 306, 307. Löscher's Reformations-Akten, tom. i. p. 344. Luther's Werke : Halle, tom. xxi.

⁴ Chron. MSS. de Grimma, ann. 1516.

pations.¹ "I would require two secretaries," he says, "I cannot overtake my correspondence; pity my melancholy plight. I am preacher to the monastery, chaplain at the table, parish preacher, director of studies; I am vicar, that is to say, eleven times prior, conservator of the fishponds at Litzkau, advocate at Torgau, lecturer on St. Paul, and compiler of psalms; add to all this, the assaults of the flesh, the world, and the devil."

He had all these trials at once. This was what procured for him the renown that began to visit him in the cloister; he could not purchase the noise which God condemned him to make in the world, except with the torments of mind and body. What then will happen to him when he shall have entered full sail into rebellion? Glory is his first chastisement, and already he suffers so acutely that he can bear it no longer, and he is obliged to implore his friend Christopher Scheurl to have pity on the monk of Wittemberg, and cease to expose him to the incitements of that adulteress, that seducer of youth whom Solomon mentions in his Proverbs, whose poison inflames the veins, and who is called worldly vanity. Poor Luther desires that they should not command him who is but sin and shame.²

Charming particulars, pages which one would not wish to tear out of the biography of the Reformer! But as much as he is humble before fame, so much is he bold in presence of another scourge, that only kills the body; this moment of Luther's life is still more beautiful. The plague broke out at Wittemberg, and the doctor's friends entreated him to follow their example, and fly from it. "Fly from it?" said the monk, "No, my God! For a monk, the world will not perish; I am at my post, I remain at it through obedience, until obedience makes it incumbent on me to remove; not that I have no fear of death. I am not the apostle Paul; but the Lord will deliver me from fear."³

Such is the speech of a Catholic priest. When Luther has stripped off the vestment, he will no longer employ such language. If the plague lights upon his flock, he will repel the souls who come to the Communion-table to shelter themselves

¹ De Wette, Martin Luther's Briefe, tom. i. p. 41.

² Ibid. tom. i. p. 69, et seq.

³ Lango, 26 Oct. 1516.

from death. "It is quite sufficient," he will say, "that they receive publicly four times a year the body of Jesus; the Church is not a slave; to administer the Sacrament to whomsoever should approach the holy table, especially in time of pestilence, would be too heavy a weight for the clergy."¹

Some years later the scourge visited Geneva, and the ministers approached the Supreme Council, saying:—"Mighty lords, release us from the duty of attending to those infected with the plague, for we are afraid." These ministers were Calvin, Enoch, and Copus. This is written in the records of that reformed city.² About the same time, the plague decimated Lyons, and its priests presented themselves to the archbishop, with these words:—"Will your Grace be good enough to allow us to shut ourselves up with the sick?" This does not appear in the registers of the city, but in cotemporary history, and, perhaps, in the charnel-house of some churches, of which Calvinism shall not have dispersed the bones.

Was Luther still a Catholic? had no evil thought entered into his mind? was it still untainted by doubt? To all these questions he replies at once in the affirmative. "I was so intoxicated and sunk in the papacy, that I should have killed, or at least assisted in killing, whoever would have denied a single syllable of obedience to the sovereign pontiff."³

He states what is false. On the contrary, his correspondence demonstrates that his faith, if it had not succumbed, was soon to yield; that doubts beset him; that he was intoxicated at the bottom of his heart with the scandal which his name began to create, with his oratorical boldness, and the praises of Hutten; that he no longer, as he has told us elsewhere, sought Jesus in the swaddling-clothes of his crib. He had tried his strength against the school divinity in the *Positions*, theses which he dared not publish openly, but which he owned in secret to Christopher Scheurl,⁴ in order that his friend, a man

¹ M. Michelet, *Memoirs of Luther*, vol. ii. p. 342.

² *History of Calvin*, vol. ii. ch. Geneva before the Reformation.

³ *Preface to his works*.

⁴ 12th September, 1517, to Christ. Scheurl, p. 61. De Wette; these Positions are printed in the edition of Jena, vol. i. p. 9, and in that of Wittemberg, vol. i. p. 55.

of learning, might give his opinion of them. To Langus he dedicates the *Forty Precepts* which he preached at Wittemberg, and in which is to be found a portion of his future creed. By his involved language, by this paradoxical title under which he designates these theses, it is evident that he knows well everything therein concealed. It is a theological challenge which he offers, through the medium of Langus, to whomsoever should come forward, "in order that they may learn henceforth that he is not a man to hide in a corner of the monastery these Positions, if the University is foolish enough to inclose him in so narrow a circle."¹ It is only one theology which pleases him, that which John Tauler teaches in his sermons, but which he evidently misconstrues; in like manner, he wishes that all his friends should be acquainted with the works of the Dominican.² If again he writes to Erasmus, it is because Erasmus continues to wage rough war with the ignorance of monks and priests.³ Aristotle offends him more and more; he is disgusted with the Summa and the Sentences,⁴ and the monoglot Augustine appears to him much preferable to the polyglot Jerome.⁵

He is unhappy. Doubt wars with him. Unable to find in his own breast sufficient strength to repel it, he begs the aid of a friend, whose prayers he knows to be powerful with God: "Pray for me,"⁶ he writes to the priest Leitzken, "for each day I am more miserable, every day I approach nearer to hell." This letter is signed, "Martin Luther, exiled son of Adam."

Poor Cotta, good angel of the scholar, what has become of you? It is no longer material bread of which your little beggar of Eisenach has need.

¹ J. Lango, 4th September.

² Georgio Spalatino, 14th December. De Wette, l. c. tom. i. p. 46.

³ J. Lango, 1st March, 1517. De Wette, l. c. tom. i. p. 52.

⁴ J. Lango, 15th May. De Wette, p. 57.

⁵ De Wette, l. c. p. 52.

⁶ "Confiteor quod vita mea in dies appropinquet inferno, quia quotidie peior fio et miserior."—De Wette, p. 64, tom. i.

CHAPTER V..

TETZEL AND THE SERMON ON INDULGENCES. 1517.

Leo X. proclaims indulgences.—Tetzel is appointed by the Archbishop of Mayence to preach them in Germany.—The Catholic doctrine.—Protestant authors have calumniated Tetzel.—Strange propositions which they assign to him.—They are in vain to be sought for in the monk's sermons.—Evidence in support of this.—Tetzel at Juterbock.—Luther preaches against indulgences, without having studied the subject, as he admits.—Specimens of his sermon.—Examination of that production, which is refuted by Tetzel.—Singular challenge given to the monk by Luther.

ALBERT, archbishop of Mayence, and bishop of Halberstadt and Magdeburg, owed Pope Leo X. 45,000 thalers for the right of the pallium.¹ Protestant writers represent this prelate as leading an extravagant life, and unable, by reason of his expenses, to pay his debt to the Holy See. He was

¹ Anmerkungen über Dr. Franz Volkmar Reinhard's Reformations-Predigten, von D. Bertholdit, tom. i. p. 273. Seckendorf, Commentarius de Lutheranismo, sect. ii. p. 24, et seq. : Lipsie, 1690, fol.

"On the 21st of January, St. Agnes' Day, in the church of that name, at the moment when the *Agnus Dei* is chanted, they offer two white lambs, which are blessed, and handed to two papal subdeacons, who give them in charge to some religious community until they are ready to be shorn. It is from the wool of these sheep that they weave the *pallium*, a mark of dignity which the emperors of Constantinople formerly sent to the prelates, as a mysterious symbol of the authority which the priest exercised in his spiritual kingdom. The pallium was then," says M. Pascal, "very nearly the shape of our copes; since then it has undergone various changes. At present it is a band of white wool, about three fingers wide, which goes over the shoulders in the form of a circle, and from which hang, before and behind, two bands of the same breadth, one on each side, about a yard long, and finished at the ends with small round pieces of sheet lead. Upon the pallium are embroidered four black Greek crosses: these were anciently purple; and Durandus considers them to be symbolical of the four cardinal virtues. Isidore of Pelusium, who lived at the beginning of the fifth century, says, in speaking of the pall, 'As it is woven of wool, and not of linen, it typified the skin of that sheep which our Lord sought, and which he carried on his shoulders when found.' Without the pall, no prelate possesses the full power of the pontifical dignity. Under Leo X., as in our own times, the pope, when he conferred it, exacted a sum which he expended on the necessities of the Church."—M. Pascal, Origines et Raisons de la Liturgie Catholique, 8vo. Paris, 1834, pp. 616—618. Jakob Vogel, Leben des päpstlichen Gnaden-Predigers Johann Tetzel: Leipsic, 1727, pp. 142, 143. Seidel, Tract. de Hierarch. Ecclesiae veteris. [See especially, on this subject, Dr. Rock's invaluable work, The Church of our Fathers, vol. ii. pp. 126—158, —a complete thesaurus of all matters ritual.—T.]

bound to discharge it ; and the pope gave him the means of doing so. In 1516, Leo X. proclaimed indulgences, which he allowed to be preached in Germany ; their produce was to be devoted towards the completion of the church of St. Peter, that beautiful work of Bramante, which Julius II. had been unable to finish. A new Rome, which the papacy desired to make far superior to the former Pagan city, began to rise. Among the works of architecture destined to efface all that antiquity had bequeathed to later times, the church of St. Peter soon began to show that dome which seemed to touch the skies ; and the piety of the faithful was required to assist the finishing of this colossal undertaking. John Angelo Arcimbald, dean of Arcisato, and afterwards archbishop of Milan, was directed to preach pardons in Germany.¹ He was an ecclesiastic of excellent morals, sound faith, and a lover of learning, but who was easily misled by appearances. At Rome, it was the custom of the Chancery to dispose in each Catholic state of the right to proclaim and distribute indulgences. Albert purchased this privilege, and resold it to Fugger, of Augsburg ; one of those rich mediæval bankers who made money of everything, and whose venality has been branded by Luther in his *Tisch-Reden*. Albert, consequently, exercised the office of commissioner for the court of Rome over all Germany. Arcimbald acquired that for Denmark and Sweden, from which, for several years, he reaped abundant fruits, the produce of which went to the pontifical treasury. Unfortunately, the treachery of some agents embezzled a portion of it ; but the honour of Arcimbald is untainted.

Albert selected for his preacher Tetzel,² who already possessed the confidence of Arcimbald, and had the reputation of an orator. According to Protestant historians, he was a weak-headed man, excited by ascetical studies, with neither knowledge nor prudence, stuffed with folly. He was the son of a goldsmith at Leipsic, had entered the Dominican order in 1487, and had preached successfully at Zwickau. Tetzel assumed the

¹ Peifferus, in *Rerum Lips. lib. iii. p. 387.*

² Tetzel, Dötzell, or *Italies*, Tottila, from the word *Död*, that is, God. *Leben des päpstlichen Gnaden-Predigers oder Ablasse-Krämers Johann Tetzel*, von M. Johann Jakob Vogel, p. 34.

title of inquisitor of the faith, which is conceded solely to men of experience and learning.¹

Now this monk, who has been so coarsely reviled, had gone through a course of distinguished study. In 1487, he had taken the degree of bachelor in philosophy, at Leipsic. There had never been so large a number of candidates, fifty-six having presented themselves for examination. The judges were men of high ability; Thomas Hertil, Henry Heldler, John Laricke, and John Fabri. Tetzel ranked the sixth.² John Lindner considers him one of the lights of the Dominican Order;³ and Buddæus, a Protestant author, says that the eloquence of this Dominican drew crowds after him.⁴

Before commencing his labours, the monk printed at Mayence an *Instruction on the Duties of the Preacher of Indulgences*.⁵ He chose Leipsic as the scene of his opening discourse; but the princes of Saxony refused to receive him, on the ground that that city had been visited already by other missionaries. Tetzel then turned his attention to the electorate of Mayence, and successively visited Halberstadt, Anhalt, and Brandenburg, accompanied by another Dominican monk, Bartholomew, and two clerks; for he sold not merely indulgences, but dispensations of marriage, fasting, and of Lent. He took care to give notice of his advent, and entered the cities to the sound of bells and music, with colours flying, and escorted by the clergy, monks and nuns, magistrates and students, and men and women who chanted hymns. He was seated in a magnificent car; with the bull resting upon a velvet cushion. The procession went to the church, passing along streets filled by a pious crowd that pressed round the begging friars. The church was decorated and lighted, and in front of the altar a red cross was erected, to which were fixed the arms of the pope. Tetzel usually ascended the pulpit, preached upon indulgences, and threatened with the

¹ "Inquisitor non à casu, sed ab arte, ex amissi instituendus est et debet esse doctus et expertus in his quae ad officium suum pertinent; debet esse resolutus et fulgere in gemina scientia, theologica scilicet et juridica."—Cramerus, in *Arbore Hæreticæ Consanguinitatis*, p. 48.

² Vogel, l. c. p. 47.

³ Ibid. p. 47.

⁴ "Buddeus lobet ihn von seiner Beredsamkeit, wodurch er sich bei dem Pöbel in großes Ansehen gesetzt."—Vogel, p. 59.

⁵ Instruktion, wie die Prediger den Ablass anpreisen sollen.

anathemas of the Church whoever should deny their efficacy. The orator addressed himself to a people whom it was easy to excite, and Tetzel loved imagery. When his discourse was ended, brother Bartholomew cried out, “Buy ! buy !”¹ at the same time striking with a piece of copper a metal plate which contained hundreds of bills of indulgences, ready signed. The crowd pressed forward, stretched out their hands, and gave, in exchange for pardons, the penny of the poor man or the silver of the rich. Such, at least, is a Protestant account.²

If it is correct, one can understand Luther’s rage against this vender of sacred things, whom Jesus would have driven out of the temple. Tetzel has been painted, after leaving the church, as seated at table with Bartholomew and some waiters of the inn, jollifying and quaffing huge pots of beer paid for by the papal billets. But Tetzel bore small resemblance to those big-bellied, bloated-faced monks, whose gluttony Hutten has celebrated in his petty letters. When, in 1518, Carl Miltitz came, in name of Leo X., to censure the Dominican, who had only offended through excess of zeal, and who could not bear the nuncio’s anger,³ no charge of libertinism was preferred against him. That for which he was blameable, was a religious enthusiasm, from which a priest more prudent would have been preserved ; a fanaticism in regard to the papacy, which the pope himself would have repudiated ; it was a cerebral excitement, which exposed him to errors. Luther has said nothing against the morals of his enemy ; they must, therefore, have been irreproachable !

One evening, when seated at table with his boon and ribald companions, abusing popes, bishops, and monks, whom he consigned promiscuously to pandemonium, Tetzel was mentioned. Luther began to laugh : “ He was an arrant rascal,” he said, who dared to preach, “ that were one to violate the mother of God, an indulgence would be sufficiently powerful to wash away the sin.”⁴ Tetzel never said anything of the kind. He declared that

¹ Anmerkungen, &c. l. c. p. 276.

² Ibid.

³ “ Man weiss . . . dass der päpstliche Nuntius, Carl Miltiz, dem Tetzel das höchste Missfallen des Papetes zu erkennen gab.”—Bertholdt, l. c. p. 276.

⁴ “ Ja wenn einer gleich die Jungfrau Maria hette geschwengert, so köndte ers ihm vergeben.”—Tisch-Reden, p. 355. We have diluted the translation intentionally.

sin against the mother of God, however enormous, is less than that committed against the Son, which, nevertheless, may be remitted, according to the express testimony of Christ himself.¹ It was enough to ridicule the Dominican, why calumniate him ?

" Tetzel, an ardent theologian," says Seckendorf, " exaggerated at once the virtue of indulgences and the power of the keys." If the accounts of the Reformers are correct, Bartholomew, in order to excite the congregation, would often exclaim, " I see the blood of Christ flow from that cross ! " " Thus," adds a Protestant author, " Tetzel's indulgences operated without internal satisfaction, whilst the indulgences given by the pope to the faithful could not be effectual, until the sinner had wept, confessed his sin, and done penance ;² Tetzel, then, deceived the pope, his bishop, and his audience."

No ! Tetzel deceived no one ; his words were these :—

" What then, you will blush to approach the tribunal of penance, and you are not ashamed to haunt ball-rooms ! It is here a question of the salvation of your soul, and not of your body ; to-day full of health, to-morrow a prey to disease ; one day living, the next dead. Therefore, mark this well ! Whoever, HAVING CONFESSED and BEING PENITENT, shall bring the alms prescribed to him by his director, shall obtain full and entire remission of his sins."³

On the word of the Reformer, Mathesius assigns to Tetzel this singular proposition : " That for him who purchases letters of pardon, repentance and contrition are utterly useless."⁴

¹ " Cumque peccatum in matrem Christi commissum quantumvis enorme, minus sit quam si illud ipsum in Filium committatur, quod est Christi expresso testimonio remissibile."—Seckendorf, Comm. de Luther, p. 27.

² " Alle über den Ablass erschienenen päpstlichen Bullen setzten als Bedingung fest, dass der Ablass-Suchende seine Sünden beichten und bekennen, und eine Bußung übernehmen muss."—D. Berthold, Anmerkungen, &c. tom. i. p. 277.

³ See extract from one of the Dominican's sermons, Confirmatory Evidence, No. 2, taken from the work of John James Vogel, Leben des päpstlichen Gnaden-Predigers oder Ablass-Krämers Johann Tetzel, a virulent satire against the monk. Vogel gives the original German text as well as the Latin. We have chosen the latter.

⁴ " Es wäre nicht Noth, Reue noch Lieb' oder Busse für die Sünde zu haben, wenn einer den Ablass oder Ablass-Briefe lösete oder kaufte."—Mathesius, in der Predigt von Luthero, p. 2. Selneccer (in Orat. de Luthero). Chemnitz, in Exam. C. T. p. 4. Mayer, in Disput. II. de Vita Lutheri, p. 85.

Examine the writings of the Dominican, you will find this assertion nowhere. We see how at that time they wrote history, let us add how they killed a man. And we also, we confess it, for a long time believed that this monk who ascended the pulpit to preach the Gospel, was an ignorant priest, a liar, who deceived the souls whom he had caught in his lures, by promising them heaven in exchange for a billet which he had scrawled in the taproom. Of Christ's satisfaction, we imagined that he said not a word. Now hear what he says:—

“Our mother has conceived us in sin, we have been trammelled with sin in our birth, and to attain salvation, we have every need of the protecting arm of God. It is not by works of justice that we can be saved, but by the mercy of God alone.”¹

And, moreover, is it to be believed that the archbishop of Mayence would not have silenced the preacher who should have allowed himself to utter from the pulpit such incongruous sentiments as those which Luther has put in his mouth? In a pastoral letter, addressed to the members of his diocese, and which was fixed on the door of every church, Albert formally declared, that in order to participate in the spiritual graces which the pope offered to all, it was imperative in the first instance to confess their sins, and then to mourn and redeem them by salutary penance.²

Let us explain the doctrine of our schools in regard to indulgences. Theology distinguishes in sin, the guilt and its punishment. The guilt is offence against God; the punishment, the chastisement which the offence deserves, eternal or temporal. The Church, which, along with the keys, has received the power to bind and to loose, exercises this power in respect of sin committed after baptism, both by the sacrament of penance and by the application of indulgences; in the sacrament of penance, the Church remits sin as to the guilt and eternal punishment, but not always as to all temporal punishment.³ By indulgences

¹ “In peccatis mater nostra nos concepit, heu qui funes peccatorum complexi sunt nos; et est difficile, et quodam modo impossibile ad portum pervenire salutis, sine divino adjutorio. Quia non ex operibus justitiae quae fecimus nos, sed per sanctam suam misericordiam salvos nos facit.”—Vogel, l. c. p. 221.

² . . . “Qui eorum confessione diligenter auditæ . . . et punitiæ salutarem injungit.”—See Confirmatory Evidence, No. 3: the Archbishop’s Pastoral.

³ Treatise on Indulgences, 1844.

she remits in whole or in part that temporal punishment which remains to be borne for our sins in this world, by the means of works of satisfaction ; in the other, by the expiation of purgatory. The indulgence, therefore, remits the penalty, but not the guilt. The treasure of indulgences which belongs to the pope and the bishop, is composed of the superabundant satisfaction of Jesus Christ. One single drop of the God-Man's blood would suffice a thousand times to redeem millions of worlds. To this inexhaustible supply of merits are to be added, accepted of God as meritorious because of their union with the satisfaction of the Saviour, and as being applied in virtue of the dogma of the communion of saints, the superabundant satisfactions of Mary, the mother of sorrows, who never had any fault to expiate, and those of a vast number of saints who have suffered for justice' sake, and have practised long penances to redeem slight imperfections.¹

The dogmas of indulgences and of purgatory are intimately connected ; remove the one, you destroy the other.

Beyond this life, the Catholic faith maintains that there is a place of purification where the soul effects the cleansing of herself from her stains, until the period prescribed by divine mercy and justice having been accomplished, she is able to take her place among the blessed ; for nothing sullied, says the Scripture, can enter into the kingdom of heaven. That faith also teaches us that these hours of trial, and these punishments of the nature of which we are ignorant, can be shortened and mitigated by works of satisfaction. Not that these works have any power in themselves, but offered by our divine Mediator to his Father, they appease and prevail with a God of mercy and charity.² Consoling doctrine, that gives wings to prayer and causes it to ascend to the throne of God ! Now indulgences, like prayers and alms,

¹ Concil. Trid. Sess. XI. c. xix.

² "Ita non habet homo unde gloriatur, sed omnis gloriatio nostra in Christo est, in quo vivimus, in quo mereorur, in quo satisfacimus, facientes fructus dignos posnitentiae qui ex illo vim habent, ab illo offeruntur Patri et per illum acceptantur à Patre."—Conc. Trid. Sess. XIX. c. 8.

[“Thus, man has not wherein to glory, but all our glorying is in Christ, in whom we live, in whom we merit, in whom we satisfy, bringing forth fruits worthy of penance, which from Him have their efficacy, by Him are offered to the Father, and through Him are accepted by the Father.”—Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent, translated by the Rev. J. Waterworth, p. 108.]

convey, by the application of the merits of Christ, some mitigation to the transitory sufferings of the souls of our brethren ; it is the entire or partial remission of the temporal penalties incurred by sin. The Church has the power of abridging these penalties of satisfaction, in virtue of the words of our Saviour, *Whatever you shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatever you shall loose shall be loosed.* It is easy to trace the tradition of indulgences since Jesus Christ to the tenth century, the period to which Protestantism assigns the invention of this dogma.

In defending indulgences, Eckius did right, to appeal for them to the traditional evidence of centuries ; if the doctrine of pardons was so new, how had it been admitted and received by every church in the world ? Now this Catholic doctrine was precisely what Tetzel enunciated.¹

In the latter end of 1517, the Dominican went to Juterbock, a small town in the principality of Magdeburg, and eight miles from Wittemberg, which became all astir, and was speedily deserted by its inhabitants, all flocking to hear the preacher ! Luther in vain strove to restrain his penitents, who determined, by all means, to purchase letters of indulgence. In a first impulse of anger, he wrote to the bishop of Misnia an urgent letter, imploring him to put a stop to the scandal which Tetzel was giving in Germany, and which afflicted religious minds. No answer was received from the bishop, and the monk's head was in a state of fermentation. The confessionals of the Augustinian fathers were deserted ; crowds went to Tetzel, and returned from Juterbock gay and careless, with no exterior marks of compunction, just as if they had left a tavern ; so Protestant accounts inform us. Luther could no longer contain himself. He announced that he would preach upon indulgences, and for

¹ " Porro quod universa recepit et tenuit Ecclesia, quomodo posset esse in fide erroneum ? Universitas Ecclesie toto orbe terrarum diffusa accepit indulgentias à tempore Gregorii Magni. Et concilia generalia approbaverunt, sicut sacrum concilium Lateranense celebrerrimum sub Innocentio III., in quo et saluberrima constitutio omnis utriusque credita est, limitavit autoritatem minorum prelatorum in concessione indulgentiarum. Et sacrum concilium Viennense probavit indulgentias Urbani Quarti pro venerabilis Eucharisticæ veneratione. Et omnis Ecclesia ex Germania, Gallia, Hispania, Italis, Anglia, Hungaria, Polonia, Dania, Scotia, &c., reverenter suscepit Jubilos in Roma & pontificibus cum plenariis indulgentiis celebratos."—Enchiridion Locorum communium adversus Lutheranos : Antwerpiae, 1527, 12mo. § 23.

several days, shut up in his cell, he laboured on his sermon. The church was crowded ; his friends were ranged in front of the altar to support him with their countenance ; for they knew that Luther was about to perform a deed of daring. Almost all belonged to the jesting school of Erasmus, which at table, in conversation, and in books, employed itself by attacking with satire that Rome of which it was ignorant ; which brought laughter into fashion, and with it impretted painting and sculpture. They were curious to see how the discourse of the Friar, generally so grave, would apply itself to indulgences ; and whether to punish Tetzel, it would be inspired by the *Epistola Obscurorum Virorum*, or by St. Augustine. They sought, with restless eye, among the two long rows of monks who moved along the choir, for Luther's face. They had no difficulty in recognising it ; it was austere, as usual, but nothing therein betrayed the great idea which inwardly disquieted him. As soon as the fathers were ranged, each in his stall, the celebrant intoned the psalm. It was remarked that Luther, as in ordinary, mingled his prayers with those of the congregation ; that he followed with his lips and his eyes the priest at the altar, and that his voice was unaltered. This composure of "the apostle," in a moment so solemn, has not escaped his disciples and admirers.

The whole of Luther's creed is contained in that religious document,¹ which is clear and condensed, and divided into paragraphs, forming so many maxims or propositions. The opinion of the Saxon monk is not mantled with obscurity, it addresses itself to the understanding, as it was conceived,—innovating, hostile to the doctrines theretofore accepted, insolent against tradition, disdainful of authority, and haughty ; such as it showed itself in the whole life of the Reformer. Luther delighted in his work ; it is no longer an academical struggle to which he challenges his enemy, but a combat in the lists. If he had wished to dispute according to the manner of the schools, wherefore should he have chosen the publicity of the pulpit ?

We quote some of the formulas in which the new doctrine comes forward most boldly.²

¹ Sermon vom Ablass und der Gnade. It appeared some days after, carefully printed.

² Reinhard, tom. i. Luther's Werke, von Walch, tom. xv. p. 474.

6. I maintain that it is impossible to prove from the Scriptures, that divine justice demands from the sinner any other penance or satisfaction than reformation of the heart ; and that it in no part enjoins concurrence of acts or deeds, for it is written in Ezekiel, "The Lord will not impute sin to him who repents, or who does good."

12. They say that indulgences, applied to the soul that suffers in purgatory, are imparted to it, and accounted for in the remission of the punishment which it should still suffer : this is an opinion devoid of foundation.

14. Indulgences, instead of expiating, leave the Christian in the filth of his sin : if we ought not to say anything against indulgences, we must no longer boast of their efficacy.

15. If you have anything to spare, give it, in the Lord's name, for the building of St. Peter's at Rome, but do not purchase pardons.

16. Have you means ? Give to him who is hungry ; that will be more profitable than to give it for heaping up stones, and much better than to buy indulgences.

17. Once more : prefer your poor brother to St. Peter's and indulgences. If you have superabundance, and your charity can find no beggars in your own country for its exercise ; then, if you please, give to churches, adorn altars, and if any remains, give it to St. Peter's at Rome, which has less need of it.

18. Do nothing in favour of indulgences. St. Paul has said, 1 Tim. 5, 8, "He who has not care for his own is not a Christian, and is worse than an infidel." He who tells you the contrary deceives you ; he searches for your soul in your pocket, and finds there a penny, which has more value in his eyes than your salvation.—But shall I not then buy indulgences, you will say to me. I have already said that my prayers, my wishes, my desire, and my advice are, that you do not purchase them. Leave them to indolent and sleepy Christians ; you can afford to dispense with them !

19. Indulgences are neither of divine precept nor advice ; it is not a commandment, a work which affects salvation.

20. That souls can be delivered from purgatory by the virtue of indulgences, is what I do not believe, although some new doctors teach it ; but they cannot prove it, the Church has

said nothing of it. In sooth, it is of more avail to pray for them.

21. What I preach is certain ! it is based upon the Scriptures ; you ought not to doubt it ; leave the schoolmen in their scholasticism ; they are all unable, many as they are, to produce anything worth.

22. Though some kindly accuse me of heresy, for having told them truths which will do mischief to their pedlary, what care I for their gabbling ? They are crackbrained blockheads, who have never opened the Bible, who know nothing of the doctrines of Christ, do not understand themselves, and are plunged in the depth of their darkness. May God grant them wisdom. Amen !¹

Certainly there is nothing there of the wrangling of the schools, but a clear, distinct language, which from the first doggedly falls foul of a doctrine established for so many centuries, and of which the Church has found the letter written in the Bible. A monk who has taken care to inform us that he scarcely knows what are called indulgences,² attacks them barefacedly, as if he had studied the question all his life. For, be it carefully observed, it is not merely the abuse against which he contends, for then he would have the whole Church on his side, it is the spiritual remedy which he attacks. The whole future life of Luther is reflected in this sermon ; you will find him there with his rash belief, his egotism, which pretends to rest itself upon the words of the Bible, his contempt for tradition, his insolence towards the schools, and his ridicule, which he never ceased to cast upon those who denominated themselves Thomists or Aristotelians.

A sermon like this was a revolutionary work ; the Augustinian monastery had not been used to language so haughty, it was thrown into consternation by it. Had Staupitz been present when Luther ascended the pulpit, perhaps the locution of the monk might have been adapted for the ears of a religious who had nothing so much at heart as to live in peace with the court of Rome. Certainly Luther would not have printed his sermon as he preached it.

One of the fathers, approaching the preacher, pulled him by

¹ Luther's Werke, von Walch, tom. xv. p. 471.

² M. Michelet, Mém. de Luther, tom. i.

the gown, and shaking his head, said to him : " Do you know, doctor, that you have been very rash ; do not, at least, do us mischief ; already the Dominicans laugh in their sleeves ; our order may suffer from it."

" Dear father," replied Luther, " if it proceeds not from God, it will fall to the ground ; if it does come from his holy name, leave it alone, it will run its course."¹

Such was the language of John Huss and of Wickliff ; success founding the law, the glorification of the Koran.

The learned of the time, who, after Reuchlin, were engaged in ridiculing the monastic orders, but who ventured not to meddle with doctrine, were astonished at the audacity of the Augustinian friar. One of them was especially surprised at the presumption of this young monk, who scarcely possessed a roof to shelter him from the inclemency of the weather. " Imagine," he says, " a monastery, of which nothing but the dormitory is complete ; foundations which barely touch the ground ; in the centre a wooden altar, thirty feet long by twenty, rickety, and like to fall but for supports ; a wall in the middle three feet high, and old boards quite loose ; a veritable crib of Bethlehem ; it is there, nevertheless, that God in these latter days has willed that his gospel should be preached, and his son Jesus should be born again for our common salvation. Glory to Christ, who, amidst the thousand temples reared in Christendom, has selected this miserable hovel for the regeneration of his works ! "²

Luther's sermon could not pass for a mere jest against the schools. Tetzel took it up seriously, and from the pulpit analyzed the monk's propositions one by one, and showed wherein they were offensive to the common doctrine. Melancthon wrote that the Dominican publicly burnt the Saxon's sermon in the market-place of Juterbock ;³ and Hutten has not omitted to ridicule this, by quoting Tacitus : " As if fire could stifle the voice of mankind." We have sought in vain for the authority whence Melancthon derived the account of this feat.

Tetzel only required a night to refute his opponent. His work, after the form of Luther's, is divided into twenty para-

¹ " Ist es nicht in Gottes Namen angefangen, so ist es bald gefallen ; ist es aber in seinem Namen angefangen, so lasset es geschehen." — Reinhard.

² Myconius.

³ Seckendorf, Comm. Lutheri. p. 25.

graphs, or propositions.¹ The polemical style of Tetzel has nothing striking about it ; and after its perusal, we cannot understand the noise which the inquisitor made in the pulpit, for the reader is not even interrupted by those illustrations in bad taste, by those indecorous comparisons, and that profusion of coarse similes, with which his sermons are said to have been tainted. It is that of a professor of theology, who has no occasion to employ harsh expressions, feeling assured of his victory. His peroration alone rouses the dull reader ; one likes to see him hurl at his adversary the cartel of defiance of fire and water.

Luther did not accept it ;² he wished the quarrel to be settled in close lists at Wittemberg. He replied to Tetzel : “ I laugh at your words as I do at the braying of an ass ; instead of water, I recommend to you the juice of the grape ; and instead of fire, inhale, my friend, the smell of a roast goose.³ I am at Wittemberg. I, Doctor Martin Luther, make it known to all inquisitors of the faith, bullies, and rocksplitters, that I enjoy here abundant hospitality, an open house, a well-supplied table, and marked attention ; thanks to the liberality of our duke and prince the elector of Saxony.”⁴

Tetzel did not go to the rendezvous,—and he was right ; the parties were not equally matched. The Dominican, in his discussion, had not made use of wine or the odour of roast goose. There was only one monk in the world who could employ such figures.⁵

¹ Vorlegung, gemacht von Bruder Johann Tetzel, Prediger-Ordens Ketzermeister, wider einen vermessenen Sermon von zwanzig irrgen Artikeln, päpstlichen Ablass und Gnade belangende.

² Freyheit des Sermons. D. M. L. päpstl. Ablass und Gnade belangende, wider die Vorlegung, so zur Schmach sein und desselben Sermons erdichtet.

³ “ Ut pro aquâ liquorem vitis et pro igne fumum culinæ ex anseribus assis appetat.”

⁴ Löscher's Reformations-Akten, tom. ii. p. 537.

⁵ Consult, for the early life of Tetzel, Albinus, Meissner's Land und Berg-Chron. ; Pfefferkorn, Merkwürdige Geschichte von der Landschaft Thüringen ; Cramerus, Hæreologieæ descriptio, cap. xii. de Inquisitoribus et inquisitione hereticæ pravitatis ; Tenzel, Historia von Lutherœ, edent. Cypriano ; Hecht, Vita Joh. Tetzeli nundinatoris sacri ; Hottinger, Hist. Eccles. Seculi XVI. part iii. ; Tenzel, Hist. Bericht vom Anfang und ersten Fortgang der Reformation.—(All Protestant authorities.)

CHAPTER VI.

RESISTANCE TO THE CLERGY AND MONACHISM.—REUCHLIN.

Cause of the success of Luther's doctrines.—Effect produced upon the people by his preaching.—Grounds of the popular sympathy for the monk.—The quarrel of Pfefferkorn with Reuchlin serviceable to the cause of Luther.—Account of this quarrel.—Reuchlin sides with the Jews against Pfefferkorn.—He carries the scholars with him.—The matter is referred to Rome.—Leo X. and Cardinal Grimani protect Reuchlin.—This protection is a victory.—How it is improved by Ulrich von Hutten.—The poet is author of pamphlets and caricatures against the monks.

IT is necessary to explain how this preaching, hitherto unused in the cloister, and which tickled the ears of the scholars, took so lively a hold on the mind. At the time when Luther conceived his plan of reform, the temporal power in Germany was truly set free.¹ Since the reign of Louis of Bavaria, all disputes between the pope and the emperor had ceased. But the people still bore a grudge to the clergy; they would have it that they mixed themselves too often up in the affairs of this world, forgetting that, amidst the differences between the Holy See and the empire, the priesthood had saved Germany from slavery, and that, if any rays of liberty remained to the commonalty, it was to the clergy that they were indebted for them. A taste of religious independence had especially induced them to imagine that they could free themselves from ecclesiastical control. Thus, in the fifteenth century, the citizens of Frankfort on the Oder, excommunicated because they would not break allegiance with the margrave Louis, were for a long time deprived of the services of the clergy; and when the ban was removed, they welcomed with derision the return of their pastors. The example of Frankfort was an appeal to schism.

The nobility hated the clergy. In turbulent times, they were freebooters on a large scale, who would have desired to pursue their vocation undisturbed; and were much more afraid of the pope than

¹ Neuere Geschichte der Deutschen, von der Reformation bis zum Bundesakte. Von K. Menzel, tom. i. p. 14.

of the emperor. As powerful vassals, they could make their sovereign tremble, but never the pontiff; they paid tribute to the Holy See, and this was one of their grievances against the papedom. So they would have sought to bring back the old times of Germany, and dreamt of the return of that iron age, in which all who wore cap, hood, or crown, were obliged to kiss the sword of a knight. "Give to Hutten," says Camerarius,¹ "the nerves of wealth and power, and the face of human society would be changed;" that is to say, that the oppressor who could purchase a sword would be sure to make the law. An old leaven of hatred against the court of Rome had accordingly been maintained from age to age in the ranks of the Teutonic knighthood. When any great misfortune befell Germany, they daringly accused Rome of being the cause. They were anxious to deprive the pope of his temporal sovereignty. It was with this intention that Ulrich von Hutten caused to be reprinted the book of Laurentius Valla against the "pretended gift of Constantine."² In his preface, addressed to Leo X., he treats that pontiff's predecessors as knaves and robbers. That preface was somewhat successful in its object.

The Teutonic knights and citizens accordingly gave their cordial sympathy to Luther's attack against authority. The elector of Saxony alone took alarm, and sent to the monastery to inquire the cause of this outcry against indulgences. Staupitz had returned, and sent for answer that his Grace had no reason to be afraid, as the disputation of the young friar affirmed nothing, and were scholastic and not dogmatic. Of this evasion Luther subsequently took advantage. Whenever he was hard pressed, and some superior wits appeared to be startled by his views, he quieted them by saying, "It is only a pleasantry, a college exercitation, in which the faith is not at all concerned;" and he laughed at the poor pigeon who could not perceive the truth.

If we carefully study the old literature of Germany, we shall

¹ "Nam si consilio et conatu Hutteni non defecissent quasi nervi copiarum, atque potentiae, jam mutatio omnium rerum extitisset, et quasi orbis status publici fuisse conversus."—Camerarius, in *Vita Melanchthonis*. Menzel, l. c. p. 16.

² "Ulr. Huttemi in libello Laur. Valla contra effectam et ementitam Constantini donationem, ad Leonem X. Pont. Max., prefatio."—Menzel, l. c. p. 16.

find the germs of that anti-clerical opposition, which burst forth so smartly after Luther's sermon, in different publications of the preceding century. The Fastnachtsspiele of Hans Rosenblut ridiculed with malignant merriment almost every class, but especially the priesthood. The Eulenspiegel was indebted for its popularity less to the talents of its author than to the irony with which he pursued the clergy. The Reineke Fuchs of Baumann is an allegorical representation of German society at that period, in which the priest fares no better. Baumann intended it chiefly for the monks, who had great opportunities, but carefully abstained from breaking a lance with the pagans.¹

But no work, perhaps, did more injury to the reputation of the monks than the satire which John Geyler of Königsberg, preacher at Strasburg, entitled the Book of Emmets.² The insect in various chapters makes war with the indolence, gluttony, and intemperance of the monks. Geyler follows the little ant in his walks along the banks of the rivulet, looking for the wing of the gnat, the wheat-grain of charity, the crumbs of children's bread, which she conveys carefully to her nest, of which he describes the wonderful construction. Then comes the monk with all sorts of dress, black, white, and brown, who travels along the highway, stops at the alehouse, empties huge flagons, makes himself merry with the barmaid, and returns with reeling head to the monastery. One cannot always read Geyler's satire without dread of his ears. He exaggerates the irregularities of the religious houses. He makes the monks boast that they are the salt of the earth: *Vos estis Sal terræ*. "Yes," he says, "but the *s* signifies your supreme pride, the *a* your avarice, and the *l* your luxury." He is a wit who jests cunningly, a merry dealer in jokes, the style of which sometimes partakes of the sparkling froth of that Strasburg beer of which his enemies charge him with having been too fond.

When, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, the signal

¹ "Welche hohe Rosse reiten, aber nicht mit den Heiden kämpfen wollen." —Ranke, l. c. tom. i. p. 253.

² Die Ameise. Dies ist das Buch von den Ameisen. Antiqua Literarum Monumenta Autographa: Brunsvigæ, 1690, p. 46, seq. Trithemii Catal. Script. Eccles. p. 168. Flacii Catal. Test. Verit. p. 1921. M. de Bussière, in La Foi de nos Pères, 8vo. 1844, has devoted several interesting pages to Geyler, 473 et seq.

of the revival of literature spread from Italy, many of the German professors were caught napping. The high chancellor of Ingoldstadt, George Tingal, dean of the faculty of theology, knew none of the ancient poets except Prudentius, or of the moderns except Baptista Mantuanus. Now these old Romans, whose language the monks had for a while neglected, recalled to Germany bright memories of national glory, and the people were tempted to accuse the cloisters of culpable indifference to their common country ; they would have desired that the monks had sung in Latin the exploits of that Hermann who had at one time arrested the flight of the Roman eagles. For the advantage of the monasteries, Trithemius should have appeared a century sooner.

The press began to reproduce in a few hours what had engaged the monastic industry for years ; it was a misfortune which they never could have foreseen, and who ought to disinherit the monasteries of one of their least-questioned glories, the reproduction of manuscripts ? For at that time a manuscript was an immense work of art, which was bequeathed to them for years ; which frequently cost the sight, the health, and the life itself of more than one cenobite ; which was solemnly blessed when completed, as are the bells of our churches ; and which was preserved in gold or in cedar. Printed books superseded in rich families the volumes written by the hand, whereof the costly fashion soon passed away. In consequence of this, thousands of monks, painters of letters, gilders, copyists, parchment-makers, and caligraphers, were reduced to inaction. It was necessary to find some employment in this suspension of labour, which came upon them so suddenly ; we shall see what was devised to expel from their cloisters the demon of idleness.¹

It was the period when Platonism, after its introduction to Italy by the Greeks from Constantinople, made its way into Germany, winning the hearts of those whose reason it could not master. The monasteries closed their gates against it. The image of Aristotle, for a century especially, was in every cell. With the exception of prayer, they had exhausted for him every form

¹ Die Ursachen der schnellen Verbreitung der Reformation, zunächst in Deutschland. Von Jakob Marx, Kaplan in Wittlich, p. 125. Mayence, 1834, 12mo.

of admiration. His inflexible dogmatism far better accorded with the submissive mind of a religious, than the poetic fancy of his rival. Instructed in the syllogisms of Aristotle, the monk could not comprehend the imaginative system of Plato ; he was wedded to the realism of which the Stagyrite had founded the empire. And if his mind sought to pass the precincts of his cell, and refresh itself with poetry, he possessed in his oratory the Bible, that inexhaustible fount and eternal type of idealism. Menaced in their regard for Aristotle, the monks were obliged to undertake his defence ; but it unluckily happened that some of those who, at the most, might have been able to transcribe his writings, endeavoured to sing his praises ; while their hymns were not only unskillful, but offensive to the adepts of the new philosophy. These apologies met the chastisement which they deserved ; they were openly ridiculed, and the author of the Ethics had to suffer from the presumptuous ignorance of his panegyrists.¹ When Luther appeared, the war was at its height ; without espousing the cause of Plato he set himself to attack Aristotle, because Aristotle was the authority, the magistracy of genius, the royalty of language, the popedom of philosophy. This was only the signal for the troubles of monasticism ; others more afflictive were to ensue, and these were to be occasioned by a couple of Jews, Victor von Carben, whose name is forgotten, and Pfefferkorn, who unluckily obtained a woful celebrity in his disputes with the scholars. Victor von Carben, a learned rabbi, after publishing an account of the reasons for his conversion to Catholicism,² printed, about 1509, a pamphlet against the Jews.³ The censor Ortuinus Gratius, doctor of theology, approved of Carben's work in flattering terms ; he represented it as a book of gold, which the learned world expected with impatience.⁴

¹ For an inquiry into the influence of Aristotle in the schools, see the History of the Reformation, by M. Meiners (Lhéritier), 12mo. 1825.

² Victor von Carben. Hier inne wird gelesen, wie Herr Victor von Carben, welcher eyn Rabi der Juden gewest ist, zu cristlichen Glawben komen : Cœln. 1508, 4to.

³ Propugnaculum fidei Christianæ Victoris de Carben, primum Judæi Rabbi legisperiti, dein Christiani sacerdotis, instar dialogi Christianum et Judæum introducens, etc.

⁴ "Opus aureum ac novum et à doctis viris diu expectatum Dni Victoris de Carben, olim Judæi, sed modò Christiani et sacerdotis, in quo omnes Judæ-

John Pfefferkorn was also a recent convert to Catholicism. After being baptized, his first act of faith was to attack his former co-religionists with an asperity according neither to charity nor to learning. He denounced to the emperor Maximilian I. of Austria various Hebrew books, of which he demanded the destruction by fire and sword, excepting, however, the Bible,¹ which the Jews were to be obliged to carry with them, as Cain bore the mark which the Lord had stamped upon his brow. The emperor referred the examination of this religious question to Uriel,² archbishop of Mayence, who nominated for an inquiry into it a committee of theologians, composed of James Hochstraet or Hogstraet, professor of the Holy Scriptures at Cologne, Victor von Carben, and John Reuchlin, a wonderful Hellenist, whose literary fortunes it is interesting to relate.³

The pope had sent an embassy to Eberhard, duke of Wittenberg. Dr. Hechinger, chancellor of the Aulic Council, was charged with the official harangue. He was a thick-headed courtier, a countryman of the north, who had a sovereign contempt for southerns, with a rough and drawling Bohemian delivery; who could not understand the Latin of the envoys, modulated after the manner of the Italian, and flowing from their lips like notes of music. When, after much mouthing, he had set forth all the titles of the prince, pronounced in his

orum errores manifestantur qui hactenus nobis ignoti füre. Declarantur etiam in hoc opere omnes Judaeorum mores, quos circa quaecumque opera exercere consueverunt, ac tandem (id quod inauditum est) ex Veteri tantum Testamento convincuntur."

At the end of the book is this colophon: "Impressum est hec opus egregium quod à multis etiam doctoribus est commendatum ac revisum, Coloniae per honestum civem Henricum de Nassau, anno Domini M.CCCCC.IX." — See Unsch. Nachrichten, tom. xxv. pp. 261, 262, ad ann. 1725.

¹ See Pfefferkorn's work, printed at Augsburg, and dedicated to his imperial majesty Maximilian, by Erhard Oeglein, 1510, commencing thus: Zu Lob und Ehre, ch. ii. p. a. 11—6; and also his Epistola ad Leonem X. in Lament. Obs. Vir. p. 116.

² Kaysers Maximiliani I. Commission an den Erzbischoff Uriel, wegen der Juden-Bücher. Maximilian I., an illustrious sovereign, admits in one of his mandates the learning of Pfefferkorn: "Haben dem nach unserm Diener und des reichs getruwen Jea. Pfäfferkorn von Cöln als ainem wolgelernten, und erfarn ewern Glaubena." Weislinger, in his *Hutten delarvatus*, has given the three imperial mandates of Maximilian, pp. 18, 24, 27, et seq. Reuchlin received orders to examine the Jewish books, in a commission signed by Uriel, archbishop of Mayence, and dated from Aschaffenburg, the Monday after the feast of St. Laurence, 1510. See Weislinger, l. c. pp. 29, 30.

³ Caspar Bucher, in his Mercury, ann. 1615: Tubinge.

German style of Latinity, *coileissimous*, *illoustrissimous*, the deputies, in spite of the gravity of their functions and the presence of his grace, burst into a roar of laughter, which one of them succeeded in restraining, while he declared that he had not the happiness of understanding the orator. The prince looked round among the courtiers to see if there was any one who would supply the place of the chancellor. The task was too difficult, and the courtiers were mute; when one in waiting mentioned the name of Reuchlin, a young student of Tubingen, attached to Dr. Hechinger in the capacity of servant. This was a providential hit for the embarrassed minister. "Call Reuchlin," said the duke. The youth appeared. "Are you willing," said the prince to him in German, "to act as our interpreter?" "I shall make the attempt, and by God's aid, I shall succeed," replied the scholar, in the Latinity of an Erasmus. And Reuchlin, thus unexpectedly called upon, made a speech in language so pure and choice, with such singular facility of expression and tone, that the whole court was struck with admiration. "Indeed," said one of the envoys, when his address was finished, "this is a wonderful young man; the servant might pass for the doctor." "And the doctor for the servant," muttered the prince. Shortly thereafter Reuchlin left the chancellor's service, and, relying on his own exertions, went to Rome and Paris, studied Greek and Hebrew, gave lectures, and expounded Thucydides to a large audience, among whom was John Argyropulus, a Greek refugee from Constantinople, who took the professor by the sleeve as he left the lecture-room, inquiring who and what countryman he was. Reuchlin replied, "from Germany;" when Argyropulus threw himself into his arms, exclaiming, "Of a truth, Greece herself is overcome beyond the Alps."¹

Reuchlin, like all men of high intellect in a period of reviving literature, ardently sought to take part in the mind-movement; he accordingly, at once, and with full energy, engaged in the war of Pfefferkorn with Judaism, and pronounced in some discourses his opinion with regard to the Hebrew books. He freely consigned to the flames such as were written against

¹ Seckendorf, in *Additionibus ad Commentarium Historicum de Lutheranismo*, p. 119 et seq.

Christ, the blessed Virgin, the saints, or the dogmas of the Catholic Church ; but he desired to preserve the Talmud and the commentaries upon it, the Annals of the Jews, their treatises on philosophy and medical works ; the one, because they served as a testimony against the absurdity of the Judaic dogmas, and might be conducive to recall wandering minds to the truth ; the others, because they were of use in illustrating history and science. Pfefferkorn published his *Hand-Spiegel*,¹ a theological satire filled with scholastic jargon, and malevolent insinuations against the orthodoxy of his opponent, who had taken care to submit his writings to the judgment of the Church. Reuchlin, some eight days after, issued in reply to the diatribe of the Hebrew proselyte his *Augen-Spiegel*,² a pamphlet in which the severity of the subject in dispute lurked under a form of diction, the secret of which his rival had unluckily not acquired from him. Alongside of his religious confession,³ in every point conformable to the most scrupulous exaction, he placed his profession of philosophical belief, which was not in favour of Aristotle.

Some Platonists among the Catholic clergy took part with Reuchlin. Gros and Briesgern, canons of Augsburg ; Nuenar, canon of Cologne ; Adelmann, canon of Eichstadt ; Andrew Fuchs, dean of Bamberg ; Laurence Truchsess, of Mayence ; Wolfgang Tauberg, of Passau ; James von Bannissis, of Trèves, boldly defended the scholar. Laurence Truchsess especially displayed in this business a lively interest in the learned controversialist ; for which Hutten has thanked him in the preface to his edition of *Livy*.⁴

The monasteries were roused, as if the truth had been in

¹ *Hand-Spiegel* (*mirror*), and not "*Brand-Spiegel*," as it is stated in Iselin's *Historical Dictionary*, tom. iii. p. 894.

² "Doctor Johannis Reuchlins, der kayserl. Majest. als Erz-Herzog zu Oestereich, auch Chur-Fürsten und Fürsten gemeinen Bundrichters in Schwaben, wahrhaftige Entschuldigung gegen und wider eines getauften Juden, genannt Pfefferkorn, vormals gedruckt, ausgangen unwahrhaftiges Schmäh-Büchlein."—*Augen-Spiegel*.

³ Page 32 of his defence. Reuchlin repeated this profession of faith in his apology against the theologians of Cologne : *Defensio Johannis Reuchlini Phor-censis Doctoris, contra Calumniatores suos Colonienses*, p. D. ii. 6 : *Tubingæ, ann. MDXIII.*

⁴ Op. *Hutteni*, tom. iii. p. 334, edit. Münch.

danger, and the question assumed a different aspect ; the cause of Aristotle was mixed up with that of the Talmud.* Arnold and Hochstraet were particularly remarkable for the bitterness of their polemics ; the monks accused them of heresy, they retorted the charge of ignorance. Hutten, with a view to obtain a more certain victory over Pfefferkorn, accused him of a desire to suppress even the Bible in his love of ignorance. This was a calumny, for Pfefferkorn had excepted from his anathema the inspired book ; but the falsehood took wings, and soon transformed itself into an article of faith for the learned of the time ; and it is in such a form that even at the present day we find it in some historical works. In vain Pfefferkorn presented his unlucky Mirror ;¹ the learned world passed by without looking in it, while they stopped before the false glass in which Reuchlin represented his adversaries in the most deformed shapes, and by the side of Bibles devoured in flames. How blind is party prejudice ! The memory of Pfefferkorn has descended to us disgraced and stained because he wished to burn some books of the Israelites ; while it has been forgotten that Luther, still more fanatical, demanded that the Jews should be deprived of their Talmud, their works on medicine and science, and even of the Bible itself ;² that their synagogues should be burned for the greater glory of God,³ and said that it would be requisite to scatter through them the pitch, the sulphur, and the flames of hell, to purify these abominable places, where the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost had met with so much outrage.

The subject soon became of greater interest, agitated the consciences and disturbed the peace of the religious world.

¹ The following are the titles of some of the pamphlets published by Pfefferkorn on the question of Judaism :—

Pfefferkorn Joann. *Speculum Adhortationis Judaicæ ad Christum* : Colon. 1508. *Libellus de Judaicæ Confessione* : Colon. 1508. *Hostia Judæorum qui declarat nequitias eorum circa usuras et dolos* : Colon. 1509. *In hoc fibello comparatur absoluta explicatio quomodo oeci illi Judæi suum Pascha servent.* In Laudem et Honorem Maximiliani Principis : Colon. 1509.

The opinion of Erasmus in regard to Pfefferkorn, Pepericornus, may be seen in the Letters of this voluminous epistolographer, tom. i. pp. 84, 677 ; tom. ii. pp. 1577, 1630.

² “Zum andern, dass man ihnen alle ihre Bücher nehme, Bet-Bücher, Thalmudisten, auch die ganze Bibel, und nicht ein Blatt liesse.” See further on the chapter entitled the *tisch-Reden*.

³ “Erstlich, dass man ihre Synagoga mit Feuer verbrenne.” — Luther's Werke, T. 8, Jense, fol. 103, a, b, et seq.

The universities of Cologne, Louvain, Erfurt, and Mayence, examined Reuchlin's pamphlet, discovered some assertions offensive to the Catholic faith, and condemned it to be burnt. The process and judgment were printed. Spira defended Reuchlin, whose book soon crossed the Rhine, and, being submitted to the Theological Faculty at Paris, was by them solemnly condemned.¹

Far from bowing to their decision, Reuchlin, irritated by the scholars, defended his work in an extremely violent pamphlet,² in which he treated his judges as forgers and calumniators.³ Pfefferkorn, on his part, in an answer to his opponent, entitled the *Tocsin (Sturm-Glock⁴)*, after invoking against Reuchlin the inclemation of the *Augen-Spiegel* at Cologne, the sentence of the Sorbonne, and the sentence of condemnation by the emperor Maximilian, threw down to him this proud defiance : "Moreover, I offer to prove by the ordeal of fire, wherever the sound of this dispute shall have reached, the truth of my accusations."⁵

The matter was appealed to Rome ; Reuchlin found two distinguished protectors in the persons of Leo X. and Cardinal Grimani.

Rome, after an attentive examination of the documents in process, being reluctant of itself to determine, issued a *Mandatum de supersedendo*,⁶ which, without pronouncing in favour of the theologians of Cologne, represented by the inquisitor Hochstraet, any more than of the scholars, of whom Reuchlin was the living symbol, deferred indefinitely the adjudication of the suit. This sentence of the court of Rome, it must be admitted, was truly a victory for the learned of Germany. In perusing the correspondence of Reuchlin, we see the lively interest which

¹ *Acta Doctorum Parisiensium contra Speculum oculare Joh. Reuchlini, cum sententiâ condemnatâ ejusdem libelli* : Colon. 1514.

² *Defensio Johannis Reuchlini, Phoroensis LL. doctoris, contra Calumniatores suos Colonienses* : Tubing. 1518.

³ *Tungarus Arnoldus, calumnior, falsarius, per omnia saecula saeculorum.*

⁴ *Sturm-Glock von Johaan Pfefferkorn, &c. ; gedruckt zu Cöllen, ann. MCCCCCXIII.*

⁵ "Des erbeit ich mich mit dier zu probieren in das fuwr an allen enden und orten, wo sich dan solche Sach zu verhoren, und zu rechtfertigen gebürt." (Sic.)

⁶ Reuchlin, *De Arte Cabalistica*, 4to. p. 730. *Acta Judiciorum*, p. 130. The author had dedicated his work on the Jewish cabals to Leo X. Erasmus, Epist. tom. ii. p. 1598.

Germany took in her noble son. One great concert of joy seems to ring through all the imperial cities; Pirkheimer at Nuremberg, Peutinger at Augsburg, both councillors of state; the two great orators, Capito and Ecolampadius; the civilians Hazius and Cuspinian; Hutten, Ebolanus Hessus, and the poets of the time; the whole army of Reuchlinists, celebrated this victory with clamorous rejoicings.¹

Nobody dreams of thanking Rome; all the wreaths are for the scholar. It was easy to perceive that the monk's habit, especially the white cassock of the Dominican, was seriously compromised in the eyes of lettered Germany.

Under the name of Eleutherius Bysenus, Hutten celebrated the victory of Reuchlin over the obscure men of Cologne; that is to say, the theologians of the university. Like all the pamphlets of that singular period, this of Hutten is ornamented with an allegorical engraving. Reuchlin appears seated upon an antique chariot, crowned with laurel, holding in one hand his Augen-Spiegel, in the other a basket of flowers. Behind the chariot walk dejectedly a crowd of Dominicans, chained to each other like the captives of antiquity. The procession is opened by heralds at arms, sounding the trumpet. In the distance is the gate through which the procession is to pass, and here and there the laughing faces of children, or the grinning heads of monks. Young damsels and bearded doctors strew the earth with flowers. In the other part of the picture, poor Pfefferkorn is to be seen in the hands of two executioners, one of whom punctures his legs with a sharp-edged sword, while the other beats him repeatedly on the head, whence issues a fetid blood, which is lapped up by a dog.²

¹ Leopold Ranke, Deutsche Geschichte, tom. i. p. 277.

² See the description of the engraving in *Huttenus delarvatus*, by John Nicolas Weislinger: Costanz. 1780, 12mo. pp. 56, 58.

Consult, in reference to Reuchlin's quarrel with the theologians of Cologne: *Hoc in Opusculo, Speculum oculare Joh. Reuchlini, continentur premota-menta Ortwini Gratii*: Col. 1514;

Dialogue Novus et mirè festivus et quorundam Virorum salibus cribatus, non minus Eruditonis quam Macaronis plenus: Tubingæ;

Jacobi Hochstraten Apologia ad Leo. X. et Max. Imperatorem contra Dialogum Georgio Benigro in causâ R. adscriptum: Col. 1518;

Acta Judiciorum inter J. Hochstraten inquisitor. Colonensem et J. Reuchlin. : 1518;

Reuchlini causa Fratris Logumeni modus inquirendi Haereticos ad usum Romane Curie, lectu dignissimus, Augusta Vind. : 1519;

At the birth of the Reformation, Hutten seems to have been the first to perceive the powerful effect of caricatures upon the public ; Luther stole this weapon from him. The monks employed it also ; but too late, when the effect began to wear off.

CHAPTER VII.

OPPOSITION TO THE CLERGY AND MONACHISM.—ULRICH VON HUTTEN.

Ulrich von Hutten.—Is educated at the monastery of Fulda.—Leaves it.—Is assisted by Albert, margrave of Brandenburg, afterwards archbishop of Mayence.—The Epistola Obscurorum Virorum, how esteemed by Protestant authors.—Review of this satire.—Specimens of the work.—Opinions of Erasmus and Reuchlin regarding it.—These letters equally offensive to decency and truth.—Hutten's opinion of Hochstraet, Pfefferkorn, and Arnold of Tungria.—Literary course of the author.—How he might have been matched by the adoption of his own style.—The monks could not attack their opponent in the same manner.—They accordingly were compelled to yield in their conflict with Hutten.

HUTTEN, the sovereign of the press at the beginning of the sixteenth century, had perused Luther's sermon against indulgences ; he expressed his satisfaction with it, and contributed by his eulogies to aggravate the pride of the monk. He had prepared the way for the Reformation by his Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum ;¹ that work, more filthy than eloquent, which so

Hochstratus ovans, *Dialogus festivissimus . . . 1520.*

We must regard with suspicion what Erasmus says in praise of Reuchlin. *Epist. tom. i. pp. 144, 146, 154, 189, 219, 268, 270, 322, 484, 485, 517, 550, 577, 605, 618 ; tom. ii. pp. 1596, 1598, 1587, 1660, 1915.*

¹ *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum ad M. Ortwinum Gratium, nil præter lusum continentium et jocum in arrogantes sciolos, plerisque famæ bonorum virorum obtrectatores et sanioris doctrinae contaminatores.* *Volumen primum.*
Ad lectorem.

“ Risum Heraclite est, vasti ridere parati
Arida mutarunt pectora, Stoicidae.
Da mihi tristem animum, ferales objice luctus.
Dispeream, nisi mox omnia risus erunt.
Exerce pulmonem.”

[The Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum were not the exclusive production of Hutten, but were the joint composition of himself, Crotus, and Buschius. This has been shown and fully proved by the illustrious Sir William Hamilton, Bart., in the *Edinburgh Review* for March, 1831, since reprinted in his Discussions on Philosophy, &c. p. 203.—T.]

powerfully assisted the insurrectionary movement of the learned. Hutten was Luther's precursor ; had he worn a cassock instead of armour, or been as great a theologian as he was a poet, perhaps he might have undertaken the work of the Reformation. He was the first writer of his time, and he is still one of the most brilliant glories of German literature. But we may be permitted to believe that he is indebted for the wonderful success of his letters, less to his own unquestionable talent for satire, than to the animosity already excited against the monks by Reuchlin. A specimen of this work, which played so great a part in the history of the German mind, is entitled naturally to a place here.

In 1499, Hutten, as a chorister in the abbey of Fulda, was employed in chanting hymns, composed and set to music by the monks. The youth, who had no inclination for a religious life, left the monastery and went to Cologne to study Latin literature. From Cologne, immediately on completing his studies, he went to the university of Frankfort on the Oder, where, at the age of eighteen, he took his degree as master of arts. The young man wished to search for treasures more abundant than those which he had found in the monasteries, but he was poor ; a kind friend came to his assistance, and sent him two hundred golden ducats. This benefactor was Albert, margrave of Brandenburg, subsequently archbishop of Mayence.

In 1508, thanks to the margrave's munificence, our student went to Italy, where he speedily got rid of his grace's money.

In 1514, the margrave of Brandenburg succeeded Ulrich in the archiepiscopal chair of Mayence, and Ulrich von Hutten, following the advice of his friend the chevalier Eitel Wolff, of Stein, composed a poem on Albert's election, which he dedicated to the prelate.¹ False quantities are not wanting in this panegyric ; more than six can be pointed out. The archbishop, himself a poet, overlooked his young *protégé's* violation of the rules of prosody,² and again presented him with two hundred ducats.

¹ In laudem reverendissimi Alberti archiepiscopi Moguntini, Ulrichi de Hutten equitis panegyricus.

² " Obechon über ein Halbdutzend poetische Böck darinnen stehen von ungeminer Grösse."—Weialinger, l. c. p. 1.

Such was the prelate whom Luther will so soon make lord high chancellor of hell.

We confess that we had imagined, upon the faith of witnesses whose sincerity we could not suspect, that these letters of Hutten formed one of the fine literary monuments of the sixteenth century. Listen to Burckard :—“No one, under cover of jest and raillery, has been able, like Hutten, to conceal so much profound sense, and support such great questions of morality.”¹ “Never,” says Möller, “has the human intellect clothed ideas with greater charms, and been united to reason by laughter more expansive.”² “See,” says Loescher,³ “how the author cuffs the ignorance of the clergy, and lifts from the monks the masks with which, till then, they had been disguised !” If you pay regard to what they say, these Letters of Obscure Individuals are an exhaustless source of graceful banter, wherein the Latin language is set forth with a richness of style, the secret of which Hutten has caught from the great masters of the Augustan age ;⁴ in which the lyre of the prophets, and the caustic fancy of Aristophanes abound ; which should be taken and read when the mind becomes melancholy, to expel the black bile ; and which acts on the wits as wine of Cyprus does upon the brain. Then comes the religious question, when the eulogy assumes a more emphatic form, if possible. These letters are truly a day-spring which bursts upon the monasteries, the iniquities of which it exposes to the light ; a beam which penetrates a sink of impurity ; the sun of truth which illuminates and dispels falsehood ; the cannon which has made a breach in the citadel wherein ignorance had intrenched itself in Germany for so many centuries, and whence it spread over the rest of Europe.⁵ Hutten is the Hermann of the Reformation, whom God has instigated to avenge the faith and gospel

¹ “Inficiet seculi barbariem ac stribilinem facetè exprimit. Ridendo et ludendo divina humanaque in optimum restituit statum.”—In Conim. part. i. p. 166 ; part. ii. p. 69.

² “Neminem non studiis excultum politioribus ad risum effusissimum.”—In Homonymoscopia, p. 814.

³ “Quod Reuchlini causa scitè admodum Obscurorum Virorum Epistolis sit defensa, et theologorum statim ejus ignorantia atque inertia acutè prorsus ac facetè iis exagitata sit.”—Vollständ. Reformatio-Acta, tom. ii. cap. iv. p. 102.

⁴ Burckard, De Fatis Lingue Latine in Germania, p. 442.

⁵ In Iconibus Virorum Litteris Illustr. Argent. : 1719, p. 83.

truth ;¹ the painter who has depicted, in unfading colours, the scandals of the papacy, the tyranny of Rome, the morals of the cardinals, abbots, bishops, and Catholic clergy ; the precursor of the new Messiah whose way he prepared ; who has only failed in effecting the religious revolution.² One of these panegyrista, not knowing how farther to praise his hero, conceives a small comedy, puts himself in the place of the monks, and cries piteously, like Sganarelle in his bag : “ Ah ! my back ! ah ! my loins ! my bones are crushed to the marrow, my heart fails ; ah ! I die ! Ah ! heu ! heu ! ah ! ah !”³

It was with a lively curiosity that we for the first time opened the leaves of this book ; and truly our surprise was great in finding in Hutten a cruel raillery, which instead of amusing itself with the foibles of those whom it attacks, enters their private life, pries into and defiles it ; invents, calumniates, and imagines it has recalled the mirth of Heraclitus, when it has stirred up all the filth in the mind of a man formed after its own fancy, and of whom its work is the type ; or when, changing the style, it amuses itself with casting dirt on the garments of its enemy. We had often heard of James Hochstraet, the theologian of Cologne, so warm, perhaps so ill inspired in the dispute, and we had expected to find him severely punished by Hutten. Instead of a flagellated monk, we see a Dominican in his chamber, a cope beside him, swarming with lice, and exclaiming with the Psalmist, “ Your creatures will dwell in her ; thou hast, oh God ! prepared by thy bounty, a nutriment for the poor !”⁴

Here is another of these pleasantries which brighten the countenance of the scholars, and make them burst forth in cries of admiration. Hutten writes to the wife of Pfefferkorn : “ My dear lady, do not blush ; I know that you are as modest a woman as is in Cologne ; I ask you no indecent question ; tell me truly, *utrum maritus vester habet proptimum, vel non?* speak fearlessly, for God’s sake, and tell us the whole truth.”⁵

¹ Leonardus Hutterus, in Actione contra Gretserum, p. 70.

² Joach. Camerarius, in Vita Melancth. p. 97.

³ In Prisciano Vapulante, act. iv. scena 2.

⁴ Epist. vii.

⁵ “ Credo quid uxorem Joannis Pfefferkorn non vincerent quinque juvenes quadrati rustici ex Westphalia.”—Epist. xv.

Pfefferkorn was married, and the father of ten children, who had, like himself, been baptized. That the scholar should seek to ridicule the new convert, was his part ; but to injure an adversary in the person of his wife, was a meanness unworthy of Ulrich von Hutten.¹

In another place, he is Juvenal, drunk with Falernian, and porter in the Via Sacra.

Must I relate to you in the manner of Hutten, a night scene in a monastery ?²

We find in Hutten's letters a great number of similar scenes, which had the privilege of provoking the laughter of the Reformers. Scenes are represented, which it is impossible for us to translate ; there is no language so shameless as not to blush for the application made of it by the author.³

Farther on in the work is the account of their journey, by two clergymen who go to Rome to seek preferment. And truly in the erotic museum at Naples, the imagination of the pagans has not devised paintings similar to those descriptions which Hutten has given us in some of his letters.

However, although at the expense of modesty, the truth was not outraged by Ulrich von Hutten. When he heaps on a pile the heads of Hochstraet, Arnold of Tungria, and Pfefferkorn, which burning together, at least for once enlighten the world,⁴ the humour may provoke a smile ; but he should not have reviled, as he has done, the inquisitor Hochstraet, whose learning Erasmus, a good judge surely, has commended ;⁵ Pfefferkorn, who,

¹ Epist. xii. p. 48 et seq. [With the exception of what follows, this long note is omitted, *pudoris causa*.—T.] Weialinger, the pious priest, who cites the whole of the above letter of Hutten, has subjoined to it the following note : “ Ignoscas velim, verecunde lector ; necessitate adactus hoc axioma Hutteno-Priapeum, sicut reperi, apponendum duxi, ut Orbis Christianus manibus palpet, Burkhardum Hutteni Encomiasten omnem exuisisse pudorem, dignissimum proinde esse, qui publico praesit lupanari, praedicturus venereum Lutheri sui evangelion : Peccata fortiter, etc.”—Vid. Fritz Vogel, part. i. cap. iii. § 8, p. 67. Huttenus delarvatus.

² Epist. ix. [The text, as well as the illustrative quotation, as before, is omitted ; as also in the two following notes.—T.]

³ [Here, as in the preceding paragraph of the text, omission is required.—T.]

⁴ “ Et credo quod vos cum vestra scientia, mediante forti pale ex aliquo excuso loco aridorum lignorum congerie exaedificato, essetis colligati, posset statim unum magnum lumen mundi fieri. Non est possibile ut illa magna scientia que est in vobis deberet sic in merda jacere.”—Epist. lib. lxiii.

⁵ Epist. lib. xvi. ep. 19.—See also Einsengrain, Catal. Testium Veritatis, p. 192.

in the face of all Germany, offered to prove, as indeed he did, that Reuchlin was not a Hebrew scholar of the slightest weight;¹ or Arnold of Tungria, whose acquirements are celebrated by nearly all the impartial men of his age.

Such is the book, which made so great a noise, to which no one dared to put his name, and which has been assigned to all the most illustrious men of the time—sometimes to Reuchlin, sometimes to Erasmus; which has been reprinted in every form, and sold in Germany even at the gates of the monasteries. The bull, condemnatory of it, by Leo X.,² a specimen of Latinity in which Sadoletus, as if to strive with the German scholars, had infused all the graces of Ciceronian style, served but to excite and aggravate curiosity in favour of the proscribed volume. When we read at the present day this work of Hutten, we cannot comprehend the influence which it had upon the destinies of the Reformation. “It is an excess of intellect unworthy of an author or a man of any self-respect,” says Erasmus;³ mere buffoonery, in the opinion of Reuchlin, on which contempt had done justice before Leo X.⁴

Hutten has a plan of mechanical art which no one has attempted to unveil; it is constantly to transmute his ideas into reality, and to personify every crime that he brings on the scene. They became accustomed to this form while new, and which at a later period of the Lutheran drama, received such striking appli-

¹ “Des bin ich urbittig mit dir zu probiren, und zu beweisen, und wo ich es nie thu, so will ich in der Straff und Schand stehen, acht Articul darynnen du yetzund gefallen bist.”—Sturm-Glock, p. 3.

According to Hutten, none of the numerous Catholic theologians whom he encountered had ever studied the Scriptures: Hochstræt especially had never opened the Bible. Now, we have in our possession a little work by the Dominican, printed at Cologne in 1510, entitled, *Tractatus Magistralis declarans graviter peccant querescentes auxilium à Maleficis*, in which numerous texts both of the Old and New Testament are cited by the monk to oppose those who seek to pry into futurity by means of demoniacal incantations.

² See Confirmatory Evidence, No. IV.

³ “Magnopere mihi displicebant Epistolæ Obsecratorum Virorum....Queso te, vir optime, ut istiusmodi nugas IMPIAS pro tua virili premendis cures, priusquam excudantur.....porro quod ad me pertinet, scio neminem fore, qui me nōrit, quin satis intelligat, istiusmodi nescias mihi supra modum displicuisse, quippe indignas eruditis ac probis viris.....bene vale doctissime Cesare. Antwerpiae postridie assumpta Virginie anno MDXVII.”—M. Ortuii Gratii *Lamentationes Obsecratorum Virorum*, p. m. 22, 23.

⁴ “Ich bin unschuldig an den Greueln, so ihr angerichtet.....&c.” Quoted by Ort. Gratius, Lam. p. l.—Ep. XVI. pp. 33, 34.

cation. In the eyes of the million, who, by means of this plastic power, could judge of the point at issue between Hutten and his opponents, a friar was no longer a mere monk, but a living type, sometimes clothed in rags emitting a filthy smell ; sometimes an impudent lecher running after girls ; sometimes getting drunk and sleeping off the wine amidst vermin. And as all the religious orders, especially the Dominicans, were mixed up with theology, they ended by picturing to themselves the clergy under these different emblems. We may judge whether scholasticism was ruined in the minds of the people. We need not be astonished that the monks knew so little how to defend themselves ; they could not make use of the same artificial plan as Hutten, and put in action the sins of their opponents ; there is one which might, however, have played a very droll part,—that which is forbidden by the sixth commandment, which Hutten had not invariably observed. Imagine, then, this champion of the virtue of the German women, this Egyptian anchorite, exhibited by the hand of a layman in a book, or on a broadside, as one who was known to be educated in a monastery at the expense of the clergy, entering the literary world under the patronage of the archbishop of Mayence, abandoning letters for the camp, where he picked up a nameless disease, deserting the guardhouse, and discovering on his way the guiacum wood, of which he celebrated the antisyphilitic virtues ;¹ then at open war with the monasteries, and finally dying on a small island in the Lake of Constance, a victim to the malady which he could not cure.² Ah ! if the Dominicans of Cologne could have laid aside the cowl ! But there were pictures there which neither the tongue nor the pencil of a monk could produce.

A monk could not adopt the line of a Petronius ; his Bible stigmatized as a sin the scoffing of Noah's son when he exposed the patriarch's nakedness. What an advantage, then, on the side of Hutten, who could at his ease diffuse calumnies without

¹ De Lue Venere& et Ligno Guajaco, 1519.

² "Morbus hic Huttenum jam tum arripuit quām pontificiorum adhuc seque-
retur casta."—Burckardus, in Vita Hutteni, lib. iii. pp. 428, 153. "Morbus
quo laboravit insolens et vix medicis tunc ipsis cognitus fuit, nisi quod lingua
nigredo et astutio occuparat. Unde et genus morbi vernaculi Die Bratne, à
colore fortassis appellatur ; ex hoc ergo tandem cum ingenti pectoris cruciatu
expiravit."—Melchior Adam, in Vitis Medicorum, pp. 22, 23.

risk of reproach ! We need not wonder at the immense disparity of the monks in their dispute with the precursor of the new opinions. How could it be otherwise ? Painting and its striking aids were not permitted to them as to their adversary ; they might speak to the understanding, but never to the eye. On one side were the drama and poetry ; on the other, symbolism and allegory, both pictures without transparency. Hutten was gifted with an unblushing front, a pencil which indulged in its utmost sport, dipped in the most gaudy colours ; a bold and obscene language ; the monks, with a timid style, that concealed the thoughts of the authors, who shrank from publicity. It may then be imagined what consternation was thrown into the monasteries by the falsehoods set afloat by Hutten. Many of the monks had begun to revolt, especially of that class who were so actively employed before the invention of printing, and who then ceased to have occupation. The want of such employment produced idleness, and idleness complaints. Then it was that Luther appeared among them, and raised the first shout of independence and rebellion against authority. This summons must necessarily have been responded to, less in the first instance from a desire to emancipate themselves from the voluntary thraldom which they had chosen of their own free will, than from a wish to escape from the reproach brought upon them by Hutten's letters.¹ The first of these ecclesiastical rebels were precisely those who, until then, had been engaged in transcribing manuscripts, but whose knowledge had found no means of defending them against the calumnious suggestions of the press.

¹ See Nicol. Weislinger : *Huttenus delarvatus*, printed at Augsburg, in 1780, 12mo.

The author, curate of Capell-on-Rodeck, in Brisgau, has collected in this curious work, written in German, the most of the quotations given in this chapter, and which he almost always translates. His book bears to be issued *Permissu Superiorum*.

Consult, with reference to Hutten : Olao Borrichius, *Dissert. de Poetis Lat.* ; Bayle, *Dict. Histor.* ; Th. Magiri Eponymol, voce *Ulrichus Huttenus* ; Schottens ad Fabric. *Bibl. Lat. Med. Ævi* ; Dan. Gerdes, *Hist. Reformat.* tom. i. pp. 157, 161 ; Chauffepié, *Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique* ; Freytag, *Analecta Litteraria* ; *Nachrichten von Ulrich von Hutten* ; *Deutscher Mercurius*, 1776, I. Stück, p. 174 ; II. Stück, p. 1 ; Effner, *Dr. Luther und seine Zeitgenossen*, 1817, part ii. pp. 225, 234 ; Meiner's *Lebenabeschreibungen berühmter Männer*, tom. iii. p. 479 ; Ranke, *Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation*, 1844, pp. 424—432.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CATHOLIC REFORMATION. 1517.

Two sorts of persons called for a reform.—Complaints as to the disorders of the clergy brought by Cardinal Julian before the Council of Basle.—At Rome, the poet Flaminio, addressing Julius II., preferred similar charges.—Julius II. desires to reform the Church.—The Council of Lateran.—Leo X. continues the work of his predecessor.—Decrees of the Council of Lateran for reforming the Church both in its members and its head.—Protestants themselves have acknowledged that Rome had commenced spiritual regeneration.

BUT something more powerful to seduce and mislead the people, than the Augen-Spiegel of Reuchlin, the Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum of Hutten, the satire which appeared at Leipzig, entitled the Star of the Clergy,¹ or the Ship of Fools, in which Geyler smote, “like a kettle-drummer,” every kind of vestment, sacerdotal or laical,² was the solemn voice of Christendom, which had for a long time demanded a reformation.

“ There were then two different sorts of persons who called for it,” says Bossuet; “ one, the truly peaceable and true children of the Church, without bitterness bewailed her grievances, and with respect proposed a reformation of them, and in humility bore with a delay. Far from desiring to effect this object by schism, they, on the contrary, looked on schism as the greatest of all evils. In the midst of these abuses, they admired the providence of God, who, according to his promises, knew how to preserve the faith of the Church. And though they could not accomplish a reformation of morals, free from all bitterness and passion, they deemed themselves happy that nothing prevented them from accomplishing it in themselves. These were the strong ones of the Church, whose faith no temptation could shake nor induce to deviate from unity. Besides these, there were proud spirits,

¹ Stella Clericorum, cuilibet clero summè necessaria : Lipsie, 1516.

² Narrenschiff, Navicula, sive Speculum Fatuorum. In hoc speculo veritas moralis, sub figuris, sub vulgari et vernacula lingua nostrâ Teutonica, sub verbis, similitudinibusque aptis et pulchris, sub rhythmis quoque concinnis et instar cymbalorum concinnentibus : Strasb. 1510.

who, struck with the disorders they saw prevailing in the Church, especially in her ministers, did not believe the promises of her eternal duration could subsist in the midst of such abuses ; whereas, the Son of God had taught to respect the chair of Moses, notwithstanding the evil actions of the Scribes and Pharisees who sat therein (Matt. xxiii. 2, 3). These became proud, and thereby weak, yielding to the temptation which inclines to hate the chair itself, in hatred to those who sat upon it ; and, as if the wickedness of man could make void the work of God, the aversion they had conceived against the teachers, made them both hate the doctrines they taught, and the authority they had received from God to teach.”¹

At the Council of Basle, Cardinal Julian said to Pope Eugenius IV., in speaking of the disorders among the German clergy :—

“ These disorders excite the hatred of the people against the whole ecclesiastical order ; and should they not be corrected, it is to be feared lest the laity, like the Hussites, should rise against the clergy, as they loudly threaten us.”²

He predicted, if the clergy of Germany were not quickly reformed, that after the heresy of Bohemia, and when it would be extinct, another still more dangerous would soon succeed. “ For it will be said,” he continued, “ that the clergy are incorrigible, and will apply no remedy to their disorders ; they will fall upon us when they shall have no longer any hopes of our amendment. The minds of men are pregnant with expectation of what measures will be adopted, and are ready for the birth of something tragic. The rancour they have imbibed against us becomes manifest ; they will soon think it an agreeable sacrifice to God to abuse and rob ecclesiastics, as abandoned to extreme disorders, and hateful to God and man. The little respect now remaining for the ecclesiastical orders will soon be extinguished. Men will cast the blame of these abuses on the court of Rome, which will be considered the cause of them, because it had neglected to apply the necessary remedy. The axe is at the

¹ Bossuet, History of the Variations, edition and translation previously cited, p. 31.

² Bossuet, *ut supra*, p. 28.—Epist. Jul. Card. ad Eug. IV. in op. *AEn. Sil.* pp. 66, 67.

root,—the tree begins to bend ; and instead of propping it whilst in our power, we accelerate its fall.....bodies and souls will perish together. God hides from us the prospect of our dangers, as he is accustomed to do with those whom he destines for punishment : we run into the fire which we see lighted before us.”¹

At Rome, at the very time when Luther entered the monastery, the poet Baptista Mantuan gave utterance to similar complaints. Addressing Julius II., and speaking of the remedies required to correct the state of the Church, he said : “Recall to yourself the example of your illustrious predecessors, Gregory, Leo the Great, Sylvester, and so many others whom your noble heart is so qualified to adopt as models : support with your shoulders an edifice which threatens to fall. All who love you desire to see you put your hand to the work.”²

Now, it must be openly declared, Julius II. had not waited for the poet’s invocation to set himself to the task ; but he died before he was able to accomplish it. He had summoned to the Lateran a council, for the express purpose of devising remedies for the evils of the Church. For many years Rome had pursued a clerical reformation. That word had no fears for her ; she had pronounced it under Nicolas V., Sixtus IV., and Innocent VIII. In the midst of all the storms which threatened at the same moment the double sovereignty of the pope, Julius II. was incessantly occupied with the necessities of Christendom. In this he was imitated by his successor.

Some of the measures of reform which the popedom undertook were accordingly these :—

After the example of Alexander III., Leo X. desired that thenceforth none should be raised to the priesthood but men of ripe years, exemplary conduct, and who had gone through a long course of study.³

¹ Bossuet, p. 28.—Jul. Card. 67, 68, 77.

² “ Veterum reminiscere patrum ;
Gregorium pone ante oculos, Magnumque Leonem,
Sylvestrum, et reliquos, quorum est imitabilis alto
Vita animo, regnoque humeros suppone labenti :
Qui te cumque colunt, optant haec cernere et istud
Expectant ardenter opus.”

See Confirmatory Evidence, No. V.

³ “ Ut atas, morum gravitas ac litterarum scientia in personis promovendis in episcopos ac abbates, diligenter inquirantur.”—Sessio nona, Bulla reformationis curie.

He desires that there should be no discussion, as was the custom at Florence, of vain questions as to the nature of the soul : the soul is immortal. He prohibits the assertion that there was but one soul diffused through all,¹ as had been done in some of the Italian universities : to each individual, at his birth, God gives an imperishable soul.² That science of theology which he loves to exalt, and which is called the mistress of learning, had been too much neglected : it must be revived. That Platonic philosophy which had seduced himself must be expelled. Thenceforward, whoever should wish to dedicate himself to the service of the altar, must be conversant with the fathers and the canons. Yet that learning, great as it is, will not entitle a man to receive holy orders, unless his life shall be exemplary. It is imperative, that once admitted to the sacred ministry, the priest must lead a chaste and pious life ; he must not only abstain from doing evil, but be removed beyond the suspicion of being able to commit it ; his life must shine as a lamp before men, that God may be honoured by his works.³

So much for the priests : but when it is question of a dignitary of the Church, how much more exacting is the pope !

He desires that the abode of a cardinal shall be as a harbour, a home of hospitality, open to all men of wealth and of learning, all poor nobility, and people of virtuous life.⁴

The table of a prelate must be simple, frugal, modest ; neither luxury nor avarice must rule in his house ; his servants shall be few ; he shall constantly keep his eye upon them ; punish their irregularities, and reward their good behaviour.⁵

If he has priests in his service, they shall be treated as honourable guests.⁶

Whoever knocks at his door he shall consider his client, and

¹ “*Damnamus et reprobamus omnes asserentes animam unicam esse in cunctis hominibus.*”—Sessio octava.

² “*Cum pro corporum quibus infunditur multitudine singulariter multiplicabilis et multiplicanda, et multiplicanda sit.*”—Sessio octava.

³ “*Ita sobri, castè ac piè vivat, ut non solum à malo, sed ab omni etiam specie mali abstinenſ coram hominibus luceat, Deumque imprimis operibus honorificet.*”—Sessio nona, de Cardinalibus.

⁴ “*Cum domus cardinalium patens hospitium portusque ac refugium proborum et doctorum maximè virorum et pauperum nobilium, honestarumque personarum esse debeat.*”—Sessio nona, de Cardinalibus.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ “*Ne in vilia descendant ministeria.*”—Ibid.

shall refuse to be his advocate at the court if he seeks for place or preferment ; if, on the contrary, he demands justice, he shall intercede for him. He must be ever ready to plead the cause of the poor and the orphan.¹

If he has poor relations, justice demands that he shall assist them, but never at the expense of the Church.²

A bishop ought to reside in his diocese ; and if he has intrusted its temporal administration to men of tried character, to visit it at least once annually, with a view to ascertain the wants of his Church, and the conduct of his clergy.³

In dying, he should not forget that his well-beloved daughter, the Church which he served, has a claim to proofs of his gratitude.

There shall be no vain pomp at his interment : whatever he leaves belongs to the poor ; and his heirs must not expend more than 1,500 florins on the funeral ceremonies.⁴

One should read every line of this pontifical decree on the cardinalate to see how carefully Leo X. descends to the minutest details relating to the private life of prelates in their palaces ; their intercourse with their domestics, relations, and clients ; their conduct in the church, in their diocese ; down to their very table.

So, then, it was not a reformation applicable only to the poor priest which the pope demanded, but one that extended to those in red or violet. "The field of the Lord," said Leo X. in 1514, "ought to be thoroughly upturned, in order to produce new fruits."⁵

He must be heard uniting his voice to that of Germany and France, and admitting that daily from all parts of the Christian world complaints are received as to the extortions of the Roman chancery.⁶ Hutten is more bitter, but not more explicit. The pope, then, loudly demands, so as to be heard far beyond the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the distant ocean, that from that instant

¹ Sessio nona.

² Ibid.

³ Sessio nona.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ "Nostra firma intentio et dispositio universalem reformationem, tanquam utiliem et necessariam, ad Domini agri purgationem et culturam, omnino prosequi et perficere."—Sessio septima.

⁶ "Graves in dies querelæ contra officialium Romanæ curiæ abscissum et extortiones ad nos deferuntur ex diversis orbis partibus."—Sessio septima.

the exchequer shall be reformed,¹ that it shall cease to be oppressive to those who have recourse to it, and shall become, as it formerly was in the infancy of the Church.²

But in order to attain to this purity of ancient times, it was requisite that the neophytes destined for the service of the altar should receive a severe, chaste, and religious education.

At Florence, Rome, and throughout Italy, it was considered, at the revival of letters, that sufficient had been done for the cultivation of the mind, when the scholar had been taught to read Virgil or Theocritus, to know the gods of Ovid, and translate the dreams of Plato. It was the wish of Leo X. that thenceforward the soul should not be contented with an education so purely sensual. She must learn that she was created by God to love and serve Him ; that she should practise the law of Christ, sing in the church our sacred hymns, chant at vesper-tide the psalms of the royal prophet, and peruse each night the acts and deeds of those Christian heroes whom the Church inscribes among her fathers, doctors, martyrs, and anchorites. He desired that children should know by heart the decalogue, the commandments of God, the articles of faith, in short, their catechism ; and that, under the direction of their masters, lay-pupils or clerks should attend mass, vespers, and lectures, and occupy the Sundays and festivals in praising the Lord.³

The decrees of the Council of Lateran have not been sufficiently studied. Let any one open the valuable book in which Rinaldi has published them, and he will see how unjust were Hutten's complaints. They said at Wittemberg that the papacy refused to listen to the groans of the German Church. Observe, then, in this work the papacy represented in the person of Leo X., whose zeal made the Lateran ring for the glory of Catholicism. Here the pope requires that the votes of the fathers shall be secret, in order that they may in complete freedom expose their grievances, draw up their complaints, and propose their remedies :

¹ "In exigendis taxa, emolumentis, regalibus et preventibus." — Sessione septima.

² "Juxta primævas officiorum institutiones seu antiquas consuetudines." — Sessione septima.

³ "Verum etiam docere teneantur ea que ad religionem pertinent, ut sunt precepta divina, articuli fidei, sacri hymni et psalmi, ac sanctorum vita." — Reformationes curiae et aliorum.

there he spontaneously urges the abolition of the too weighty taxes of the Roman chancery ; in another place he arranges with the council the appointment of legates, heralds of peace to foreign princes. In one page of this excellent work, the pope insists that the cardinals and abbots shall restore at their own cost the altars destroyed during civil wars ; in another, every prelate is ordered, according to his resources, to contribute to the expenses of that glorious crusade which the Holy See had for more than a century preached against the infidels. Read these noble lines : “Princes, give to each other the kiss of peace ; you have only one enemy to contend with, the Turk, who threatens Christendom.” He then addresses himself to the clergy : “Henceforward no one shall enter the holy ministry, unless he has gone through a course of theological studies.” Turn the page : Erasmus shall no longer ridicule the ignorance of the mendicant friars : none of them shall be at liberty to preach the divine word unless he complies with the conditions prescribed,¹ and for which his superior shall be responsible, on peril of his conscience,—mature age, probity, learning, prudence, exemplary conduct. These wise regulations are addressed to the whole Church : the bishops of the Christian provinces are required to enforce the decrees of the Lateran, and in provincial councils or synods assembled, at least every three years, to be occupied with reforming the manners of those within their respective dioceses, and the discussion of controverted cases of conscience.² But they are enjoined to remember the beautiful language of Scripture : “Pour, like the Samaritan, oil and wine into the sinner’s wounds, that he may not say of you, with Jeremiah : ‘Is there no balm in Gilead ? Is there no physician there ?’”³

At the period of the revival of letters, when the philosophy

¹ “Ut nullus tam clericus secularis quam cujuscumque etiam mendicantium ordinis regularis, aut quivis alius ad quem facultas praedicandi, tam de jure quam de privilegio aut alijs pertinet, ad hujus modi officium exercendum admittatur, nisi prius per superiore suum respectivè diligenter examinatus (in qua re conscientiam ipsius superioris oneramus) ac morum honestate, estate, doctrina, probitate, prudentia et vita exemplaritate ad illud aptus et idoneus reperiatur.”—Sessio undecima.

² Sessio decima.

³ “Salutifero olei et vini medicamine ad instar Samaritani in Evangelio sollicitam operam impendamus, ne nobis illud Jeremie objiciatur : ‘Numquid resina non est in Galaad, aut medicus non alibi ?’”—Sess. VIII.—Labbe et Cossart, Col. Conciliorum, con. Lat., p. 187, tom. xiv. Parisiis, folio.

of Plato passed from Greece to Italy, almost every man of learning studied astrology ; the Florentine school, represented by Benivieni, Marsilius Ficinus, and other priests of Santa Maria del Fiore, publicly taught it in their verses ; the preacher even discoursed of it while explaining from the pulpit the Gospel of the Sunday. At Rome, the monks predicted the end of the world, which they read in the stars. Leo X., in the name of religion, protested against these superstitions, and forbade them to alarm the minds of the faithful by pictures drawn from an imaginary world. Machiavelli, speaking of the Florentines, says, “They are not children, and yet they believe the predictions of Savonarola.” The pope would not permit the clergy to play in the pulpit the part of the Dominican. He had observed what advantage infidelity might gain from these supernatural discoveries which certain people wished to claim, and he forbade, with all his authority, confirmed by the assent of the Sacred Council, that any teacher in pulpit, cloister, or by book, should presume to foretell events which were known to God alone.¹ There was need of the sovereign authority to protest against superstitions which were disseminated as truths, not only in some Italian universities, but even in the German monasteries. Thus it was that at Spanheim, on the banks of the Rhine, its abbot, Trithemius, whose orthodoxy and whose learning were undoubted, and who was respected by Julius II., had announced the secret of putting himself, by means of celestial agencies, in communication with absent individuals. Not that the pope denies that God may reveal himself to some favoured persons, and that these persons may be able to foretell the future ; he has said it, he believes it, and he formally declares it ; but he wishes that they shall prove these spirits which announce future events, and that the revelations which the Holy Spirit may communicate to

¹ “ Mandante omnibus...ut evangelicam veritatem et sanctam scripturam, juxta declarationem, interpretationem et ampliationem doctorum, quos Ecclesia vel usus diuturnus approbat, legendosque hactenus recepit, et in posterum recipiet, praedicent et explanent ; nec quidquam ejus proprio sensu contrarium aut dissonum adjiciant, sed illis semper insistant quae ab ipsius sacrae Scripturae verbis et prefatorum doctorum interpretationibus ritè et sànd intellectis non discordant, tempus quoque præfixum futurorum malorum, vel Antichristi adventum, aut certum diem judicii prædicare, vel asserere nequaquam presumant.”

them, should be submitted to him to whom God said by the lips of his Anointed, "Thou art Peter."

In his high enthusiasm for that pagan literature of which the scholars, at the revival of letters, followed out the glorification, the man of learning had too frequently set aside the language of the Scriptures, in speaking of God, of Christ, his mother, and the angels. It seemed to him that when he had applied to the Saviour of men epithets taken from Homer or Virgil, the celestial power ought to appear to the mind in a more luminous form. Unfortunate caprice, from which theologians themselves have not always escaped ! It was necessary to teach these fanatical worshippers of antiquity a lesson ; and this was given to them in the Council of Lateran. In that the language of the Gospel constantly is employed ; the sacred writings are the source of its inspiration ; the images of which it makes use are taken from the Old and New Testaments. Once only, in the tenth Session, a veteran admirer of the classics, the archbishop of Patras, abandoned humble prose to praise in verse the queen of angels ; but his poetical invocation contains not a single expression deserving of the censure of the most severe casuist.¹ The poor septuagenarian, "whose lute gives only plaintive sounds," apologizes for himself so frankly, in his appeal to the muse to celebrate Mary, that it would be extremely difficult not to forgive him.

Luther, whose journey to Italy we have mentioned, on his return to Germany set forth wonders which he neither had, nor could have seen. We do not speak of the high orders of the Roman clergy, so nobly represented at the period when Luther travelled, and whose learning he slanders, to the merriment of his disciples, who believed in the ignorance of such men as Cardinals Caraffa, Frégosa, or Piccolomini ; but that Christ whom he claimed to reveal to the Christian world, which had

¹ "Omnium splendor, decus et perenne
Virginum lumen, genitrix Superni,
Gloria humani generis Maria
Unica nostri;
Sola tu virgo dominaris astris;
Sola tu terra, maris atque coli
Lumen, inceptis faveas, rogamus,
Inculta nostris." — Sessio decima.

so long forgotten him.¹ Was Luther then ignorant of these acts of this Council of Lateran, in each page of which the blood of the God-man is glorified, invoked, and adored ? Open them, and you will see the pope, archbishops, bishops, prelates, and abbots, bow at that sacred name, and repeat these beautiful words of the apostle, “ For other foundation no man can lay, but that which is laid ; which is Christ Jesus.” (1 Cor. ch. iii. v. xi.) He had only recently visited Italy, and had not seen there the numerous symbols of the Roman faith in Christ the Redeemer, sculptured or painted on the walls of the churches ; those chalices suspended near every pulpit ; those crosses reared at almost every corner of the streets ; those good shepherds, placed on the fronts of houses, bearing on their shoulders the reclaimed sheep ; and all these hymns in stone, in marble, or in wood, which sang of the blood of Golgotha !

Thus, then, to all these complaints alternately devout and menacing, against the disorders of the clergy, sent forth from Germany, Rome had replied as she was bound to do, by prescribing a reformation. And certainly on this head it is admitted by the historian Menzel, whom the spirit of truth so often guides, that there can be no doubt that the illustrious and learned men assembled in the Council of Lateran were fully aware of the evils of the Church, and were animated with an ardent desire to remedy them.²

A monk was to put a stop to that glorious redemption.

¹ “ Unser Evangelium hat, Gott Lob, viel grosses Gutes geschafft ; es hat zuvor Niemand gewusst, was das Evangelium, was Christus was ein Christ, was Kreuz sey.”—Luther’s Werke, Jen. tom. v. fol. 306 ; Nürn. tom. vii. fol. 288.

² Menzel, Neuere Geschichte der Deutschen, tom. i. p. 3.—See the evidence of a great number of Protestants upon this question, collected by Hoenninghaus in the work which has been translated in France under the title of *La Réforme contre la Réforme*, tom. i. c. vii. (Meiner Erinnerungen, &c.)

CHAPTER IX.

THE THESES. 1517, 1518.

Luther is alarmed by the noise occasioned by his preaching.—Is afraid of the archbishop of Mayence, and writes to him denouncing Tetzel's discourses.—His letter is unanswered.—He writes to different prelates.—Scultetus, bishop of Brandenburg, sends the abbot of Lehnin to request the monk to be silent.—Luther promises, and deceives the bishop.—He posts his theses on the walls of the collegiate church of Wittemberg.—Specimen of these theses.—How various Catholic writers have been mistaken in regard to Luther's intentions.—Effect of the Augustinian's manifesto on the learned and the people.—Erasmus at first seems to approve of it.—Hutten prints the philosopher's letter, but tampers with it.

LUTHER's sermon in the church of Wittemberg was regarded as the first breath of life and of new regeneration. No one suspected the ways into which the Saxon was to lead the world ; God alone knew it.

Luther was alarmed by the sound which his preaching had made. A powerful censure might call his work in question, and suppress it prematurely ; this censure was that of the archbishop of Mayence, prince of the house of Brandenburg, and elector of the empire, whose favour, or at least whose silence, it behoved him to gain. He wrote to him ; his letter is humble and pious, like that of a monk accustomed, at the elevation, to kiss the floor of the church.

"Venerable father in Christ," he writes, "forgive me, most illustrious prince, if I, who am but dust and clay, presume to lift my eyes to your highness, and address to you this letter. Jesus, my Lord, is my witness that, long impressed with a sense of my weakness and my sins, I have delayed to execute the task which I now undertake unblushingly, compelled thereto by the duty which I owe to my father in Christ Jesus ; deign, therefore, your highness, to regard this grain of sand, and accept my vows in your paternal clemency.

"Indulgences are hawked about under the name and august title of your highness, for the building of St. Peter's at Rome.

I say nothing of the preachers' discourses, which I have not heard, but I complain bitterly of the error into which they lead the weak minds who believe, ignorantly, that in purchasing these letters of plenary indulgence they ensure their salvation ; that their souls escape from purgatory in proportion as they contribute to the purse of the preacher ; and that these indulgences possess a virtue so great, that there is no sin, however great, according to the belief of these misguided people, not even an outrage on the mother of God, were that possible, which they cannot remit.

" Oh God ! it is thus that they instruct, by delivering them over to death, the souls intrusted to your care. How it will add to the account which you must one day give of their salvation ! I have been unable any longer to contain myself. No, there is no prelatic power which can assure man of his salvation ; the grace of God within us is not of itself a sufficient security, since the apostle commands us to work out incessantly our own salvation in fear and trembling, and that even the just can scarcely be secure "¹

The archbishop made no reply. Luther had, some days previously, written in nearly the same terms to the bishop of Misnia, who recommended to him prudence in a matter so delicate. " This evidently proves," said Luther afterwards, " that the bishop was then possessed of the devil."² A third letter, addressed to the bishop of Brandenburg, Jerome Scultetus, probably about the beginning of October, was more successful. Scultetus, from his studies, belonged to the party of the scholars. He was alarmed on perusing Luther's manuscript sermon and theses ; and accordingly sent to him a person of learning and orthodoxy,³ with a letter, in which the bishop complimented the monk's erudition, expressed his dissatisfaction with Tetzel, and begged Luther, for the sake of peace, to forget what had passed.

¹ Dr. Martin Luther's Briefe, tom. i. pp. 67, 68.—See Confirmatory Evidence, No. VI.

² " Da redete der leibhaftige Teufel aus diesem Bischoffe."—Tisch-Reden, p. 378.

³ Hofmann, Lebensbeschreibung des Ablasspredigers Dr. Joh. Tetzel : Leipzig, 1844, p. 81, note. •

"His Grace implores you," said the abbot of Lehnin, "not to publish your letter on indulgences."¹

This entreaty moved the heart of Luther, who replied, "I am willing; I shall do as his Grace wishes; for I prefer obedience to the working of miracles."²

The abbot of Lehnin took leave of the doctor; but the sermon on indulgences was published. The monk wrote to Langius, "I am unwilling that they should believe me to be so weak, so hypocritical I should say, as to follow their advice, and not publish my discourse. The will of God be done. Away with the interested prudence of men!"³

A few days after this interview, Luther, who preferred obedience to miracles, posted his theses on the door of the church of All Saints at Wittemberg.

The collegiate church of Wittemberg is dedicated in honour of All Saints. The 1st of November was a high festival; many pilgrims came from distant quarters to visit the basilica, venerate the numerous relics which it contained, and gain the indulgences which Pope Boniface, in 1398, had granted to those who, after confession, should devoutly communicate, or visit the appointed stations in certain chapels. The elector Frederick of Saxony, and his brother, the duke John, annually devoted large sums for the repair of this edifice, which was in a ruinous state. In proof of his acknowledgment of the piety of these princes, Leo X. had conceded farther indulgences, in his bull of 1516, to the faithful of Wittemberg. That bull threatened with the indignation of the holy apostles and the divine displeasure whoever should dare to deny the efficacy of those spiritual graces which the Holy See, according to custom, granted to repentant Christians.⁴

¹ "Lutherus griff die Kirchen-Gewalt an, und würde sich viel Mithähe machen, er riethe ihm, er müsse mit seiner Predigt noch eine Zeitlang zurück halten."—Vogel, Tetzel's Leben, p. 285.

² "Abbas Leninesis nomine D. episcopi Brandenburgensis ad me attulit referens . . . mihi mandato ejusdem nostri se optare et petere . . . de Indulgentiis sermonem vulgarem editum, valde nollet nec vendendum rogavit . . . Bene sum contentus, malo obediare quām miracula facere."—De Wette, tom. i. l. c. p. 71.

³ "Non itaque volo eam ex me expectent humilitatem, id est hypocrisin, ut prius eorum consilio et decreto mihi utendum esse credam quām edam: nolo quād hominis industria, aut consilio, sed Dei fiat quod facio."—11 Nov. 1517.

⁴ Seckendorf, Commentarius, &c. Dresserus de Festis. Melanchthon in Vita Lutheri. Meisner's Jubel-Pred. p. 61.

It was a daring step for Luther to post up a revolutionary notice on one of the pillars of the church of All Saints, and on a day like the 1st of November, when the church could not hold the crowd, which extended beyond its walls ; on a day when the university, the different monasteries and convents, the elector Frederick and his court, and the learned of the city, came to assist at the holy sacrifice. It was an old custom in the university to have a discussion on the eve of certain festivals, on some matter of dogma, with a view to attract a larger auditory. Staupitz and the professors were amazed when they became aware of Luther's determination ; they would have been glad of the renown conferred upon their Order by this eloquent monk, but of the renown unattended by the anger of the authorities. Now they were not quite certain of the disposition of the Elector, since he had so strongly disapproved of the sermon against Tetzel. It appears that, for greater effect, Luther had at first intended to write his theses in German ; his utmost concession was to publish them in a language unintelligible to the common people.

At midnight of 31st October, 1517, the porter of the monastery posted upon the outer pillars of the church of All Saints the manifesto of the Augustinian friar. It was thus headed :—

“ For the sake and love of truth, the following theses will be maintained at Wittemberg, under the presidency of the reverend father Luther, of the Order of St. Augustine, Master of Arts and Theology, and reader in ordinary there. Wherefore it is requested, that those who are personally unable to discuss them verbally with us, will do so by writing. In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.”¹

Then follow the propositions, in number ninety-five. We quote some of them.²

1. When our Lord and master, Jesus Christ, says : Do

¹ “ Amore et studio elucidandæ veritatis hæc subscripta themata disputabuntur Wittembergæ, presidente Rev. patre Luthero Eremitano Augustiniano, artium et S. Theologie Magistro, ejusdem ibidem ordinario lectore.”

“ Quare petit, ut qui non possint verbis presentes nobiscum disceptare, agant id litteris absentes. In nomine D. N. Jesu-Christi. Amen.”

² See the original propositions in Confirmatory Evidence, No. VII.

penance, he desires that the life of the faithful should be one of constant penance.

2. He has unquestionably not spoken of the sacrament of confession, that is to say, confession to a priest, and the satisfaction imposed by him.

3. And He does not mean an inward repentance, merely, which is insufficient unless accompanied by mortification of the flesh.

5. The pope is neither willing nor able to remit other punishments than those imposed by himself or by authority of the canons of the Church.

6. The pope does not remit any sin, he only declares that it is remitted by God.

7. God pardons no man, except to the extent that man humiliates himself

8. The penitential canons, that is the practice of confession and penance, are for the living only, and not for the dead.

13. The dead, in quitting this world, have satisfied the canonical judgments, which can no longer affect them.

19. The souls in purgatory are not assured of their salvation, however we who are on earth may be certain of it.

21. The preachers of indulgences err, in thinking that the pope can absolve the soul from all satisfaction, and open heaven to it.

25. Bishops and clergy have the same power in purgatory as the pope has.

26. If the pope can relieve souls in purgatory, it must be by prayer, and not by the power of the keys.

27. They cheat us by preaching that as soon as a piece of money clinks in the plate, a soul flies from its purgatorial confinement.

28. What is most certain is, that they who receive the money turn it to their own advantage ; the assistance which the Church can procure them, comes from the grace of God alone.

29. And who knows if every soul would desire to be delivered from purgatory ; for example, as is narrated of Saints Severinus and Paschal ?

32. Both teacher and disciples will be condemned, who

imagine that by a letter of indulgence they can insure their own salvation.

33. Away with such as assert that indulgences are the greatest graces of God, or the gift which reconciles us to Him !

34. For the grace of indulgences solely refers to the penalty of sacramental satisfaction, which is purely the work of man.

35. It is a sinful doctrine, that they who have purchased a bill of indulgence, or delivered souls from purgatory, have no need of repentance.

38. We must not undervalue the pardon of the pope, which is, as I have said, a declaration of divine forgiveness.

41. Papal indulgences must be preached with caution, in order that the people should not ignorantly overvalue, or prefer them to works of charity.

43. Christians should be taught that he who gives to the poor, or assists the needy, does better than he who purchases indulgences.

45. Christians should be taught that he who leaves his neighbour in need, and purchases indulgences, does not give his money for a bill of pardon, but for the anger of God.

46. They should be taught that, unless abounding in superfluity, they should keep their money for domestic wants, and not expend it in the purchase of indulgences.

47. They should be informed that the purchasing of indulgences is a matter entirely optional, and not a divine injunction.

48. They should be told that the pope, in selling indulgences, has great need of prayers, and stands more in want of them than of money.

50. Christians should be taught that if the pope were aware of the frauds of these pardon-mongers, he would infinitely prefer to see St. Peter's in ashes, than have it built with the skin, the flesh, and the blood of his sheep.

52. It is folly to hope for salvation from a letter of indulgence, even though the vendor or the pope himself were to pledge his soul for its efficacy.

55. If the pope considers it necessary to promulgate indulgences, which are so trivial, with the ringing of a bell, hymns

and processions, his duty is to announce the gospel, which is so great and important, with the peals of a hundred bells, and as many hymns and processions.

56. The treasury of the Church, whence the pope draws his indulgences, is not sufficiently known to the faithful.

62. That treasury is the holy Gospel, the gift of the glory and grace of God.

63. But this is abhorred, because of the first it makes the last.

64. While the treasury of indulgences is most pleasant, because of the last it makes the first.

65. The Gospel treasures are nets whereby, formerly, men of wealth were caught.

66. While the treasures of indulgence are nets in which the wealth of men is now caught.

67. The indulgences which the preachers trumpet forth, are a rich treasury of grace undoubtedly for those whose pockets they fill.

71. Whoever speaks against the truth of the apostolic pardons, let him be anathema.

72. But blessings on him who makes it his business to denounce the licence and language of the preachers of indulgences.

79. To say that the cross to which the pope's arms are attached has as much value as the cross of Christ, is blasphemy.

81. The end of all this licentious preaching of indulgences is, that it will not be easy, even for men of learning, to defend the honour of the Holy See, or to answer such questions as,

82. Why does not the pope at once empty purgatory, in pity for the sufferings of the souls there confined, and of his most sacred charity, which would be a hundred times better than to open heaven to them for a few wretched florins, designed for the building of St. Peter's?

86. Why does not the pope, who is richer than Croesus, build St. Peter's with his own money, rather than with that of poor Christians?

89. If the pope is desirous of the salvation of souls by pardons rather than by money, why does he suspend the letters and pardons formerly conceded, which are equally efficacious?

91. If indulgences were preached according to the meaning and intention of the pope, it would be easy to answer these questions.

92. Away, then, with those preachers who say to the faithful in Christ, "Peace, peace," and there is no peace!

Since the prophetic appeal of the Bohemian priest at the stake, never had language more insulting to Rome rang through Germany. The scholars, burgesses, and nobles, believed that the swan foretold by Huss had appeared. Voltaire has said that in the Middle Ages, "The papacy was public opinion." The sensation occasioned by these theses may therefore be imagined. It was a challenge thrown to the papacy in face of the whole world. Luther, who knew well what agitation he was about to excite, had taken pains to exhibit himself to Germany as a monk "quite recently emerged from the kitchen of the cloister," who, on the bench of the school, throws everything that passes through his head, good or bad, into the form of doubts; as an adept in theology, a critic of words, who likes to amuse himself, above all things, with the temper and the ignorance of his opponents. "Upon my salvation," said Luther, on a subsequent occasion, "at that time I knew no more what an indulgence was, than those who came to inquire of me."¹ It was a game which he played. If he lost his throw, he had for excuse his age, his small experience in the matter, and the protestation moreover which he published with his paradoxes; but if his adversary, who represented Rome, was beaten, Rome, in his opinion, fell. His protestation was humble, obsequious, and that of a true son of the Church, who was desirous of acknowledging as the truth what rested on the sacred Scriptures, the fathers, decretals and canons, and who only sought to dispute those points which were doubtful or ambiguous in certain opinions of the fathers or papal decretals; always submitting to his superiors, but wishing to avail himself of the liberty pertaining to all Christians, to combat the vain imaginings which, in the writings of St. Thomas, St. Bonaventura, and other schoolmen and canonists, did not rest upon the text of

¹ . . . "Und ich, so wahr mich mein Herr Christus erlö'st hat, wusste ich nicht, was der Ablass wäre."—Luth. Op. tom. vii. Alt. p. 462.

the Bible ; in accordance with the words of St. Paul : " Try all things ; hold to that which is good."¹

But at the very same time, namely, November 11th, in a letter to Langius, he abuses those who impugn his theses, calling them buffoons, wretched critics, sciolists, earthworms. Now these earthworms, wretched critics, and knaves were the archbishop of Mayence, his bishop Scultetus, and the prelates of Saxony. The protestation of submission was for the public ; the letter for his bosom friend ; in the eyes of Germany he seemed an obedient monk, in private with Langius, he seriously observed the rules of the game which he had resolved to play.²

Some Catholic authors, not having studied history carefully, or perhaps from not having had, like ourselves, the correspondence of Luther before them, are mistaken as to the monk's motives. According to them, if Luther erred on this occasion, it was from excess of zeal ; such is the opinion of Alphonsus de Castro.³ So, like Laurence Surius, pious and learned individuals at first regarded Luther merely as an opponent, too hasty, perhaps, of an abuse lamented by Christendom.⁴ A Protestant author, Schroeck, whose impartiality we shall often have occasion to commend, considers that in his theses Luther still believed in the papal supremacy, was obedient to the Church, did not repudiate indulgences, and was quite disposed to yield to the judgment of his superiors.⁵

We must not overlook that there was a double individuality in Luther. That which was required to introduce itself to the world is gentle, obsequious, even to servility. To the messenger

¹ "Submittit se in eis scripturis, patribus in Ecclesiâ Românâ receptis, canonibus et decretis et omnium superiorum suorum iudicio ; itâ ut si errare possit, hereticus tamen non sit futurus : à Thomâ enim, Bonaventurâ aliorumque scholasticorum et canonistarum nudis opinionebus, quæ textu et probatione destituerentur, dissentire liberum sibi esse."—Seckendorf, l. c. p. 24.—Reinhard, l. c. t. i. p. 297.

² "Momus, momorum Momus. . . . Meri critici, Aristarchi, momorum lemures."—Johanni Lango, 11 Nov.—De Wette, l. c. t. i. p. 72.

³ "Ab indulgentiis suorum errorum auspicium sumpat. . . . zelo, sed non secundum discretionem motus, in publicum prodiit."—Adversus hereses, sub voce Absolutio, l. 11.

⁴ "In ipsis hujus tragedie initii, visus est Lutherus etiam plerisque viris gravibus et eruditis non peccimo telo moveri, planèque nihil spectare aliud quam ecclesie reformationem, cuius quidam deformes abusus non parùm male habebant omnes."—In Appendice ad Chronicon Naucleri, l. 11, p. 566.

⁵ Schröckh, Christl. Kirchen-Geschichte, t. i. p. 129.

of the bishop of Brandenburg, it says, "His grace shall be satisfied with me, I shall obey, and scorn to work miracles ; I dispute and affirm not ; let the Church pronounce upon it, and I submit."¹

The other individuality, that proud egotism which desired to make a noise, and intended a rupture with Rome, explains itself frankly, but in the silence of the cloisters. At night, by the gleam of the small lamp, it writes : "To you, Spalatinus, and to our friends, I declare that indulgences are mere mummeries. I know well that I excite against myself six hundred minotaurs, Rhadamanthotaurs, and cacotaurs, but what is that to me?"²

The propositions, consequently, went forth to disturb Germany ; "they spread," to use the words of Myconius, "as if angels had borne them upon their wings."³

They soon fell into the hands of Erasmus, who perused them with intense curiosity. Erasmus was then in the height of his fame, making war against the monastic orders. The monks appeared to him to be the apostles of ignorance, and he amused himself by pursuing them with his sarcasms, which circulated everywhere, to the delight of the learned. The Augustinians were favoured by the approbation bestowed by the philosopher of Rotterdam on the propositions, in which at first he saw only the keen pleasantries of a scholar against the monks. He looked upon the question as a mere pin-point engagement ; when the combat took another form, Erasmus hastened to disavow and abandon Luther.

But he had praised the theses, and that of itself was enough to make them popular. In a letter addressed to the archbishop of Mayence, he said : "Do you know, my lord, why these theses make so much noise ? It is because they attack those

¹ Hieronymo, Ecclesiae Brandenburgensis episcopo, 23 Maii, 1518.—De Wette, l. c. t. i. p. 112—115.

² "Duo tamen dicam printum tibi soli et amicis nostris, donec res publicetur : Mihi in indulgentiis hodiè videri non esse nisi animarum illusionem et nihil prorsus utiles esse nisi stertentibus et pigris in via Christi. Etsi hanc sententiam non tenet noster Carlostadius, certum est tamen mihi quid eas nihil ducit. Nam hujus illusionis sustollendie gratia, ego veritatis amore in eum disputationis periculosem labyrinthum dedi me ipsum, et excitavi in me sexcentos Minotauros, imò et Rhadamanthotauros et cacotauros."—De Wette, 15 Feb. 1518, t. i. p. 92.

³ Also wären die Engel selbst Botenläufer.—Bertholdt, l. c. p. 298.

ignorant fellows, who are opposed to everything that tends to awake the love of learning.”¹ Some years later, Erasmus accused Lutheranism of extinguishing the flame of science. “I was deceived,” he says; “I admired the man who boldly came, chastising the manners of the age, and the empurpled prelates; who recoiled before the majesty of no power, not even of the supreme pontiff; and whose piously licentious hand uncovered the very nakedness of his father.”²

Hutten lost no time in publishing the letter of Erasmus, and did that for which he reproached the monks; he falsified the text of the Dutch philosopher, and instead of Luther, printed *our Luther*.³ This was putting in the mouth of Erasmus an expression of friendship which he did not entertain, and which under the whole circumstances he would not have had the courage to admit. Hutten did not know him; but Germany was deceived; she thought that there was a community of religious feeling between the two writers, and this was all that Hutten desired, who had indulged in many other liberties in his Letters of Obscure Men.

¹ See on this subject his Letter to Duke George, 1524, 12 December. Many prelates were at first misled like Erasmus.

² Erasmi Epist. p. 786. Die Ursachen der Reformation, von J. Marx, p. 37.

³ Pfizer, Martin Luther's Leben.

Consult further on the subject of indulgences: Catholic Authorities.—Bellarmin, tom. ii. Controv. tom. iv. de Eccles. c. xiii. f. 295; Cornelius à Lapide, in Comment. in 2 Pet. ii. 5; Cussemius, Saxonie Catholica, p. 11; Henry Sponde, Ann. Eccl. t. ii. ad an. 1517, No. 15; Surius, Comm. Rerum gestarum; Cochlaeus, Act. Lutheri. Protestant authorities.—Mayer, Disputatio de Tezelio, § 3, and Luth. Apocalyp. p. 181; Hopfnerus, Sax. Evang. p. 120 et seq.

CHAPTER X.

THE STUDENTS AND TETZEL'S THESES. 1518.

Luther's desire was to make a commotion.—How he plants himself in front of his opponents.—His journey to Dresden, where he publicly enunciates that every human action is a mortal offence against God.—He disputes at Leipzig.—Narrative which he gives of his wrangle with a Thomist.—He declares to his intimate friends that he will make war to the death with his opponents.—Tetzel goes to Frankfort on the Oder, for the purpose of maintaining the theses which he proposed to oppose to those of Luther.—Specimen of one of his propositions.—He wishes to post them up at Wittemberg.—The students rise and burn the Dominican's counter-theses.—First act of revolt against authority.—How to explain it.—Hutten and Eobanus Hessus command the insurrection.—What sort of person Eobanus Hessus was.

LUTHER's desire was to make a commotion ; and in this he succeeded. A few words dropped from an obscure chair, by a professor who had not even wherewith to cover himself in winter, and who thanked his prince for a cloak as for a marked favour, excited the Catholic world, stirred up the German monasteries, disturbed the consciences and threatened the peace of the Church ! Luther, in spite of his efforts, with difficulty conceals his delight. He disguises it thinly ; it bursts out in slanderous epithets, in the language of mockery, in contumelious terms, which the Latin, of which he was absolute master, lent him with marvellous readiness. "Minotaurs," he exclaims, "who spread about everywhere that I and the university of Wittemberg are heretics ! They shall see many others, when, by God's help, I shall have printed my Positions. Over such ignorant, illiterate, thick-headed clowns, it is no glory to triumph. There would be more in conquering oneself not to sin against Christ, in despising them. Concealed in their holes like snails or worms, they would like well that I should croak like themselves. Asinine magpies, who go about gabbling, which gives me much annoyance, that all which I do is at the instigation of the prince, who would have involved me in his hatred for the archbishop of Mayence."¹

¹ Epistola Lutheri Johanni Lango, 11 Novem.; Spalatino, in fine Novemb. et alias, 1517, 1518, t. i. De Wette.

He required to dispute ; disputation was to him like the harp of David, which soothed the tortures of his brain, his temptations, and his spleen. Luther went to Heidelberg, and betook himself to the Augustinian monastery there.¹ His voice had ascended the Rhine, and been heard over the monasteries and schools. A crowd of learned men, some of whom were afterwards to be renowned in the world of letters, had gone to hear him ; among these were Martin Bucer the Dominican, who was to deal such rude blows to the Catholic faith at Strasburg ; John Brenz, professor of philosophy and rector at Heidelberg ; Erhard Schnepf, at that time a student of law, afterwards professor of theology at Marburg, Tubingen, and Jena ; Theobald Billican (Gerlacher), of Billigheim, in the Palatinate ; all young men of learning, educated in the gloom of the cloister by the charity of the Catholic clergy. Luther disputed several days in the great hall of the monastery, in which he sacrificed to the laughter of his auditory Aristotle, Gabriel, St. Thomas, and all the casuists of the Roman school. He maintained in his theses, which he continued to style Paradoxes, "that the works even of the just are so many mortal sins ; that man, if he is free, has only liberty for sin."² Amidst the general acclamation, a young bachelor exclaimed, "If the peasantry heard us, they would stone us." Had Erasmus been present, he would have collected stones to crack the skulls of these fatalists ; the Reformation at a later date was to show that the beardless doctor was right.³ If we may believe Bucer, Luther, by the power of his eloquence, might have won over to his destructive doctrine every one present.⁴

Luther returned to Wittemberg merely to leave it again. He set out for Dresden, another city of monks, disputations, and syllogisms, but then at peace with the neighbouring universities.

¹ Lingke, l. c. p. 41.

² "Opera justorum sunt mortalia peccata.—Nulla est virtus moralis sine vel superbia, vel tristitia, id est peccato.—Non efficimur iusti operando."—See Löscher's Reformations-Akten, t. ii. pp. 48, 60.

³ Scult. Ann. Eccl. t. i. p. 22. Seckendorf, Commentarius, &c. p. 28.

⁴ "Mira Lutheri in respondendo suavitas, in audiendo incomparabilis longanimitas : in dissolvendo Pauli agnoscives acumen, non Scotti, adeo brevibus eque divine Scripturae penu depromptis responsis in sui admirationem facile cunetos adduxit."—Sculteti Ann. Eccl. f. 25.

Our "poor son of Adam," each day more miserable, daily advancing a step nearer to hell," was desirous of escaping from the sound which his name made at Wittemberg, and enjoying some pleasant hours in privacy. He set out on foot, as usual, "in wilful disobedience of the commands of his superiors, but trusting to obtain absolution by his inward contrition, and certain of satisfying God without the necessity of recourse to the virtue of indulgences."¹

On the morrow of his arrival in the Residence, Emser, an eminent Aristotelian, invited him to that species of evening entertainment then so much esteemed by the learned, and still in fashion in German cities, as our suppers were formerly. They sat down to table at sunset, and at ten o'clock returned to their dwellings.

After some pleasant and friendly conversation, they sat down upon the old oak benches.

Whether Emser had so arranged it, or accidentally, the guest next Martin was a strong Thomist, a "magisterculus Thomas-terculus," as Luther contemptuously calls him, of a pugnacious disposition, who, after several copious bumpers, would enter the lists with the stranger, and began to praise St. Thomas and Aristotle, two persons by no means agreeable to the Saxon, who looked upon the one as "a stringer together of words," and the other as a charlatan, *momum, imd momorum momum*.² The Augustinian monk interrupted the speaker by saying, "Thomas and all the Thomists in the world have never comprehended one 'chapter' of Aristotle." The Thomist changed colour, and bestowed upon Luther many angry, disdainful, and insulting epithets, to which the latter replied with surprising fluency. Emser and the rest of the party did not attempt to stop the dispute; they knew not how it would have ended, if the Lipsian had not risen quite elevated with his victory. Seeing this, Luther took him by the lappet of his gown, and stepping him,

¹ An den Probst in Leitzken, 1518.—Luther's Briefe, t. i. p. 64.

² "Me peccasse confiteor, quia pedestre viam cepi. Verum id peccati, cum sit contritio perfecta, et satisfactio mihi plenissima mihi imposita, non egit remissione indulgentiarum: vehementer fatigor.... et sic abunde nimis, valde satius conteror, ponitur et satisfacio."—Lingke, l. c. p. 39, note.

³ Suo Georgio Spalatino, 14 Jan. 1518.

said, " You shall boast of your victory afterwards ; tell me only what is the meaning of this, *implere mandata Dei*? I defy you and all the Thomists to do so." " Good," replied the other, " I accept the challenge ; but *da mihi pastum*." Luther, at this answer, laughed in the face of the poor theologian.¹

On leaving the table, he saw seated at the door a certain Dominican friar, who listened, silently eyeing the doctor askance, and then went out, telling everywhere that twenty times he had been on the point of spitting in the face of the Augustinian monk, whom the master of Leipzig had pinned down and non-plussed, both in Latin and in German.²

Such is Luther's own account abridged. We see already how the young monk of Erfurt daily increased in violence. Whoever opposes him is nothing better than a fool, a *Thomasterculus*, a scavenger.³

It was not an argument in a pothouse which Luther sought, but a regular dispute, a thesis maintained before the schools in face of day. " Here are ink, paper, and pens,"⁴ said he ; " come then to the point, aristarchs, scholastics, hobgoblins, earthworms ; show forth and parade all the brilliancy of your learning !"⁵

But the monks adopted another course. They attacked the faith of the Augustinian, especially his pride ; and it must be admitted that they had fair game.

" Pride, pride ! But without pride," replied Luther, " how attempt a new work ? If Humility were to come from heaven and begin to preach, you would see that she ran a risk of being stoned for holding forth novelties. And wherefore have Christ and the martyrs suffered death, and so many doctors the mockery of the world ? Because they were justly taxed with pride, and contempt for ancient wisdom. No, no foolish humili-

¹ *Integro viro Joh. Lango*, 11 Nov. 1517.

² *Lango*, 11 Nov. 1517.

³ " *Hic homo ex trivio.—Ostendi nec Thomam, nec omnes Thomistas simul vel unum in Aristotele intellexisse capitulum.*"—*Georgio Spalatino. De Wette*, l. c. pp. 84, 85.

⁴ " *Criticci, aristarchi, scholastici, mutuique momi... lemures nihil majoris quam lemures.*"—*Epist. Johanni Lango*, 11 Nov. 1517.

⁵ " *Ego istas larvas contempnens. . . . si sunt docti adeo, sunt typi et chartae : edant aliquid et ostendant gloriam magnificentiae eruditio[n]is sue.*"—*Spalatino*, 14 Jan. 1518.

lity, by which I mean hypocrisy!¹ I have no need of the advice of others. I only seek the counsel of God, who works with me. If God is with me, who shall be against me? If my work is from God, who shall stop it? If it comes not from God, how shall it succeed? Father, who art in heaven, thy will, not mine, be done!"

We no longer recognise Luther; a few weeks previously he had upheld humility as the mother of the virtues.

Such vanity could not pass with impunity. It is unfortunate that, in order to defend the Catholic cause, God had not at first raised up other men. The foremost who appeared were theologians versant in the learning of the fathers and the sacred books, who had grown old on the benches of disputation, and whose pens and habits had often been employed in defence of Aristotle; but that was all. They fancied they had done wonders when they had entangled their adversary in a network of arguments all of the same family, of a perfect resemblance, cut and fashioned in the same pattern; three-act dramas, devoid of life and action, at which every one scoffed, especially the Saxon, who compared them to those asses whom Abraham left behind him when he went to sacrifice.² He had never attended to dialectics. He had bounded, ridden over hill and dale, leapt ditches, halted without advice, without occasion, as he intended; without inquiring whether Aristotle followed him; without turning to see if St. Thomas lagged behind; quite wild in being freed from the trammels of the school and in walking alone, like a child who strives to do so in the absence of his nurse; and beating the nurse herself, for the amusement of people. After having exhausted sarcasm and hyperbole, he betook himself to abuse; then Luther had no rival. Indignation made him a poet. His muse vented herself in imagery clothed from history, the sacred writings, mythology, the kitchen, the pothouse, improper places frequently; images which a painter or a statuary might have embodied on the spot, so lively and striking did they fall upon the mind!

¹ "Non itaque volo eam ex me expectent humilitatem, id est hypocrisin," &c.—Lango, 11 Nov. 1517.

² "In sacris litteris ubi mera fides et superna expectatur illustratio, foris relinquendus universus syllogismus, non aliter quam Abraham sacrificatus reliquit pueros cum asinis."—Spalatino, 29 June, 1518.

The first who presented himself, as we have seen, was Tetzel, who was a clumsy hand at irony, and threw syllogisms like lead upon the skull of his opponent. Tetzel—if we are to believe the Reformers—treated the theses as he did the sermon, committing them to the flames; and when they were consumed, he projected, by way of reply to his opponent, a series of counter-propositions.

At Frankfort on the Oder, a Dominican monk, Conrad Koch, better known by the name of Wimpina, enjoyed a great theological reputation. A thorough Aristotelian, he had maintained with Pollich of Wittemberg several disputations, which made a considerable sensation. The university of Frankfort considered Wimpina their oracle. This monk spoke Latin fluently, was versant in the fathers, knew St. Thomas by heart, and quoted at all times the Stagyrite, whose writings he had ardently studied. Accordingly, Tetzel hastened to Frankfort on the Oder, for the purpose of disputing the degree of doctor, which his adversary Luther had obtained. He took with him two theses upon indulgences,—one composed of fifty propositions, the other of one hundred and six, which he formally maintained on the 15th of May.¹ It has been said that Tetzel was assisted by Wimpina in this twofold work;² but we have seen that Tetzel could dispense with such help, the office of inquisitor which he held, being, as we know, only conferred upon men of learning. Wimpina presided over these theses, which were combated with some ability by John Knipstrov, one of the audience.³

Among the propositions which Tetzel boldly upheld, there is one against which the disciples of the Lutheran school have made a great outcry. It is this: Christians should be taught that the Church holds as catholic many truths which are not plainly

¹ Vogel, l. c. p. 326.

² Ranke, l. c. t. i. p. 814.

³ Frederic Meyer, in *Vita Joh. Knipstrovii*, et in *Disputatione de Tezelio*, § 3. Prior to being attacked by Luther, Tetzel had to maintain a serious discussion against Bartholomew Bernard, of Feldkirchen. This priest Bernard was one of the first who married in Germany. On his tomb is inscribed:

"Anno Leucorei petii loca culta lycei
Quarto, conversans, sancte Lutere, tibi
Tezelii tecum deliria stulta refelli,
Ut fidei staret salvificantis honos."

—Feustking, in *Vita Barth. Bernhardi*, § 15, p. 18.

prescribed in either the Old or the New Testament.¹ Three centuries after Tetzel, one of the chief historians of Germany, Ad. Menzel, became his follower, and has not been afraid to maintain that faith and oral instruction,—in a word, tradition, is more ancient than the Scriptures, and that before the promulgation of the Gospel the Church was the depositary of a great number of the truths of salvation, which she publicly taught.²

Tetzel, in developing his proposition, maintained that there were Christians before the Bible; now, three centuries after him, the Protestant theologian J. S. Semler has word for word inculcated the same doctrine as the Dominican.³

After maintaining these theses,⁴ Tetzel resolved, in order to impress them more strongly, to affix them to the pillars of the church of Wittemberg, alongside of those of Luther.⁵

This design of the Dominican was known at the university. A poor second-hand bookseller left Halle, carrying in his wallet all Tetzel's treasure of learning and indignation. Scarcely had he set feet in Wittemberg, when a swarm of students issued from every door: they stopped him, and impeded his progress; some threatened him with cuffs, others danced round about him. They opened his bag, and seized the newly-printed propositions. Nearly eight hundred copies were torn and scattered to the winds amidst cries of "Long live Luther!" Then a student wrote on the back of the placard: "TO BE BURNT AT TWO O'CLOCK AFTER NOON!" They then paraded the streets of Wittemberg, playing with the counter-propositions, and throwing them in the faces of the passers-by. One of them having got hold of

¹ "Docendi sunt Christiani quodd Ecclesia multas tenet catholicas veritates, que in canone sacre Scripturae Veteris et Novi Testamenti, in propriâ verborum formulâ minime continentur."

² "... Glauben und Lehre waren älter als die Schrift. . . Ehe es Evangelien und Episteln gab, hatte die Kirche schon eine Summe von wesentlichen Wahrheiten."—Neuere Geschichte der Deutschen, t. i. pp. 27—33.

³ Semler, Hirsching's historisches Handbuch, t. xxii. p. 293.

⁴ They were printed, one hundred and six in number, at Frankfort on the Oder, with this title: *Quâ veritas pateat, erroresque supprimantur, redditique ratione, contra catholicam veritatem objecta solvantur, frater Johannes Tetzel, ordinis predicatorum, sacra theologiae baccalaureus, ac hereticas pravitatis inquisitor, subscriptas positiones sustinebit in florentissimo studio Franckfordensis cis Oderam. Ad laudem Dei, pro fidei catholicae defensione, obque sancte sedis apostolice honorem.*

⁵ Joh. Lango, 21 Mart. 1518. Sleidan, History of the Reformation, 4to. t. i. Roscoe's Life of Leo X. t. iii.

a trumpet, employed it like a public crier to assemble the populace, while another, mounted on a stone, cried out, bareheaded : " Notice is given, that at two o'clock will be burnt in the market-place the propositions of Mr. Tetzel, inquisitor of the faith, and priest of the order of St. Dominic. Who wishes to see the great bonfire ? Come along, comrades, to the funeral of Tetzel, in the market-place ! "¹

The students exclaimed : " Long live Luther ! Perish Tetzel ! " The people : " Long live the Doctor ! "

At two o'clock flames illuminated the market-place. The students, increasing in number as they went along, began to dance round the fire ; and one of them, with a Dominican's cap on his head, and a mask on his face, threw into the flames the theses of the monk of Frankfort. This was the signal for tumultuous rejoicing, for deafening shouts, and clapping of hands. The doctor was at that time in his cell, whither a student soon conveyed to him a half-burnt copy, which he had snatched from the flames.

The news of this *auto-da-fé* spread through Germany. Luther was loudly denounced, and accused of having instigated his pupils to burn Tetzel's Positions. He defended himself from this charge as he would from a wicked deed.² If he did not urge them to the riot, he did not hinder them, and his voice would have been powerful enough to prevent or allay it.

Besides, the Positions of Tetzel was for these students a sealed book ; but it was represented to them that indulgences were taxes levied upon the poor and suffering people by monks who led a jolly life. The indulgences accordingly were judged and condemned, and Tetzel denounced as a messenger from the devil. " Perish Tetzel ! " they exclaimed ; that is to say, ignorance clothed in bodily guise : " Long live Luther ! " that is to say, the man of learning : " Perish Tetzel ! " the representative of the past : " Long live Luther ! " the man of the times.³

¹ " Commilitones, ad funus thesiuum Tezelianarum."—Vogel, l. c. p. 325.

² " Miror autem quod etiam credere potuisti me fuisse auctorem concremationis Positionum Tezelianarum ; adeo mihi omnem sensum humanum periisse credas, ut tam insignem injuriam ego religiosus et theologo, in loco non meo, homini tanti officii irrogarem ?"—Jodoco Treuttevo. Vogel, l. c. p. 325.

³ Sein. Vita Lutheri, pp. 5, 6. Ulenberg, Historia de Vitâ Lutheri, p. 20.

Hutten and Hessus Eobanus, the two greatest poets of the period, on the news of this incremation, joined in the chorus : “ Perish Tetzel ! Long live Luther ! ”

We know who Hutten was,—the author De Lue Venereâ et Ligno Guaiaco.

Eobanus had just finished the correction of the last proof of a new edition of his treatise *De Amantium infelicitate contra Venerem de Cupidinis impotentiam*.¹

He was the author of this Latin distich, which was circulated through the streets :—

“ O monachi, vestri stomachi sunt amphora Bacchi.
Vos estis, Deus est testis, tetricima pestis.”

It is unfortunate that the poet did not set an example : he was the greatest drinker of his age ; he swallowed at one draught two pints of beer.²

Luther had frequently said, “ Away with syllogisms”—*recedat syllogismus* : in other words, let there be no deductions drawn from first principles warranted by universal reason : in religious matters, there should be no authority except that of the individual—light of light, infallible manifestation, divine echo, sole judge supreme. And all that mob of students, putting in practice the instructions

¹ *Erphordiae ad diem Severi.* In ædibus Joannis Knap, 4to. 18 leaves, not numbered.

² Melchior Adam, a Protestant, records the following anecdote :—“ Putavit (Eobanus Hessus) se etiam inter poculorum certamina, quæ maximè tum in aulis certabantur, et à nobilitate frequentabantur, non vinci ab altero oportere. . . . Atque est Eobanus quidem hoc quoque consecutus, ut de palmâ in isto genere contendere cum eo vellet nemo. Hic, quamvis jucunda mentio non sit, tamen, quia scitum est, narrandum videtur, quid inter Eobanum et gloriosum alterum poterem acciderit. Aderat fortè Eobanus in convivio. Eodem venit ille quoque, et jussit introferri vas grande ligneum, quo adportari de puteis aqua solet (nos sicutam aut urnam possumus, opinor, nominare); cuius generis minimum capit congios duos. Id posuit in medio repletum Gedanensi cerevisia : ac præfatus quedam, quæ compersisse se dicaret de strenua potatione Eobani, petiti, ut ebiberet illud vas, sibiisque propinaret. Hoc si fecisset, præmium se jam ei tribuere annulum cum gemmâ pretiosa, quem detractum de dito in vas illud abjecit. Eobanus nihil cunctatus, neque multa locutus, non enim solebat, arripuit vas : et non longo tempore assumpto, evacuat bibendo : et cum everteret, sicut fert mos compotantium, decideretque annulus in mensam, applaudere illi omnes, et imprimis provocator, et annulum donare, ac incredibile se factum cognovisse dicere. Tum Eobanus torviore vultu, ut consuferat in commotione, eum intuitus : Quid tu, inquit, me mercede potare censes ? ac rejecto ad illum annulo : Tuum, inquit, annulum tibi habeto ; et idem, quod ego feci in vase isto evacuando, ut promisiisti, facito. Tum ille ostentator, inchoatam rem cum perfidere non posset, ab omnibus derisus, et in convivio obrutus summo relictus fuit.”

of their master, enacted in the market-place of Wittemberg the parts of judge, reporter, and executioner. It was the first act of free inquiry, the first operation of the individual mind, the first appearance on the stage of the Lutheran self. All the germs of disobedience to authority, daily sown in the mind by Luther, and fertilized by his preaching, at length burst forth, too soon doubtless to the liking of the innovator ; but whose was the fault ? He had said, “ Away with Aristotle, St. Thomas, syllogisms, authority, the fathers of the Church, tradition—all of them.” The people also took part in it, because the teaching of Luther had long since leapt over the walls of the cloister, and disturbed the workman in his shop. It had not been said to them, “ Trust not authority,” because authority required to be typified by some material image which the people could see and touch ; but authority was man degenerate, corrupted, ignorant, false—whether the pope, St. Jerome, or St. Augustine.

Besides, Luther was not satisfied with expounding his doctrines in the chair, he diffused them by means of the press. He wrote no longer in Latin, but in German ; and in order that the people might more easily understand the theories of the new school, Luther developed them by commentaries on the Lord’s Prayer,¹ the 110th Psalm, *Dixit Dominus Domino meo*,² and the seven Penitential Psalms.³

The Catholic school could no longer be silent.

¹ Auslegung des Vaterunser für die einfältigen Layen. Leipzig, 1815.

² Auslegung des CX. Psalm's. Augsburg, 1518.

³ Die sieben Busspsalmen, mit deutscher Auslegung, nach dem schriftlichen Sinn. Leipzig, 1815.

CHAPTER XI.

THE CATHOLIC SCHOOL—ECK, EMSER, PRIERIAS. 1518.

The Catholic doctrines on tradition rejected by Luther.—His opponents seek to defend them.—Eck and his Obelisks.—How refuted by Luther.—Emser defends the principle of authority.—In what terms Luther replies to him.—Prierias (Mazzolini) attacks the Lutheran novelties.—Germany is convulsed, and Luther, to mislead public opinion, is compelled to avow that he had never any intention to attack authority.—He writes in this sense to the bishop of Brandenburg, who makes no reply.—The monk divines the reason for his silence.—While Luther writes to his bishop a letter full of humility, he attacks the sacrament of penance.—The Catholic doctrine and that of Luther opposed on this point.

WHAT way has God given to the Christian by which he may arrive at the truth? Luther, to that question, which formed the ground of all the disputes, has already replied: “The holy Scriptures, an infallible judge in matters of faith.” His opponents, on the contrary, answer: “The Church, which alone gives the understanding of the Scriptures.” Not that the Catholic denies that the truth is contained in the Scriptures; he only maintains that the human understanding may deceive itself in its perception of the divine manifestations. How are we to know if our perception has caught hold of the truth? — by that divine spirit which has never failed to govern the Church; therefore it is the Church,—that is to say, the body, or the visible and living form of Jesus Christ; in a word, tradition, or, as the Council of Trent denominates it, *the universal judgment of the Church*,—which pronounces against the individual opinion, which is necessarily fallible.¹

Eck, who was the foremost to maintain the Catholic principle, was already well known by his treatise on predestination.² He said in his Obelisks:³ “To bask in the beams of light which have illuminated the Church of the Lord since St. Peter; to

¹ Moehler's Symbolism, translated by Robertson, ii. 32.

² Chrysopassus seu de Prædestinatione: Augustæ Vindelicorum, folio, 1514.

³ Eccii Obelisci, opposed by Luther in his Asterisci.

believe in the instructions which have been perpetuated without shadow or stain in the schools ; to follow the footsteps of the doctors, fathers, and popes, whom Catholicism enumerates among her glories ; — is this to abnegate our reason, to reject the testimony of the senses, and put our candle under a bushel ? Did not our interpreters of the Divine Word read and meditate upon it ? Wherefore should God have concealed from them the understanding of it, which he would only give to Luther ? ‘ And lo ! I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world,’ says Jesus Christ to his apostles. What they believed we teach ; we who are rays of the same light, the breath of the same mouth, waves of the same ocean.’

How does Luther answer the professor ? “ His Obelisks are a mere chaos of scholastic opinions, vain dreams and fancies, in which nothing of the fathers of the Church or of the sacred canons is to be found.”¹ Now, unless we are to consider as dreams of the school the doctrines of St. Irenæus, St. Cyril, St. Athanasius, and St. Jerome, which Eck was constantly citing, while showing their conformity with the revealed Word, in order to overthrow the opinions of his opponent, then just broached, it is impossible to deny either that Luther was deceived himself, or that he wished to deceive his readers. Only a few weeks later we shall find that the Saxon’s great objection to the professor is precisely, that he rests his arguments upon tradition, or the common teaching of the fathers. Whether canons or fathers, Luther will reject the whole voices of the past ; for him, one manifestation alone shall soon be admitted as the rule of faith—the holy Scriptures.

The name of Eck was well known among the learned of Germany : he was a doctor of theology, chancellor of the university of Ingolstadt, and a man of learning and genius.² Such at first is the testimony of Luther regarding him, in 1518. Only two years later, he was but a servant of Satan, a notorious enemy of Christ, a theologaster, and a wretched sophist.³ Eck expended

¹ “ Per totum illud Obeliscorum chaos nihil sacrarum litterarum, nihil ecclesiasticorum patrum, nihil canonum, sed omnia scholasticissima, opiniosissima, mersaque comminisseatura.”—Luth. Asterisci, sect. l. c. p. 80.

² “ Insignis verisque ingeniosæ eruditio et eruditæ ingenii homo.”—Optimo et integerrimo amico, Job. Sylvio Egrano, 24 Maii, 1518.

³ “ Aperuit oculos suos Satan. Servum suum Johannem Eccium insignem Christi adversarium, extimulavit,” &c.—Leoni X. 18 Oct. 1520.

much labour and study ; quoted largely from profane authors as well as from the fathers ; perfumed his Obelisks with an odour of antiquity which misled even Erasmus ; procured for his Ciceronian style the eulogies of the learned ; astonished every one by his vast memory ; and this was all.

Emser, a professor at Leipzig, was desirous of trying his strength with Luther : he had two replies from his adversary, filled with abuse against the papacy.¹ The Saxon thus bids adieu to Emser's Rome : “ Adieu, Rome, city of offence. The wrath of my Master in heaven is about to be poured upon thee. Adieu, abode of dragons, nest of vultures, owls, and bats. Farewell, receptacle of polecats, hobgoblins, gnomes, and sprites ! ”²

Sylvester Mazzolini (Prierias), a Dominican, master of the sacred palace, was not more fortunate. The constant guest of Lorenzo de Medici ; the friend, patron, and intimate companion of the artists who were resident at Florence ; a polished and elegant man,—he did not in his controversy with Luther employ that vicious style for which some of the Augustinian's adversaries may justly be censured. His language was always calm, ornate, perhaps too carefully elaborated. The very form which he adopted in his reply to Luther was a happy hit: it was the dialogue of two fair-dealing parties, walking freely, careless, and at ease ; in which the opponent is silent when wished, speaks when desired ; in which the master has always the last word ; and in which the pupil is certain to be beaten.³

Prierias, who had spent his advanced life in that Rome where nations and kings exhausted themselves in flattering Leo X., saw nothing but the papacy in the question stirred by Luther. An ancient remnant of the court of the Medicis, in which his infancy had been reared, he could not bear that Luther should have thought of meddling with the tiara of his benefactor, Leo.

¹ Emser to the end of his life defended the doctrines of the Catholic Church. He dedicated to Nicolas Hausmann a work entitled: *Missa Christianorum contra Lutheranam missandi Formulam assertio*.—Coloniæ, 1532.

² “ Ein Behältniss aller unreinen Geister, und aller feindseliger Vögel, Strausse, Geier, Eulen ; ein Behältniss der Marder, Feldteufel, Kobolde, Igel,” &c.

³ “ R. P. Fratris Sylvestri Prieratis ord. prædicatorum et sacre theologie professoris in præsumptuosa Martini Lutheri conclusiones de potestate pape dialogus.”—Löecher, *Reformations-Akten*, ii. 18.

One sees, in reading it, that he was under the influence of that fascination which the pope exercised over all minds. It is certain that his veneration for the papacy approaches to worship. We must not make his enthusiasm a reproach ; there is something chivalrous in the devotedness of this grey-haired man, who had but few days to live, and who, broken, worn out, and ill as he was, came to the contest with one of thirty years. The views of Prierias, in regard to the power of the keys, were ultramontane, like those of all the schools at this period.

Luther only took two days to compose a pamphlet in reply to the dialogue of Prierias.¹ He immediately despatched it to his opponent, with this note : " Herewith, reverend father, you have a little work which I have written in a couple of days, in reply to the trifles which you sent me ; I give you all that comes to my lips and to my pen. If you have any more dialogues, take care to arm somewhat better the Thomas which you oppose to me."²

Erasmus, who from Basle watched the errors which the monks might commit, to hold them up to the ridicule of his friends, did not overlook some expressions of Prierias ; he laughed at them, and cracked his jokes at the expense of the Dominican. Luther was more serious, and saw, in the master of the sacred palace, a scribe who held the pen to Satan's dictation.³ We

¹ *Responsio M. L. ad Dialogum Sylv. Prieriatia. Vit. 1518, 4to. V. Læscher, t. ii. p. 390 ; Walch. t. xviii. p. 120.*

² *De Wette, l. c. t. i. p. 136.* The letter is about the end of August, 1518.

³ " *Epitomen seu, ut sylvestraliter græcissem, epitoma responsionis ad M. Lutherum edidit, tot tantisque blasphemias a capite ad pedes usque referunt, ut in medio Tartaro, ab ipsomet Satana editum libellum existimem.*" — *Luth. Op. vol. i. pp. 54, 56.*

Erasmus has said : " *Respondit Sylvester Prierias tam feliciter, ut ipse pontifex indixerit illi silentium.*" (Ep. t. i. ep. 910.) Leo X. imposed so little silence on Prierias, that various works of the master of the sacred palace subsequently appeared : *De Juridicet et irrefragabili Veritate Romanae Ecclesiae Romanique Pontificii ; libri tres*, Rome, 1520, &c.

We must not believe, as some would have it, that Italy merely looked on as a spectator in this struggle between Luther and authority ; she took her share in the conflict with distinction to herself. The Order of St. Augustine supplied some valiant champions. Among others, Ambrose Fiandino, a Neapolitan, who wrote an *Apology for the Mass*, an *Examen Vanitatis duodecim Articulorum Martini Lutheri* ; *Conflictionum de Verâ et Catholicâ Fide* ; Andrew Bauria, who gained a name by his *Defensorium Apostolice Potestatis contra Martinum Lutherum*, Ferrara, 1521 ; and subsequently, Peter Aurelius Sanuto, who published, in 1543, his *Recens Lutheranarum Assertionum Oppugnatio*. — See Ossinger, *Bibl. August.*, and Elsius, *Encomiast. Augustin.*

know that Raphael has selected the head of Prierias for that of one of the ancient sages in his “School of Athens :” the mind of Prierias was as fine as his head.

With a man like Luther, the question increased ; every word, whether dubious or hostile, that escaped from one of his adversaries, afforded him the text for a fresh commentary. An ignorant or passionate monk was to him a blessing ; the battle was kept up. His friends, his mischievous disposition, his love of fame, the attention of Germany, which was directed to him, all urged him on to disputation, which was his delight, his existence, his destiny. And then, as he says, “these incessant disputes subdue this body, which but for them might have yielded to other temptations. To sing to the Lord, that is to say, to fight for his cause, such is my portion on this earth.”

But how rapidly does rebellion proceed on its course ! Look at Luther ! In the first instance he is enraged with the sellers of indulgences, but he trusts in the efficacy of spiritual remedies, and in the power which the head of the Church has to administer them. “Anathema,” says he, “to him who shall deny the truth of indulgences.”¹ Then, in one of those ingenious freaks of which he was so fond, he tries to submit this doctrine of indulgences to the test ; ready, if they will, to throw to the winds, to the flames, what he has written, as vain caprices of fancy, foolish speculations, bubbles.² Will any one dispute ? Luther is ready to meet them, but as one who argues on the power of the Creator, without the divine majesty being affected by his childish pulings. No one appearing, and aware that his opinions were spreading far and wide,³ he resolves to print his thesis, which speedily extends, widens, and becomes a chaos of doubts :—doubts of the efficacy of indulgences,—of the merit of good works,—of the power of the priest in the sacrament of penance,—of free-will. In vain he pretends that he does not affirm, but merely dispute ;⁴ this bold game necessarily troubled men’s minds. Indeed, religious Germany was in a commotion.

¹ Prop. 71, t. i. Wit.

² Hieronymo Sculteto Eccl., Brandenburgensis Episcopo ; 22 Maii, 1518.

³ Ep. Sculteto, sub initio.

⁴ “Disputo, non assero, ac disputo cum timore.”—Ibid. sub fine.

It became more stirringly excited when Luther had resolved to translate his propositions into the vernacular. With what intention, if he was, as he said, afflicted by the notoriety which his name occasioned? Wherefore carry into the midst of the public those controversies which ought at most to be confined to the interior of the cloister? The motive which he assigns is singular. It is entirely against his own inclination that he, poor ignorant youth, presents himself thus before the public; but he prefers to run the risk of being treated as a fool, than expose the souls of others to error. And besides, he only proounds, but asserts not.¹ Then why does he address himself to the multitude, forsaking the use of the Latin language? Unless he dogmatises, why accuse of craft, ignorance, and blasphemy, those who do not believe him?² If among these frivolous, light, and trifling questions, some are true, others doubtful, and many obscure,³ the solution of which must be left to the supreme judgment of the Church, wherefore demand the extinction of the canons, the decretals, theology, philosophy, logic, in short, of the Church herself?⁴

Whether it was that Luther took alarm at the storm which he was about to cause in Germany, or that the agreement of Catholic opinion to condemn his propositions astonished him, or that the strangeness of his doctrines disturbed his soul, for an instant he recoiled from the work which he had commenced, and the letter which he wrote to the bishop of Brandenburg gives evidence of all his anxieties.⁵

"My much-loved master," said he to him, "you see my trifles, give them the reception which they deserve. In order

¹ "Coactus sum præter spem et votum, meam infantiam et ignorantiam in vulgum mittere, et declarationes et earum probationes in publicum edere, satius ratus me facere, si imperitiae meæ infamiam incurrerem, quam illos errare sinerem qui fortè putant omnia esse asserta."—Hieronymo Sculteto Ecol. Brandenburgensis episcopo.

² "Sic enim suavissimi homines, crassissimæ astutia instructi, cum negare non possint ea quæ dixi," &c.—Johanni Staupitio, 30 Maii, 1518.

³ "Inter quæ sunt de quibus dubito, nonnulla ignoro, aliqua nego."—Hieronymo Sculteto.

⁴ "Atque ut me resolvam, ego simpliciter credo quod impossibile sit Ecclesiam reformari, nisi funditus canones, decretales, scholastica, theologia, philosophia, logica, eradicentur."—Jodoco Eisenacensi theologo, 9 Maii, 1518.

⁵ Rever. Domino Hieronymo, 22 Maii, 1518.—De Wette, p. 112, t. i.

that it may no longer be said that I audaciously affirm them, I not only permit, but entreat you to draw your pen through whatever displeases you in these fancies, and, if you think fit, to throw them into the fire; that troubles me but little. Once more, I protest that I dispute, and do not affirm. I dispute without affirming, I dispute with fear, but without dread of the bulls with which I am threatened by those who pass off their dreams for the words of the Gospel."¹

This letter, too loving to be sincere, remained unanswered. The bishop's silence was regretted, as it was thought that kind expressions might arrest Luther on the brink of the abyss. Pride was his great failing; he could not forgive the prelate. They say that Scultetus, under the impression that the monk's voice would have no echoing response, slept calmly in the midst of his flock. Sleidan, Burnet, and all the writers on the Reformation, too readily condemn the bishop, who preserved, they say, the secret of his silence until the day of his death. It is easy to explain why. It was this Scultetus who, in the preceding year, had sent the abbot of Lehnin to entreat Luther not to publish either his sermon on indulgences, or his theses. Luther, confused and delighted at this advance, had promised to be silent; yet the sermon was printed and sold at Wittemberg and Leipsic, and the theses were posted on the walls of the former city.

Scultetus, whose character was a compound of Italian tact and German shrewdness, was not likely to be the dupe of Luther. What could he say to a priest, who in his reply to the dialogue of Prierias, calls Rome the scarlet Babylon, and synagogue of Satan? Was he to believe the protestations of a monk who advised the emperors, kings, and princes of the earth, to don their armour and to hunt down Romanists like Prierias, not with edicts but the sword; and who wished that he could wash his hands in the blood of cardinals and popes, and the nest of serpents brooding in the Roman Sodom,—as men condemn

¹ "Itaque digneris, clementissime pater, suscipere has meas ineptias, atque ut omnes sciant, quām nihil audacter asseram, non solum permitto, sed etiam obsecro, ut reverenda Paternitas tua, arrepto calamo, quodcumque visum est, aboleat aut igne facto totum comburat: meā prorsū nihil refert. . . . Idcirco
mei non oblitus, his verbis protestor, me disputare, non determinare."—
Dominio Hieronymo Ecclesiæ Brandenburgensis episcopo. De Wette, l. c.
t. i. p. 115.

robbers to the gibbet, murderers to the axe, and heretics to the flames?¹

Scultetus was not merely a priest, he was a prophet.

While Luther, in his letter to the bishop, of May 22, 1518, exhausted his protestations of devotion to authority, in another to Staupitz² of the 30th of the same month, he endeavoured formally to destroy one of the dogmas of the Catholic Church. According to him, the Latins, until that time, had been mistaken in their interpretation of the word *pænitentia*. To repent, in their view, expresses a species of material action which consists most frequently in a painful confession of faults, in cold satisfactions. The Greek fathers have more correctly understood the particular meaning of that expression. *Pænitentia* is derived from two Greek words, *μετανοία*, from *μετά* and *νοέιν*, that is, *post* and *mentem*. Thus, then, repentance is an amendment of life, grounded upon a knowledge of its sin, which cannot exist without a change of the inclinations.

In that theory which he developed almost immediately, by means of a special treatise,³ Luther alters the Catholic doctrine respecting penance. In the Catholic principle, contrition constitutes the essence of penance; confession is its form and completion; and satisfaction its confirmation. Luther overthrows the dogma. He retains, however, contrition and auricular confession, but he rejects or despises satisfaction,—that is, the temporal punishment which we find established in the Church from the earliest ages. In the eye of the Church, the sinner, although forgiven, remains subject to punishment; redeemed, he is still indebted to divine justice. She has ever believed and taught that God, in issuing the decree of redemption, has not exempted man from the temporal penalties which he must undergo.

However, if we read Luther's theory of justification, we shall find it was here in accordance with his early teaching. If faith

¹ "Si fures furcæ, si latrones gladio, si hæreticos igne plectimur, cur non magis hos magistros perditionis, hos cardinales, hos papas, et totam istam Romanæ Sodomæ colluviem quæ ecclesiam Dei sine fine corrupit, omnibus armis impeditus, et manus nostras in sanguine istorum lavamus?"—Op. Luther, t. i. Leneæ, p. 60.

² Johanni Staupitio, 30 Maii; De Wette, l. c. p. 115, 118.

³ Sermo de Pœnitentiâ F. Martini Lutheri, Augustiniani Wittembergensis, 1518.

alone works redemption in fallen man, it is clear that the work of satisfaction is perfectly useless in the sacrament of penance. Under what pretext should it be preserved? For restitution? That would be to proclaim the necessity of works. As a means of conversion? That would be to re-establish the Catholic doctrine of double co-operation between the Creator and the creature. As an integral part of the sacrament? But already, as we have seen, Luther has rejected the possibility of the command; and besides, to the doctrine of works of satisfaction is united the dogma of indulgences, which it was his wish to destroy.¹ Thus, everything shackles him, in truth as in error.

CHAPTER XII.

LUTHER CITED TO ROME. 1518.

Luther's theses cross the Alps.—His appeal to the pope.—His pretended submission at the very time when he is writing the discourse On the Death of Adam in Man.—Leo wishes to reclaim Luther, and writes to him by Staupitz.—Luther refuses to listen to the monk.—His doctrines spread.—The princes endeavour to make them popular, and with what motives.—The emperor Maximilian denounces Luther to the pope.—Cajetan is ordered by the supreme pontiff to cite Luther to Rome.—Luther's hesitation, and subterfuge to refuse obedience.—Takes courage, and laughs at the pope's brief and threats of excommunication.—He will not go, desiring to be tried in Germany.—The pope consents to his being tried by Cajetan.—Luther is from the first determined not to retract.—This is proved by his correspondence.

WHILST Germany was leaving the luminous path into which Trithemius had led it, to attach itself to the footsteps of a monk in search of a heterodox etymology, what was Rome about?

¹ Möhler's Symbolism, translated by Robertson, t. i. p. 316 et seq.

Upon Tradition.—Consult especially Vincentii Lerinensis Commonitorium, ed. Klupfel, Vienna, 1809. The Council of Trent. Bossuet's Variations. Möhler's Symbolism, vol. ii. c. xxxviii. to xlii.

Upon Penance.—Bellarmine, De Poenitentia, l. c. c. xix. t. iii.—Hugo von Sankt-Victor und die theolog. Richtungen seiner Zeit, von Alb. Liebner; Leipzig, 1832: where will be seen with what profundity the schoolmen have considered the question of penance and justification. Catech. ex Decreto Conc. Trident. Joan. Perrone, Praelectiones Theologicae, Lovani, 8vo,—one of those great and learned works which do honour to the Catholic world. Billuart, Theologia Dogmatica et Moralis, t. iii.

"Now then," said Leo X., "we may live in peace. The axe is no longer at the root of the tree, but at the branches."¹ Leo was right. Never at any period of Christianity had the tiara shone with so much splendour; all other crowns faded before it. The pope was truly the universal monarch; kings, princes, potentates, all sought his favour; his praises were sung in every language, and his portrait was to be met with alike in the palace and the cottage. The name of Leo X. aroused at once the ideas of science, poetry, and glory. It was mind recovering its prerogative, poetry taking up its interrupted strains, sculpture its chisel, painting its palette; it was antiquity restored, with its devotion to the arts, its crowns for artists, its passion for monuments; it was old Rome revived, with her tribunes and priests, emperors and orators; it was a new world, and made as if intentionally to immortalize the memory of the pontiff who consecrated it with his name, in peopling it with creations too pagan, perhaps. After a long reign, he at length reposed in that Rome which eclipsed all cities, ancient and modern. It was in the midst of this universal homage that Leo heard that a monk, named Luther, was disturbing in his cell the peace of Germany. His theses, printed by Frobenius at Basle,² had crossed the Alps, and began to be circulated at Rome and Venice. At Milan, a poet compared him to Hercules;³ at Venice, Burchard Schenk, a German gentleman who had embraced the monastic life, had perused, not unmoved, the writings of the Saxon.⁴ Leo was not alarmed, for he was ignorant of the character and audacity of Luther. The executions of Wickliff, John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, seemed to him lessons for such innovators as might be tempted to imitate them;

¹ "Ora mai possiamo viver sicuri; perche la scure non è più alle barbe, ma è a' rami."—Segni, Storie Fior, libr. iv. Fabroni, Vita Leonis X. adn. 55. See, in the second volume of this history, the chapter entitled Leo X.

² McCrie, History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Italy, 8vo. p. 35.

³ Schelhorn, Amoenitates Hist. Ecccl. et Litt. tom. ii. p. 624, has preserved these verses, which conclude thus:—

"Macte igitur virtute pater celeberrime Luther
Communis cuius pendet ab ore salus;
Gratia cui ablatis debetur maxima monstris
Alcidæ potuit quæ metuisse manus."

⁴ Seckendorf, Comment. in Luth. tom. i. p. 115, quoted by McCrie, p. 57.

and the disturbances excited by these heresiarchs, a great warning for the nations who should desire to rebel against authority. The past was not yet so far removed as to be forgotten ; and besides, in the religious life of a nation, two revolutions are rarely attempted in the same century. What tended to encourage him in this belief, was the very letter which he received from Luther.

Enraged at the name of heretic which his enemies gave him, and which rang in his ears "like the clang of cymbals," Luther had taken the step of appealing from them to the pope. If Leo was silent, he would interpret this as a tacit sanction of doctrines, which then he would disseminate freely. He had taken care to notify that he disputed without affirming : he had, therefore, nothing to dread but decrees, and no sentence. This external submission, at the same time while it silenced his adversaries, wiped off the stain of heresy with which they had branded him.¹ Never was language more humble, but of a humility more artificial ; nothing in his letter flows freely ; all in it breathes of study, all savours of head-work. It is wonderful how pliant the Latin language becomes under his pen, and becomes at the bent of his caprice, the slave and the courtier ! It is impossible to believe that these tortured expressions represent the honest sentiments of Luther.

"The propositions which I set forth, most holy father, are in the form of theses and not of doctrines, of enigmas propounded in an enigmatic style. Indeed, if I could have foreseen the outcry which they have occasioned, I should have taken care to have adapted them more to ordinary comprehension. . . .

"Now what am I to do ? I cannot retract them, notwithstanding the odium which I incur by their publication. In spite of myself, I, a poor, ignorant, stupid, and unlettered monk, am cast in the midst of a hostile public, of doctors holding contradictory opinions ; and in an age like the present, so brilliant and polished, that from its wealth of genius and learning it might put a Cicero to silence. But I am compelled to it, most holy father, like a goose screaming in the presence of swans. . . .

"Therefore, to mitigate the asperity of my opponents, and

¹ Dr. Hagenbach, Professor in Basel, Vorlesungen über Wesen und Geschichte der Reformation in Deutschland und der Schweiz : Leipzig, 1834, tom. i. p. 205.

to satisfy my friends, I now publish these trifles, explanatory of my theses. For my own safety, I place them under the patronage of your august name, under the protecting shadow of your holiness, that thereby people may for the future know what worship and respect I bear to the power of the keys, and how much injustice they have done me by heaping upon me such contumelious appellatives. If I resembled the Luther which my enemies would make me to be ; if in my disputationes I had been wanting in deference to the Holy See ; is it likely that the illustrious Frederick, duke of Saxony, so devoted to the Catholic truth, would have permitted such a pest in his university, or that so many men of erudition and piety would have suffered me so long among them ?"

And then, as if a profession so distinct was not sufficient, Luther casts himself at the feet of his holiness, and exclaims :—

" Give life, or take it ; call, recall, approve, reprove ; your voice is that of Christ, which presides and speaks in you."¹

At the very time when Luther was protesting, in terms so apparently frank, his devotedness and submission to the pope, he prefixed to an ascetical work, On the Death of Adam and the Resurrection of Christ in Man, a preface in which he spoke disrespectfully of the power of the keys.² So far from remaining silent, as he had promised, until the decision of the pope, he diffuses his doctrine, teaches publicly the multitude, ascends the pulpit, calls in question the power of excommunications, and in front of the altar itself, laughs at the ignorance and tyranny of the " spiritual thunder-bearers."³

At Rome, in the mean while, they were uncertain what steps should be adopted in reference to Luther.⁴ Some cardinals, Protestant authors tell us, insisted that he ought to be burnt.⁵

¹ See Confirmatory Evidence, No. 8.

² Das Büchlein vom rechten Verstand, was Adam und Christus sey, und wie Adam in uns sterben, und Christus in uns auferstehen soll : Ged. Wittenberg, durch Joh. Grünemberg, 1518, mit einer Vorrede von Luther. The work was reprinted at Leipzig the same year.

³ " Habui nuper sermonem ad vulgum de virtute excommunicationis, ubi taxavi obiter tyrannidem et inscitiam sordidissimi istius vulgi officialium, commissariorum, vicariorum, etc." — Reverendo patri Wenceslao Linco, 10 Jul. 1518.

⁴ Ibid. sub fine.

⁵ Hagenbach, l. c. tom. i. p. 203.

But they have omitted to give us their names. Such also, they assert, was the advice of James Hochstraet of Cologne.¹ Others, repelling such severe measures, wished the pope to pronounce him a heretic, without formal citation or process ; but the more informed, who knew the state of Germany, were of opinion that he should be summoned to Rome and tried there, and not condemned unheard. They were in hopes that the pomp of the court of Leo would dazzle him ; that his conversation with the learned personages who thronged it would enlighten him ; and that, removed from those seditious people who urged him on to perdition, he might be reconciled to the Church. Leo suffered himself to be led by his love of ease. He was indisposed to punish a man of whom the learned in Germany were so proud ; "this friar Martin," he said, "is a very talented man, and all this proceeds from monastic jealousies."² He preferred to attempt a reconciliation. He caused a letter to be written to John Staupitz, who had great influence over Luther. This was the vicar-general, in whose person Luther reverenced piety without asceticism, morals of evangelical purity, and extensive information. Staupitz had not stood by as a mere spectator of the intellectual drama which was then performing in Germany, but had taken a part in it for nearly fifteen years. History, in acknowledging the services rendered to education by this monk, would wish to be able to commend his character as well as his learning. He was of a weak and wavering disposition. We see him receiving one by one the confidences, projects, and even the sermons of Luther. Much more solicitous about the letter than the spirit, he wearies himself in polishing the compositions of his friend ; intractable on orthodoxy of style, he is careless in regard to that of doctrine, and yet always closely connected with Rome. He corresponds with Erasmus and Cajetan, and converses familiarly with Carlstadt and Eck. At table he ridicules Tetzel ; in public he bends before the inquisitor of the faith ; he is a scoffer, like Erasmus, and a still greater coward than the philosopher.³ Staupitz was unsuccessful. It is probable that,

¹ Luth. contra Jacob. Hochst. tom. i. Sleidan, tom. i. Roscoe, tom. iii.

² " Frate Martino ha un bellissimo ingegno, e coteste sono invidie fratesche." — Bandello, in Colomesii Oper. p. 322.

³ Luther reproached his friend with being unable to decide either for the pope or for Christ. . . . Quid inter Christum et papam medius heret.

in order to please Leo, he made use of timid advice. Luther did not listen to him, and continued to preach.

He began to make proselytes. These were some of his brother friars, proud of his eminence ; princes on whom the fiscal yoke of the Roman chancery pressed ; students whom his preaching had converted ; poor workmen and miners, who believed in him as a prophet. Melancthon was at that time reckoned among his warmest apostles.

Just emerged from infancy, his thoughts redolent of Greek and Latin, Melancthon heard Luther, and from the first his ear was seduced ; his heart did not long resist. He was a gentle and imaginative young man, naturally inclined to mysticism, and easily won. He had no pleasure in the language of the schools ; that of Christ, allegorical, diffusive, bearing the full impress of kindness, soon captivated him ; and Luther employed it successfully. Fancy a handsome young man of twenty-two, with flowing ringlets and modest eye, setting off great austerity of principles by gifts of science and learning rarely to be met with among the old scholars, even at that time. Luther might congratulate himself in numbering him among his disciples. No one than Melancthon was better calculated to extend the reign of the new Gospel. Both Catholics and Protestants agreed in saying that his very appearance almost made converts to the Reformation. When Luther, for the first time, heard him at Wittemberg, lecturing on the Comedies of Aristophanes, to an auditory composed of barons, princes, counts, and men of learning, he could not repress his admiration, and rose up to applaud the young professor.¹

Princes, electors, nobles, and knights, encouraged Luther's rebellion, sometimes openly, sometimes secretly. None of them foresaw the future, or imagined how the struggle was to end. None of them had seriously examined the question in a religious point of view. Had it been placed before them without any chance of future advantages, or any hope of gain to be derived from it, and merely as a theological speculation, they would have determined against Luther, and constituted themselves supreme judges of

¹ "Auditores singulis temporibus plerumque bis mille : inter hos, principes, comites, barones, à generis nobilitate præstantes plurimi."—Heerband, Leichenrede, &c. See the chapter entitled Melancthon, subsequently.

the popular conscience ; but private interest ruled the quarrel. The vendors of indulgences, who spread over the cities and hamlets, extracted on all hands abundant supplies. When the princes sent to collect their taxes, the doors were shut, and violence frequently used against the collectors.¹ Obliged to maintain a costly extravagance, the nobility had in their pay numerous courtiers, horses, hounds, and servants.² The secularizing of the monasteries, inevitable if Luther succeeded, was a bait for the cupidity of these men of carnal appetites, but of little faith. Besides, so many abuses had crept into the sale of pardons, that in taking the part of the priest of Wittemberg, they had the appearance of serving the interests of religion.

The emperor Maximilian in no respect resembled these potentates ; cooled by age, he wished to end his days in peace. He was the first to inform the pope of the troubles which threatened Germany. He was ready to approve of any decision by the Holy See, and cause it to be received in all the provinces of the empire. Only he entreated the pope to interdict the colleges from holding these vain disputationes on words, these idle questions and sophistical tricks which merely tended to unsettle the mind. He added that if the people were inclined to forsake the unity of the Church, he must impute it to those wretched cavillers in matters of doctrine who pullulated in the monasteries and universities. This opinion was that of a clear-sighted genius. Since the time of Scotus, sophistry ruled the schools ; they disputed on free-will, the immortality of the soul, God, and eternity. Luther did like his predecessors ; he disputed, and he was entitled to do so, upon indulgences, a subject otherwise controverted, but with this difference, however, that their theses were only speculative, while those of Luther were dogmatic. Professors and students had, before his time, witnessed similar scenes, only the new professor played his game seriously—this misled them.

The pope, before receiving the emperor's letter, had resolved to interfere. He therefore ordered the bishop of Ascoli to

¹ " Nulla vectigalia, nullum ærarium ; quisque rei sue moderator et arbiter esse vult."—Æneas Sylv. De Moribus Germ. p. 706.

² Die Ursachen der schnellen Verbreitung der Reformation, von Jakob Marx, 12mo. p. 162 et seq.

summon the monk to appear within sixty days at Rome, there to answer for his doctrines before judges appointed by his holiness. The citation was dated August 7, 1518.¹ Luther continued to preach and to write. Then Leo, in case of Luther's disobedience, instructed Cardinal Cajetan, his legate at the court of Maximilian,² to urge the assistance of the emperor, the princes, and the universities, and to confine him until farther orders should require him to be sent to Rome. "If Luther repents," said the pope, "forgive him; if he is obstinate, interdict him."³

If Luther refused to appear, the cardinals had orders to threaten him with excommunication. The brief declared to be infamous all those who harboured the heretic, and deprived them of their privileges and civil offices, whether princes or subjects, clerks or laymen; the emperor alone excepted.⁴

Some days thereafter, on the 23rd, Frederick received a brief from Rome, in which his holiness apprised the elector that he had cited Luther for sowing dissension and heresy in Germany. Leo solicited the duke to exercise all his power to compel Luther to obey. "If he is innocent," said the brief, "we shall send him back in peace; if guilty, we shall extend our arms to his repentance."⁵

Luther exhibited neither uneasiness nor anger on receiving the citation. A rumour was spread through Germany that he would not reach Rome safe and sound. Snares were to be laid for him on the way, to drown, or "rebaptize him," as he jestingly said. Such reports were quite unfounded.

"My mind is not anxious," he writes to Wenceslaus Linck. "What can they do to me, a poor sick, worn-out, faded creature? If they take my life, they will only deprive me of a few hours' existence. Let us sing with Reuchlin: the poor man has nothing to fear, nothing to lose."

"Such is the doctrine of Christ, that he who wishes to

¹ This citation, as Læscher observes (*Reform. Act. tom. ii.* p. 370), has never been printed.

² Sleidan, *History of the Reformation*, vol. i.

³ Roscoe's *Life of Leo X.* vol. iii.

⁴ Cochl. in *Act. fol. 15*, Selnecc. *Orat. de Luth.* p. 8.

⁵ See the *Brief*, Op. Luth. torn. i.

follow it must, like the apostles, renounce everything, and be ready to suffer death,—the portion of those who follow the Word of God ; for it was by death that this word was purchased, by death it has been spread, by death it is developed, and by death it will be perpetuated. Christ, our spouse, is to us a spouse of blood. Pray to God for his servant.”¹

Meanwhile his friends interposed. Resolved at first to go to Rome, Luther hesitated ; in order to refuse obedience to the citation, he sought and found a miserable subterfuge, unworthy of a mind like his ; it was to write to Frederick, the elector of Saxony, and request from him a safe conduct, which he knew the prince would refuse ; “ and then,” said Luther, “ I shall have a good excuse for not appearing.”²

He soon began to blush and be ashamed of this expedient. He resolved to disobey, and to shrink neither from the dangers of which his friends endeavoured to alarm him, nor from the threatened excommunication of the Holy See. We see Luther no longer on his knees at the feet of Leo. Listen to him at the time of his receiving the brief, when from the solitude of his cell he writes to Staupitz. In every line of this letter a new fibre of his heart is laid bare.

“ I have no dread of any human excommunication, save yours. . . . These Romans have too long mocked, aspersed, and treated us as puppets. . . . Their whole study is to make the kingdom of Christ not that of truth ; to dethrone it, stifle, imprison, and gag it in its own dominions. . . . I desire to belong to that kingdom, if not by a life void of reproach, at least by a heart and lips free from all lying. . . . The people sigh after the voice of Christ their pastor. . . . I am surrounded with thorns on all sides. But Christ lives ; he reigned yesterday, and will reign to-morrow and for ever. I have taught the truth ; my conscience tells me so ; but truth, proceeding from my mouth, is hateful. It is as the womb of Rebecca ; her children must be crushed in it, even at the mother’s risk.”³

¹ Wenceslao Linco, 10 Jul. 1518. De Wette, l. c. tom. i. pp. 129, 130.

² “ Georgio Spalatino. Id visum est amicis nostris tum doctis, tum bene consultantibus, ut ego apud principem nostrum Fridericum postulem salvum (ut vocant) conductum per suum dominium. Quod ubi mihi negaverit, sicut scio mihi negaturum, justissima mihi fuerit exceptio et excusatio non comprehendendi in Româ. 21 August, 1518.”—De Wette, ibid. p. 133.

³ A. Staupitz, 1 Sept. 1818.

"If that sophistical clown, Sylvester Prierias, continues to provoke me with his foolery, I shall no longer trifle with him, but giving the rein to my temper and my pen, shall let him see that Germany is made aware of his tricks. The sooner this is done the better."

The thought that his enemies might consider his refusal to appear at Rome as a weakness of spirit, perhaps also as an admission that he dare not give an account of his faith, tormented Luther ; he did not long persist in his plan of disobedience. We see him also, outwardly, evince in his language great respect for Leo, and complete submission to his will. He abstained for a short while from preaching. The multitude was deceived. To give a colour to his refusal to appear at Rome, he objected the length of the journey, the severity of the season, the dangers of the way, his weak state of health, and the long labours which had exhausted his frame. "He was ready to confess his faith before competent judges at Wittemberg, Augsburg, or any other city in Germany which they might appoint for him."

His solicitation was to no effect ; that of his friends was not more successful. Time slipped on, and the period assigned by Leo drew nigh. It was feared that Luther would be condemned unheard.

The university of Wittemberg then wrote to the pope in support of Luther's entreaty. The grounds which they alleged for dispensing with his appearance at Rome were almost the same as those which he had fruitlessly advanced.¹

The university had reason to be proud of Luther, whose oral lectures attracted a multitude of strangers ; these pilgrims from distant quarters, joined their hands and bowed their heads at the sight of the towers of the city, like other travellers before Jerusalem. Wittemberg was like a new Sion,² whence the light of truth expanded to neighbouring kingdoms, as of old from the Holy City to pagan nations.

The elector Frederick himself wrote to the nuncio Cajetan, requesting him to obtain from the pope a dispensation for Luther's

¹ Seckendorf, l. c. p. 4.

² "Sicut olim è Sione, ita illo saeculo è Wittembergè evangelicæ veritatis lux in remotissima regna diffunditur."—Scult. Ann. 1517, pp. 16, 17. Seckendorf, l. c. p. 59.

going to Rome, and permission for him to explain his doctrines at Augsburg.¹

Cajetan, the legate to the imperial diet, enjoyed Leo's entire confidence, and had no difficulty in obtaining the pope's consent that Luther should appear before the cardinal.

This concession by the Roman court astonished Luther and his partisans. They expected that Leo would be inflexible. Obstinatey might have advanced the business of the Reformation. Some of the monk's friends, Hutten for example, ill concealed their vexation. They believed that Luther would be obliged to go to Rome, and by anticipation celebrated his self-devotion, imagined dangers and settled a journey that should terminate after the fashion of that of John Huss and Jerome of Prague. They little knew the Medicis. We invariably see the northman calumniate him of the south.

A Protestant historian describes the judge selected by the pope, as an enlightened man, eminently exegetical, a learned theologian,² a courtier of polished manners, opposed to all violence. Cajetan neither wished to make Luther a martyr, nor dispute with him like Prierias. Luther had said to the pope : "I condemn whatever you condemn." Now, the pope was explicit. Cajetan's line of proceeding with the monk was very plain : "Luther, do you teach these propositions ?" If he replied in the affirmative, Cajetan had only to say, "You are a heretic." Luther, on the other hand, had prepared his part : he was to appear before Cajetan as one accused, who defends his faith, who desires to be heard, and will speak at all hazards.

His correspondence destroys the dramatic effect of his interview with the legate, by exposing his previous determination to perish rather than retract.³ Why then appear ? It was a farce in which he made the cardinal play the principal character, since he had resolved, come what might, not to yield to men who had made Italy another Egypt, covered with downright darkness ; to fools, enemies of learning, who were ignorant of Christ and the things

¹ Cochl. l. c. fol. 17, 18.

² "Papst Leo X. trug dem Cardinal Cajetan, ehemaligem Lehrer auf verschiedenen Universitäten, einem berühmten Schriftsteller, der eben sein Legat vom ersten Range in Deutschland war, auf, Luther'n zu verhören."—Schröckh. See Höeninghaus, Mein Wanderungen, &c. tom. i. c. vii.

³ "Malo enim perire quam ut revocem benè dicta :"—Phil. Melanchthoni.

of Christ, and who nevertheless were to be held as masters of faith and morals, in order that the word of God should be fulfilled : " I shall give them for princes, children and women."¹

These enemies of learning were Cajetan, Scultetus, Sadolet, Bembo, the most learned men of the age.

This pope, before whom he prostrated himself in the dust, is, if we are to believe him, a wretch whose senseless dissipation the Florentines palliate. These cardinals of the court of Rome are no longer legates of the Holy See, but the legates of avarice.² At no price will he ever accept of that scholastic theology which is taught at Rome and in Germany.³ At the same time, the "young ignorant monk" pursues with his untranslateable abuse his adversaries the Thomists. To one of them, James Hochstraet, he addresses these insulting words.

" Away, then, silly-pated monk, man of blood, unsatiated with the blood of thy brethren, away ! Grovel in the dunghill like a beetle, until you know what is error, sin, and heresy. Truly I have never seen an ass like you, who boast of having studied logic so many years ! "⁴

And it is not only in his confidential correspondence with his intimate friends that he thus reveals his private sentiments ; Germany knows as much as Melancthon in that respect. With the same pen and ink he writes to his holiness these charming Christian effusions, that grace his replies to Prierias :—

" If Rome thinks and teaches what I refuse to believe, as does Sylvester Prierias, I declare openly that Antichrist sits in the temple of God, Babylon reigns in empurpled Rome, and the court of Rome is the synagogue of Satan. If Rome maintains the doctrine of Prierias, — oh, happy Greece ! oh, happy

¹ " Apud insipientissimos, ita accerrimos litterarum et studiorum hostes, Italia est in *Egypti* tenebras palpabiles projecta," &c.—*Ibid.*

² " Ipsi enim pontificis facilitate utuntur in omnem suae voragini libidinem. Cardinales enim legatos esse avaritiae. 2 Sept. Spalatino."—*De Wette*, l. c. tom. i. p. 139.

³ " Illorum nolo, usquam, ullo modo. 9 Sept. Lango."—*De Wette*, tom. i. p. 142.

⁴ " So gehe deun hin, du unsinniger, blutdürstiger Mörder, der du des Blutes christlicher Brüder nicht hast satt werden können. Geh, erforsche, und suche Rossäfer in ihrem Miste, bis du lernest was Irrthum, Sünde, und Ketzerei sey. Ich habe noch keinen grössern Esel gesehen, als eben dich, wenn du dich gleich rthmst, so viele Jahre hindurch die Dialektik studirt zu haben."—*Luther's Werke* (Walch.) tom. xxi. p. 418.

Bohemia ! oh, happy all who have separated from her, and gone forth from that Babylon ! Yes, I say, if the pope and cardinals do not stop the mouth of this Satan, I confess before Heaven that I dissent from the Church of Rome, I deny the pope and cardinals, and hold the Roman Church to be the mystery of abomination seated in the holy place.

"If Rome and the Romanists think as Sylvester Prierias does, there is no other remedy for their impious fury than to call upon the princes, emperor, and kings to league together and destroy these pests,—not now by the power of words, but by that of the sword."¹

Luther spoke of darkness in his letter to Melancthon : he was right,—"darkness visible," like that of Milton ; but upon whom has it fallen ?

¹ "Si Roma sic sentitur et dicitur, scientibus pontifice et cardinalibus quod non spero, liberè pronuntio his scriptis Antichristum illum verum sedere in templo Dei, et regnare in Babylone, illa purpurata Roma, et curiam Romanam esse synagogam Sathanæ. . . Si sic Roma credit, beata Grecia, beata Bohemia, beati omnes qui sese ab illa separarunt, et de medio illius Babylonis exiverunt. . . Et ego quoque si pontifex et cardinales hoc os Sathanæ non compescuerint, his testibus confiteor me dissentire Romanæ Ecclesiæ, et negare eam cum papâ et cardinalibus tanquam abominationem stantem in loco sancto. . . Mihi verò videtur, si sic perget furor Romanistarum, nullum reliquum esse remedium quam ut imperator, reges et principes vi et armis accincti aggrediantur has pestes orbis terrarum, remque non jam verbis, sed ferro decernant."—Opera Lutheri, Jenæ, tom. i. pp. 58, 60, Germanicè ; tom. i. Lat. p. 170.

CHAPTER XIII.

LUTHER BEFORE CAJETAN. 1518.

Cajetan.—His exegetical studies.—Luther sets out for Augsburg.—Is at Weimar and Nuremberg.—Arrives at the imperial city.—His letter to Melancthon.—His interview with the interlocutor Urban de Serra Longa.—Refuses to go before the legate without the emperor's safe-conduct.—Appears before Cajetan.—Account of the conference.—He refuses to retract.—Staupitz and Wenceslaus Lincke are commissioned by the legate to reclaim Luther.—Luther, moved to tears, confesses his insubordination in a letter to Cajetan.—He escapes from Augsburg, after causing to be posted on the walls of the Carmelite monastery his "Appeal to the Pope better informed."—His note to the cardinal.—On his way to Wittemberg he meditates an appeal to the next council, and to the Sorbonne of Paris.—At Nuremberg he receives his holiness's brief, directed to Cajetan.—His letter to Spalatinus about the pope, whom he calls a blackguard.—State of his mind.

CAJETAN, before whom Luther had to appear, was one of the ornaments of the Roman purple. He was born on the shore of the Tuscan Ocean, in the small town of Cajeta, and descended from the illustrious family of Vio.¹ It is said that his mother, when pregnant, saw, in a dream, St. Thomas, who took the newborn babe in his arms, and carried him to heaven.² His father wished to make him a man of the world; but the youth, of his own accord, entered the Dominican order. While very young, Cajetan was seized with a real passion for that great genius, who has been called the angel of the schoolmen.³ He spent whole nights in reading the Summa of St. Thomas; insomuch that it was said that if the work of the saint were to be lost, it would be found complete in the brain of his disciple. Cajetan was very eminent in the pulpit: cardinals, bishops, priests, legislators, scholars, everybody came to hear him. His language was gentle, and went to the heart. After hearing, it

¹ Flores Historiae sacri Collegii S. R. E. Cardinalium à D. Lud. d'Attichy. Lut. 1660, tom. iii.

² Roccaberti Bibl. Max. tom. xix. p. 418.

³ Divi Thomae Summa cum Commentariis Thomae de Vio. Ludg. 1587. Prefatio: "Inter theologos quem divo Thomae Aquinati preferre atque, invenies neminem."

was impossible not to love him. He was especially beloved by the people ; for Cajetan had taken up the cause of the operatives against the Italian usurers, who robbed them of their daily bread. His charity was equal to his evangelical zeal : he was the friend of the poor. They knew that he despised glory and wealth ; and his apartment was as simply furnished as his attire was plain.¹ Therefore Italy was delighted when Leo X., attending to popular opinion, conferred upon him the purple. Cajetan adorned his virtues by a profound knowledge of the Scriptures : he was one of the first commentators of his age ; and his bold principles of hermeneutics have been sometimes censured.² We see that the court of Rome was nobly represented by Cajetan.

The nuncio, besides, had readily promised the elector Frederick that he would treat Luther paternally.³

The departure of Luther for Augsburg was a great event at Wittemberg. On the evening of the 25th September, the students, sitting round the same table, nearly all intending to adopt the monastic life, listened in silence to their father—for such was the name they gave to their professor. Some looked at him

¹ “ Non opibus, gemmis, aut fulvo ditior auro,
Sed modicis contentus erat fictilibus usus.”

² He says, at the beginning of his Commentary on Genesis, “ Non alligavit Deus expositionem scripturarum sacrarum priscium doctorum sensibus, sed scripturæ ipsi integræ sub catholica Ecclesiæ censurâ ; alioqui spes nobis et posteris tolleretur exponendi scripturam sacram, nisi, ut aiunt, de libro in quinternum.”

The cardinal was of opinion that a commentator might diverge from the details of the holy fathers' interpretation without being unfaithful to the Catholic doctrine.

• Melchior Canus is opposed to the cardinal's opinion. He has said of him : “ Illud breviter dici potest Cajetanum summis Ecclesiæ edificatoribus parem esse potuisse nisi . . . ingenii dexteritate confusis, litteras demum sacras suo arbitratu exposuisset felicissimè quidem ferè, sed in paucis quibusdam locis acutius sàne multo quàm felicius.”—Loci Theol. cap. vii. p. 437.

Pallavicini has defended Cajetan. “ Evidem affirmo Cajetanum à suis quanvis in hoc dicto licentie reprehensum, nunquam protulisse sensa Tridentino decreto in hac parte adversantia. . . . Prohibet concilium ne sacris litteris aptetur interpretatio repugnare SS. Patrum sententiae, idque in rebus tñm fidei, tñm morum, et Cajetanus, utut Canus rem intelligat, de his minimè loquitur, neque unquam declarat, fas esse aduersus communem SS. Patrum sententias obviam ire, sed fas esse depromere scripture expositionem prouersus novam et ab omnibus eorum expositionibus diversam.”—Hist. Conc. Trid. lib. vi. cap. xviii. n. 2.

³ “ Persuaseramus nobis vestram pietatem, auditio Martino secundum vestram multiplicem promissionem, eum paternè ac benevolè dimissurum esse.”—Loescher, l. c. tom. ii. p. 543.

with quiet eye, others could scarcely repress the ready-starting tear ; all were in admiration of this old man at thirty-five, whose anxieties had whitened the hair, withered the countenance, and bent the body. It was this body that, exhausted by deep thought, was about to undertake a long journey, supported only by a staff, and perhaps to sink from weakness and suffering before reaching its termination. They imagined dangers and ambuses, and the names of John Huss and Jerome of Prague came involuntarily to their lips. Being mostly natives of Thuringia, they only knew Leo X. by the malevolent representations of some of their fellow-countrymen. Melancthon especially, the beloved disciple, seemed oppressed with heavy forebodings ; he could not take his eye off Luther, whom he fancied he should never see again. The doctor was without fear, but not free from emotion, enjoying all these marks of affection with a mingled feeling of gladness and pity. He consoled and encouraged them, took each by the hand, and pressed them all to his heart, quoting several of those texts of the sacred writings so conducive to animate those who put their trust in the Lord. He said smilingly to them : " My wife and children need nothing, my house and grounds are in good condition. The more they threaten me, the more I feel at ease. What a stir about a feeble body like mine ! My life they may take from me, my soul—never ! "¹

Next morning, at daybreak, Luther set out on foot, without a penny in his pocket, and dressed in a threadbare gown. Great people, monks, and especially operatives, were waiting for him at the gates of Wittemberg. When they saw him, they cried, " Long live Luther ! "

" Long live Christ and his Gospel !" replied the Saxon.

Several detached themselves from the crowd, and did homage to the pilgrim. " Courage, master," said they ; " may God assist you ! "

" Amen !" replied Luther.

His friends escorted him for some leagues beyond the suburbs. They parted, after a fresh exchange of embraces and kind words.

¹ Martin Luther's Leben von Pfizer, p. 85. Opera Lutheri, tom. i. Jenæ, fol. p. 108. Selnec, p. 9. Ulenberg, Historia de Vita, &c. p. 28 et seq.

In manus tuas, Domine, commendabo spiritum meum: "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commit my spirit," said Luther.

"Amen!" responded his disciples.

Luther went his way cheerfully. He was frequently on the point of returning, so violently was he affected with pains in the stomach:¹ but his heart was stronger than the complaint. He continued his journey, accepting whatever hospitality was offered to him when he had no monastery wherein to lodge.²

At Weimar, he spent the night of the 28th in the house of the curate of the town, Myconius, who about a year before had renounced Catholicism, after perusing some of the writings of the Reformer. The cassock and the girdle were equally burdensome to Myconius, who soon threw both away to marry a young woman of Gotha.³ Luther preached in the chapel of the castle upon the festival of the saint.

Some days afterwards, he embraced at Nuremberg his friend Wenceslaus Lincke, who presented him with a new black gown, and accompanied him with an Augustinian named Leonard as far as Augsburg. All three went on foot; but at some distance from that city Luther could scarcely walk: he was obliged to rest awhile and hire a vehicle, for which Lincke paid, and in which the three monks made their entry into the imperial city.⁴

On perceiving the spires of Augsburg, Luther wept with joy. A great crowd had assembled at the gates of the city to see the doctor whose name was so popular. Poets like Hans Sachs, who were called "singers,"—for the most part shoemakers, cartwrights, hatters by trade,—looked at him with pride: his friends were waiting for him. Doctor Conrad Peutinger conducted him to his house, where he had prepared a frugal supper

¹ "Venimus Augustam, venimus autem fessi et ego per viam pend defecrim, hausto nescio quo gravi incommodo stomachi, sed revalui."—Spalatino, 10 Oct. 1518. De Wette, Luther's Briefe, tom. i. p. 142.

² "Veni igitur pedester et pauper."—Luth. in Praef.

³ Reinhard, l. c. tom. ii. pp. 123, 124. See Myconius's Life, in Reinhard, p. 112 et seq. tom. iii. l. c., and in Luther's Correspondence, a letter of date 1541, addressed by the Reformer to this learned man. The sermon appeared in 1518, under the title of F. M. Lutheri Sermo die Sancti Michaelis in arce Vinariorum.

⁴ Lingke, l. c. p. 48. Reformationshistorie von Leipzig, p. 440 et seq.

for his guest.¹ This was on Friday, the 8th of October. Three days after, Luther being anxious to encourage his friends at Wittemberg, wrote an affectionate letter to Melancthon :—

“ There are no news, my dear Philip, except that the city rings with my name, and all desire to see the Erostratus who is to make so great a conflagration. Proceed manfully in instructing your scholars. I am ready to sacrifice myself for you all, should such be God’s will. I should prefer to die, and what is a greater punishment, be for ever deprived of your delightful society, than to retract my opinions, and so lose the fruit of our long study.”²

Luther had scarcely entered the Carmelite monastery, when he apprized the cardinal of it.³ On the next morning, Urban de Serra Longa, the internuncio,⁴ came to ask Luther the cause of his delaying to appear before the cardinal, who expected him, and would receive him with all proper respect.

“ It is,” replied the monk, “ in deference to the advice given me by some respectable individuals to whom his highness the elector has been pleased to recommend me. They do not wish me to appear before the cardinal without a safe-conduct from his majesty the emperor; when I have got that, I shall go to the legate.”

The envoy seemed astonished. “ Do you think, then,” said he, “ that Prince Frederick would have recourse to arms for your protection ?”

“ I should not wish him to do so,” said Luther.

“ And where will you go, then ?” replied Urban.

“ Under God’s heaven,” said Luther.

“ But,” added the envoy, “ if you had the pope and the cardinals in your power, what would you do with them ?”

“ I should treat them with every possible honour and respect,” was the ready answer.

“ Oho !” said Urban, biting his fingers, and bowing to the monk.⁵

¹ Spalatino, 10 Oct. 1518. De Wette, tom. i. p. 142.

² Melanchtoni, 11 Oct. De Wette, tom. i. p. 145.

³ Gottlob Hofmann, Lebensbeschreibung des Ablasspredigers Dr. Johann Tetzel: Leipzig, 1814, 8vo. p. 130.

⁴ Lingke, l. c. p. 49. Luther’s Werke: Halle, tom. xxi. p. 8.

⁵ This is Luther’s official account. It is annoying that Cajetan has not given his. See Seckendorf, l. c. p. 45.

Luther's friends were firmly of opinion that he ought to wait for the safe-conduct from Maximilian before going in presence of the cardinal. On the 11th October, his majesty's secretary, the Count Schauenburg, sent to the senate the impatiently-expected safe-conduct.¹ Luther had no longer anything to fear, although the legate had not been Cajetan, or the sovereign by whom he was accredited Leo X.

In the morning Luther said his prayers as usual, read some verses of the Psalms, his favourite book, and went to the legate's residence. He was accompanied by his friends, among whom were Doctor Lincke and John Frosch, prior of the Carmelite monastery where the doctor lodged.² Some groups of people, assembled on the steps of the palace, received him affectionately. The legate approached and embraced the monk. Luther threw himself at the cardinal's feet.³ "Forgive me, my lord," said he, "if any imprudent expressions have escaped from me; I declare myself ready to disavow them, if you convince me that they are erroneous."⁴

Cajetan raised him up. "My brother," he said to him, "it is not my intention to dispute with you: I command you, by order of his holiness, to retract your errors, and abstain henceforward from teaching anything that may disturb the peace of the Church."

"My father," said Luther, "show me wherein I have erred."

"Once more, my son," replied Cajetan, "I tell you that I do not come here to dispute with you as in a college: I am not your judge;⁵ I am sent by our common father, to whom you wrote a short while since: 'Approve, condemn, call, recall,—I am ready to listen to your voice as the voice of God'.... Retract, therefore, for such is his will."

"I retract!" said Luther: "but what error have I taught?"

The cardinal quoted two propositions. The first: "That the merits of Jesus Christ are not the treasures of indulgences;" the second: "That faith alone is sufficient for justification."

¹ Luther's Werke: Halle, tom. xxi. p. 9.

² Ibid. tom. xv. p. 37.

³ Tisch-Reden, p. 519.

⁴ Friderico Electori, 19 Nov. De Wette, tom. i. p. 175.

⁵ Andreas Carlstadt, 14 Oct. De Wette, tom. i. p. 159.

And he called to his recollection the bull of Clement VI. on indulgences, *Extravagans, in sexto Decretalium*, and the universal teaching of the Church of the necessity for faith to be united to works.¹

Luther began to quote the principal articles of the Extravagant, with a perspicuity and strength of memory which astonished the cardinal “I know that bull,” he added; “a mere human work, in which the spirit and letter of the Scriptures are strangely tortured.”

The cardinal raised his voice, and said: “Here is St. Thomas,—here is the Extravagant.”

Luther, impatient, exclaimed: “If your Extravagant teaches that the merits of Jesus Christ are the treasures of indulgences, I retract.”

“But you see, then,” said the cardinal, in the same tone, “*Christus sùd passione acquisivit*” (Christ has acquired by his passion).

“Weigh well that expression, reverend father—*acquisivit*. If Christ has acquired merits, the merits are not a treasure.”²

The cardinal smiled fretfully, and interrupted him, repeating: “Do you retract—yes or no?”

The conversation, resumed, interrupted, sometimes calm and cool, sometimes warm and vehement, extended by long quotations, lasted in this manner for several hours, when the legate, remembering that he had said he would not dispute, smilingly reminded Luther of it.

¹ The following are some of the propositions extracted from Luther's sermons and theses, and which had been denounced to the Holy See:—

“We are not even certain that we do not commit many mortal sins in our best works.”—Luther, vol. i. prop. 48.

“Man's works, even apparently good, are at bottom mortal sins: those of God, though unpleasing to mortal eye, are wonderfully just.”—Ibid. prop. 3, 4, 7.

“Every work, even by a just man, is a mortal sin, if the just man does not fear that he is offending God by doing it.”—Ibid.

“Believe that you are absolved, and you are, be your contrition what it may.”—De Indulg. tom. i. f. 59.

“No one need say to the priest, I am sorry.”

“Contrition, by which one recalls the years passed in bitterness of soul, by weighing the heaviness of his sins, their multitude, deformity, and happiness lost, only makes man a greater hypocrite.”

“We do not love until our faults have been forgiven.”

“Faith saves; good works are unnecessary.”

² Georg. Spalatino, 14 Oct. De Wette, tom. i. p. 147.

"Now then," said he, "let us make an end of this. . . . Do you retract—yes or no?"

Luther asked three days to reply, and they parted.

He did not wait for the third day. Next morning he came accompanied by four senators, numerous witnesses, and a notary, and handed to the nuncio a formal protest, in which he declared "that he never had intended to teach anything offensive to the Catholic doctrines, the sacred Scriptures, the authority of the holy fathers, or the decrees of the pope; that, farther, if he had erred, weak mortal as he was, he offered to submit his writings to the judgment of the Holy Father, the universities of Basle, Fribourg, Louvain, and Paris especially, the mother and patroness of liberal learning."

Cajetan recalled to him the conversation of the previous day.

"Yesterday," replied Luther, "we were too long fencing; we have had enough of human discourse, the Holy Scriptures alone can make us agree."

"*Non digladiatus sum*" (I am not disarmed), replied the cardinal, playing on the word which had escaped from Luther. "It is not a question here of disputation. I have come to receive your retraction, and reconcile you to the Church."¹

The monk remained silent, as if he inwardly repented of the expression which he had used.

Then Staupitz, who had come from Salzburg to participate in the conferences,² and who was standing apart, approached the cardinal, and requested that Luther might be permitted to defend himself in writing.

"And in the presence of witnesses," added the doctor.

The cardinal shook his head in the negative.

"Forgive me," continued Staupitz, imploringly, "before any witnesses."

The cardinal hesitated. "Well," said he, "I consent; go, I shall hear you; but once more remember that I do not fill the office of judge."

Luther spent the night in preparing his defence. It was a

¹ Epistola Thomae Cajetani ad D. Fridericum. Pallavicini, Storia del Concilio di Trento, cap. ix. p. 79. Epistola L. illustrissimo Friderico Electori, 19 Nov. 1518. De Wette, tom. i. p. 147.

² Lingke, l. c. p. 50.

thesis, or rather a new manifesto of his doctrines. Amsdorff and his friends were astonished with that strength of head which enabled him, in the space of a few hours, to bring together so many texts of Scripture ! In that work, Luther, adopting in spite of himself those scholastic forms which he so much despised, argued after the monastic fashion. But he kept his promise ; it was from the holy writings exclusively that he drew those lights which were to illumine the discussion ; with the single exception of a passage in which he fortifies himself with the authority of Tudeschi, who maintained, he said, that a simple layman, in matters of dogma, if he rests upon authority and reason, is superior to the pope.¹ After all his professions of faith on the authority of the head of the Church, such a proposition, and intended to be placed under the eyes of the nuncio, was not much of a kind to effect a reconciliation. Luther, since laying aside his mendicant's staff, visibly lessened. He came to be a martyr for his faith, and dared not confess it. Alone, in the retirement of his cell, concealed from observation, in his evening conversations with his pupils at Wittemberg, he raises himself to the very pitch of rebellion ; and in presence of Cajetan, he pretends obedience and submission. In public he is a priest and a Catholic ; in his chamber, when no longer observed, he tears off his cassock, and enacts the part of John Huss or Jerome of Prague.

At the very time when he wrote that defence, "which would confound Cajetan," he prepared his appeal to the pope ; affirming that "for no price would he retract a syllable."²

Next day he presented his letter to the nuncio ; Cajetan perused it. "It is an apology," said he, on looking at the first lines, "and not a discussion. See," he continued, pointing with his finger to the passage from Tudeschi, "this is monstrous ; and you would that I should submit to the eye of

¹ "Panormitanus quoque, lib. i. de Elect. C., ostendit in materia fidei . . . quemlibet fidelem esse super papam si melioribus nitatur auctoritate et ratione quam papa." We have not found the passage instanced by Luther.—Reverendissimi Card. Dom. Thomae Caetano, 14 Octob. 1518. De Wette, tom. i. p. 149.

² "Appellationem autem paro quotidiè, ne syllabam quidem revocaturus, eam autem responsionem meam ei oblatam ut per orbem confundatur."—Georgio Spalatino, 14 Octob. De Wette, tom. i. p. 147.

his holiness such odious expressions, after all the assurances you have given of your filial obedience."

He continued to read, casting at intervals looks of indignation on Luther, shrugging his shoulders or cracking his fingers, after the manner of the Italians.

"Let it be read, then!" returned Luther, angrily, and no longer addressing himself directly to the legate; "I affirm nothing. . . . I refer it to the testimony of Leo X."

"Brother, brother, you were so meek yesterday, and to-day how passionate you are!" said Cajetan. "In truth, his holiness has judged correctly of you and your doctrines. Come," said he, taking the monk by the hand, "it is still time, as you say;¹ I am ready to intercede for you with our common father; but do not let vain-glory, bad advice, and wilful obstinacy prevent you: come, retract."

Luther was silent.

"Well, then," added Cajetan, "do not return again. . . . All is ended."

Luther bowed and withdrew.

But the same evening, after supper, Cajetan sent for Staupitz and Wenceslaus Lincke; he had a long conversation with them, and desired them to try some more efficacious reasoning than his upon Luther. He urged them so strongly in the name of his Holiness, the public tranquillity, and the peace of Saxony, that they promised immediately to go to Luther; which they did.

Luther was moved to tears by this mission of charity, and he wrote to the nuncio a letter full of affection, as we shall see.

"I return to you, my father. . . . I have seen our vicar John Staupitz, and my brother master Wenceslaus Lincke. You could not have chosen mediators more agreeable to me. I am moved. . . . I have no longer fear; my dread is changed into love and filial respect. You might certainly have employed force; you have preferred persuasion and charity.

". . . . I now acknowledge it. . . . Yes, I have been violent, hostile, insolent to the pope. Driven to all these excesses, I

¹ "Velit R. P. tua ad sanctissimum dominum nostrum Leonem X. pro me intercedere. . . . Non tam arrogans et vanæ gloriæ studiosus sum, ut hæc causæ pudeam revocare male dicta."—Caietano, 14 Octob. 1518. De Wette, tom. i. p. 149.

ought to have treated with greater reverence so grave a matter, and in replying to a fool, have avoided resembling him. I am affected, repentant ; I crave your pardon, and shall express my sorrow to any one who will hear me. Henceforward I promise you, my father, to speak and act quite differently, by God's assistance. I shall speak no more upon indulgences, provided you impose silence on all those who have brought me into this painful position.

"As to the retraction, my reverend and kind father, which you and our vicar demand so earnestly, my conscience in no wise permits me to make it ; and nothing in the world, neither orders, nor counsels, nor the voice of friendship, can make me speak or act against my conscience. There remains but one voice to be heard, which exceeds all others ; and that is, of the bride, which is the same as that of the bridegroom.

"I entreat you, therefore, with all humility, to bring this matter under the consideration of our holy father Pope Leo X., to the end that the Church may pronounce on what must be believed or rejected."¹

What then was Cajetan to do, who had, as Luther's testimony sufficiently proves, exhausted all kinds of exhortations, mild reproaches, prudent counsels, and the voice of friendship?² He still flattered himself with the hope of a reconciliation, when the appeal of Luther to the pope, affixed to the walls of the cathedral and the Carmelite monastery, banished all these hopes ; he could no longer deceive himself.

Luther hastened to quit Augsburg. Staupitz had provided a horse, and obtained for his friend a guide in the person of a peasant who was acquainted with the roads.³ Langemantel, a magistrate of Augsburg, conducted him over-night, by by-streets, to a small gate which opened on the ramparts. Luther had not even taken time to don his breeches or his shoes.⁴

Next day, a monk, by order of the prior of the Carmelites,

¹ See this letter, Confirmatory Evidence, No. 9.

² "Benevolentia et clementia in me eximia fuit et copiosa."—Spalatino, 31 Octob. De Wette, tom. i. p. 166.

³ See the peasant's narrative in Luther's Works : Halle, vol. xv. p. 731.

⁴ Spalatino, Epist. 31 Oct. De Wette, p. 166.

who had himself made haste to escape, affixed the appeal to the gates of the monastery.

Luther thus sets forth his grievances :—

1. If he has controverted indulgences, it is because they are neither commanded nor approved by God. He had never any intention to question faith, discipline, or any point of Catholic belief.

2. He has from the first protested that he would submit his theses to the judgment of the Church and the supreme pontiff.

3. The judges assigned to him are liable to suspicion. Sylvester Prierias, who has written against his Dialogues, has never applied himself to theology, and is a mere Thomist.

4. If he has not gone to Rome, it is because that at Rome, where justice formerly abode, homicide now resides. *Justitia habitat in eū, nunc autem homicida.*

Wherefore, oppressed, assailed in his liberty and his honour, and in his writings, which, moreover, he again submits to the judgment of his holiness ;—

HE APPEALS FROM THE POPE ILL INFORMED, TO THE POPE BETTER INSTRUCTED.¹

On the 18th, the cardinal received the following note, in which Luther apprized him of his hasty departure :—

“ Your reverence has witnessed my obedience in the long journey which I undertook, feeble in body, poor, and without the means of livelihood. I could no longer lose my time here, without being at the expense of those dear fathers who have lodged and fed me. I leave them, placing myself under God's protection.”²

On his way, at Nuremberg, he received the pope's brief to Cajetan, which his friend Spalatinus had directed to him, and which he returned with a marginal commentary. At the same time he wrote to him :—

“ Indeed, it is difficult for me to believe that anything so monstrous comes from a pope, and above all from Leo X. Whoever the blackguard may be who, under the name of Leo, tries thus to alarm me with his brief, let him know that I see through his pleasantry ; if it really proceeds from the chancery,

¹ Seckendorf, l. c. p. 49.

² Luther's Werke, tom. xv. p. 714.

I shall inform them of their presumptuous iniquities, and their most wicked ignorance.¹ The Romanists begin to tremble, and to put little confidence in their works."

It is impossible to believe that the monk had read the pope's brief,² for nothing contained in it can explain his ravings against Leo X. The pope might have excommunicated Luther. He preferred, as the English historian Roscoe³ remarks, to put the doctor's sincerity to the test. As the visible head of the Church, the living image of the Son of God on earth, Leo might, in the name of the omnipotence of Christ, have said to the Catholic: "Such is the teaching of the Church, believe and obey it, else you shall be cut off from the communion of the apostles. The efficacy of indulgences is a dogma of faith. Your reason repels it, you are no longer my son; you are no longer a link of that great chain which unites you to the disciples of Jesus; you are no longer a drop of that ocean which shall never be dried up until the end of time; I renounce you in the name of Christ, as have been John Huss, Wickliff, and all those who, like you, have resolved to walk in their own wisdom, instead of following that light which shall guide all docile children until the consummation of the world." In the brief to Cajetan, Luther's name is not even mentioned.

After his return to Wittemberg, Luther thought better of it. What if the pope, better informed, should condemn him? The monk had foreseen all; he had drawn up an appeal from the pope better informed to the council. And if the council punished him? Then he would submit his writings to the Sorbonne of Paris.⁴ The Sorbonne, as he says to all his friends,

¹ " Ideo, quisquis ille fuerit nebulo, qui sub nomine Leonis decimi tali me terrere proposuit decreto, intelligat me posse quoque nugas intelligere."—Spalatino, 31 Oct. 1518.

² This brief of the pope is to be found in Luther's Works, Latin edit.: Jena, vol. i. p. 81.

³ Roscoe, Life of Leo X. vol. iii. p. 173.

⁴ " Interim hic positus aliam parabo appellationem ad futurum concilium, adhucurus Parisiensibus in eventum quo hanc priorem appellationem de plenitudine potestatis, imd tyrannidis refutaret papa."—31 Oct. Spalatino. De Wette, i. c. tom. i. p. 166.

Roscoe, from want of documents, is mistaken in asserting that Leo's bull on indulgences provoked Luther's appeal to the council. The bull is dated 9th November, 1518, and on the 31st October, Luther writes to Spalatinus, "I am preparing my appeal to the council, in case the pope should reject my former appeal." (To the pope better informed.)

is the mother of the sciences. But a day will come, and that not distant, when the Sorbonne, his only hope at this time, will denounce all the theses which he has published. In that case, this temple of theological luminaries which he has settled at Paris, will be nothing but a nest of fools, and we must properly translate it, of asses, and more than asses.

Now, stretch out your hand and touch the monk's heart ; it beats, you hear it, but it is with joy and gladness.¹ The coarse dark gown derides the red one.

CHAPTER XIV.

ELECTION OF AN EMPEROR. 1513—1519.

The people in Germany favour the Reformation.—Printing and engraving go along with the people.—Luther denies the pope's infallibility.—New works of the monk.—Interrupted by the election of an emperor of Germany.—The electors assemble at Frankfort-on-the-Main.—The competitors for the empire are Henry VIII., Francis I., and Charles of Austria.—Means employed to obtain the crown.—Policy of the court of Rome.—Charles is elected.—Capitulations drawn up by the States.—Portrait of Charles V.—He takes the oaths at Aix-la-Chapelle.—Luther's conduct during the Diet.

REVOLUTIONARY Saxony, intoxicated with pride, saw at this moment one of her sons, an obscure monk, combating singly with Rome, represented by her doctors, theologians, and spiritual princes. Each change of scene in this drama enacted in public places, excited her curiosity ; she asked herself how and when it would end ? She sustained Luther by her wishes and approbation. In her eyes, it was a struggle between good and evil principles. Luther, the German universities, the students, the learned, the poets, and the artists, composed the good principle ; the evil one was made up of the monks, the theologians of Cologne, the preachers of indulgences, the cardinals, and the pope : such the language of innovation had represented them for the last two years. The land of light was Saxony ; that of darkness, Italy. It was even boldly asserted in print, that the

¹ "Sum plenus gaudio et pace."—Spalatino, 18 Oct. ibid.

pope and the cardinals were thorough barbarians.¹ Public opinion became a powerful tribunal ; printing translated into the vulgar tongue these grave disputationes, and sent them forth as need might be,—simple, lively, austere, ludicrous,—for food to minds already prepossessed. The people had not yet taken a part in the disputes, or hitherto had been content to be represented by their clergy. At length, however, they who had so long been restricted, sat down to the table of the doctors of the law ; and, thanks to the Saxon's polemics, interrogated them, heard their views, and imagined they comprehended them. For this reinstatement of being, they were indebted, they said, to Luther, who had smote the rock and caused the water of divine knowledge to flow ; this immaterial bread was of his preparing. The sword of a conqueror had never been able to effect anything similar. Art associated with the press to hasten the Reformer's triumph, and became his accomplice, sometimes by engraving in the most burlesque forms the portraits of the monk's adversaries, which were produced in thousands from the blocks ; sometimes by circulating as money, medals² of the doctor and his disciples ; at other times by carving their statues, to serve as the signs of merchants. While printers, engravers on wood and metal, brass-cutters, transcribers of manuscripts, all classes of workmen and operatives, for want of their souls, gave up their bodies to Luther ; painting, represented at Basle by Holbein, and at Nuremberg by Cranach, idealized his portrait, and made of the monk the type of an honest man and a Christian.³

However, the powerful talents of Holbein and Cranach were not to be compared with those of the poor artisan, who had merely a small piece of wood for expressing his sympathies ; and, indeed, the Reformation was fortunate in finding in the work-

¹ The work is entitled, *Quod Italia sit barbara terra ; quod Itali sint barbari populi ; quod Papa et Cardinales sint plures barbari quam Scythæ et Tartari.* It is without a date or printer's name, but the author of *Monumenta Litteraria, Brunsvigæ, 1690,* assigns it to the early part of 1519.

² See the chapter entitled *The Pictures*, in vol. ii.

³ “Ara cui impositus liber apertus, addito ejus titulo : *Verbum Dei. Super libro est cor crucis signo conspicuum et radiis solaribus desuper collistratum, cum epigraphe : Vir multa strenuens ; quas verba simul transpositis litteris nomen Martini Lutheri representant.*”—Juncker, l. c. p. 24.

In 1520, they discovered in Luther : *Lux vera totius Ecclesiae Romanae.*

shops disciples more able than those which she had formed in her schools ! The one, to promote the new work, had only language, but language difficult to be understood by the common people, and for converting the multitude; the others had received from God the power of deceiving the eyes in a comedy played at all times, in broad daylight, in this museum of heads of anti-reformers, so burlesque, that we laugh at them even in our own times. This was the best translation which could be made of Luther's theses. History teaches us that learned men rarely effect by their single efforts material or moral revolutions. It is the people, the instrument of life or of death, who take them in their rough state, and work them to the end ; without the people they would be arrested in their career, or perish in the bud. The people are the breath of the Psalmist, which vivifies clay, and makes the dry bones rise and move. Their influence has not been sufficiently appreciated in the spiritual or material questions connected with the revival of learning, when the human mind awoke by the breath blown from Italy, and which she tried by the light that shone from the East. Look at Germany. If the people had not left their studios, their shops, and their markets, to force the cockle of rebellion which the preaching of Luther had sown in their consciences, its seed, like what John Huss and Jerome of Prague had in the preceding century deposited in their minds, would have been scattered by the wind ; and the voice of the whole of the theologians, and their impassioned debates, would have served but to stifle it for ever. Had not Wickliff taught in part what Luther then fully preached ? But Wickliff never thought of carrying his differences to the streets ; and there he was mistaken. In this sense, we cannot but admire the foresight of Luther and his friends. The masses once put in motion, could not be stopped by Luther ; he led them on.

His appeal to the future council appeared ; he had prepared it for a long time before. Like Abraham, he is quite ready, he says, to go where the voice of God shall direct him,¹ braving the

¹ "Cæterum exspecto maledictiones ex urbe Româ quotidie ; ideo omnia dispono et ordino ut cùm venerint, paratus et succinctus eam cum Abraham nescio quid, imò certissimus quid, quis Deus ubique."—Spalatino, 25 Nov. De Wette, l. c. tom. i. p. 188.

curse of Rome, "the seat of Antichrist." He had expected, if we may believe him, to know the opinion of the supreme pontiff before handing his appeal to the printer; but his bookseller, worthy man, as he represents him, knowing well his own interest, in place of depositing the whole edition with the author, as had been agreed upon, exposed the pamphlet for sale, and all the copies were disposed of in a few weeks.¹

In this appeal, Luther, who foresaw that Rome must condemn him, raises for the first time doubts as to the infallibility of the pope, which as yet he had not openly denied. "It was far from his intention to attack the authority of the holy father, teaching a pure doctrine, and much less to separate himself from the Church;² but is not the pope of the same flesh and nature as other men, peccable and fallible like them; like them as likely to err and fall, as did St. Peter?³ Such was the power and wealth of the pope, that no one was able to withstand them; to whom then must he have recourse, except to a much higher authority, the council?" He concluded this appeal by complaints of the obduracy of Cardinal Cajetan, of the very prelate whose unspeakable gentleness⁴ he had mentioned some weeks previously, and who, since their interview at Augsburg, had lost his orthodoxy and biblical knowledge, and become a fool in theology, and a heretic in doctrine.⁴ The pure gold spoken of in Scripture has not changed so soon into base metal.

As if desirous to know the effect produced in Germany by his appeal to the next council, drawn up in language full of arrogance, and his lesson to Leo X. upon human frailty, Luther retired for a time to his cell, closed his course of theology, and seemed to listen to what was said about him. During that brief interval poor Germany breathed freely. Whoever had then travelled through Saxony, Wittenberg, and Thuringia, would have found them more quiet. But in the depth of the retreat in which Luther had taken refuge, his repose was every moment

¹ Wenceslao Linck, 11 Dec. ² Seckendorf, *Comment. de Luther.* p. 58.

³ Luth. *Opera*: Jena, tom i. p. 217.

⁴ "Præterea ex ore ejus multas audivi propositiones atheologissimas, et quas, si alius dixisset hæreticissimas pronuntiassem. Sylvester secundus est ab hoc. Tu cogita, nam Sylvestrum nōeti, quid sint decimi, aut centesimi, si secundus talis est, talisque et primus?"—Spalatino, 15 Nov. *De Wette*, l. c. tom. i. p. 173.

broken. Every hour of the day the bell of the monastery awoke the monk from a slumber which he was glad to have interrupted. Sometimes it was an illustrious pilgrim who rang to see and hear brother Martin ; sometimes theologians, who interrogated him on St. Thomas, whose very name made him ill, and whom he would have driven from the schools, to substitute for him Ovid and his Metamorphoses ;¹ sometimes a learned opinion on the war with the Turks, and the *cultus* rendered to the saints, which was sought from him in writing. Another time it is Hutten, who encourages him : “ Come, brother, all goes on well ; on, on, war with the monks ! ” or Erasmus, who compliments him upon his Commentary on the Psalms.² Luther is quite a father of the Church, pronouncing decisions from his oratory, and whose voice is listened to like that of a pope. He satisfies all. The very hours intended for sleep, are employed in replying to his friends. He openly blames a crusade against the Turks. “ For what good are these carnal wars ? It is an intellectual war against ourselves that we ought to undertake. Ah ! when Rome exceeds so far the tyranny of the Turks, and rises up with so many abominations against Christ ; when the clergy are drowned in an ocean of avarice, ambition, and luxury ; when the aspect of the Church is so miserable ; there is no hope of a good battle or a fortunate victory. At present God fights against us ; we must overcome Him by our tears, our prayers, the sanctity of our manners, the purity of our faith.”³ His doctrine as to the worship of the saints is still Catholic. He is unwilling that they should charge with superstition the invocation of the blessed, or the prayers addressed to them, even for bodily necessities, as some heretics in Bohemia do.⁴ “ The saints are advocates before God ; only we must take care not to invoke them except for healing the infirmities of the flesh.”⁵

¹ Spalatino.

² Sleidan, History of the Reformation, 4to. vol. i. p. 17.

³ “ Quandò autem Romana curia hodie omnium Turcarum superat tyranidem (tantis monstris contra Christum et ejus Ecclesiam pugnat) et clerus in avaritiae, ambitionis et luxuriae profundo submersus est, et miserrima sit ubicunque facies Ecclesiae ; non est spes boni belli aut felicis victoria.” —Spalatino, 21 Dec. De Wette, l. c. tom. i. p. 200.

⁴ Spalatino, 31 Dec. De Wette, l. c. tom. i. p. 201.

⁵ Lib. de Abroganda Missa Privata, in Epilogo : Opera Lutheri, tom. ii. Lat. Jenæ, fol. 493. Seckendorf, Comment. de Lutherania. p. 122.

The voice of Luther would have been still more powerful, but it was lost in the tumult of ambitions which threatened to agitate Europe ; the Emperor Maximilian was dead. The question was to give to Germany, perchance the world, a new master. The electors of the holy empire, according to the terms enjoined by the golden bull, were assembled at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, to weigh the claims of the competitors, and adjudge the crown. The ecclesiastical electors, who were then to dispose of one of the finest thrones in the world, were Albert of Brandenburg, archbishop of Mayence ; Hermann of Weyden, archbishop of Cologne ; and Richard of Greifenkлав, archbishop of Treves. The competitors for the empire were, Francis I. king of France, the most splendid prince of the age, the friend of Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, and Leo X. ; and Charles of Austria, who three years previously had succeeded to Ferdinand, king of Spain, his maternal grandsire. The ambassadors of Charles remained at Mayence, and those of Francis at Coblenz, awaiting with impatience the resolution of the Diet. It was opened in presence of Louis, Count Palatine, Frederick, duke of Saxony, Joachim, marquis of Brandenburg, and Louis, king of Hungary and Bohemia, represented by Ladislaus of Stenberg, all convoked, according to the custom of the empire, by the archbishop of Mayence.

In Germany the electors were resolved to set aside the two rivals, to give their votes to a prince of German extraction. The court of Rome at first seconded this plan ; it was unwilling to have as king of the Romans, the king of Naples, whom the Constitution of Clement IV. positively excluded from the imperial throne.¹ At one time, Henry VIII. conceived the idea of competing for a crown,² which a cotemporary author compares to the shadow of a gigantic tree, to a sunbeam that with difficulty penetrates the window of an apartment ;³ but he very soon abandoned his intention.

The two princes who alone had a chance for the imperial crown were therefore Francis I. and Charles of Austria. In order to obtain it, both made use of bribery. Francis I., who

¹ Goldast, Const. Imp. tom. i. p. 620.

² Ranke, l. c. p. 369.

³ Pet. Martyr de Ang. Ep. 654.

valued the Germanic throne at three millions of thalers,¹ loaded carriages with gold to corrupt the conscience of the electors ; unfortunately the carriages were pillaged on the road. The drafts which he had drawn upon the bankers of Augsburg were not more lucky : the Fuggers refused to honour them.

Charles, like his rival, purchased votes. His confidence was not less than that of Francis. "Positively," said Margaret, governor of the Low Countries, "the king is determined to attain the empire, no matter how, or cost what it may."²

Robertson does honour to the policy of Rome.³ In the success of either of the two competitors, there was equal danger to the balance of power in Europe. If Francis I. obtained the crown, there were no more barriers of ice between France and Italy ; if Charles were proclaimed emperor, no more walls between the states of the Church and that prince, who was already master of Naples. Farther, Leo X. predicted, that if either Charles or Francis attained the empire, Italy would soon be the battle-field on which the two rivals would determine their quarrels.

On the 28th of June, the electors, in scarlet robes, assembled, at the sound of all the bells of the town, in the small chapel attached to the choir of the church of St. Bartholomew.⁴

The Church is now about to exhibit a beautiful spectacle to us, showing how Catholicism, while it shelters under one of its wings the dogmas of the faith, protects with the other the liberties of the people. The archbishop of Mayence opened the diet. "Our laws and our oaths," said he, "prohibit us from transferring the imperial dignity to a stranger. Although his birth did not exclude him from the imperial throne, it would be our interest to set him aside ; because if Francis were once master of this crown, he would soon endeavour to extend his states and their frontiers at the expense of the empire, and Germany would be convulsed with great troubles. Doubtless he will give us magnificent promises, which ought not very much

¹ "Er liess sich vernehmen, er werde drei Millionen Kronthalter daran wenden, um Kaiser zu werden."—Ranke, l. c. tom. i. p. 359.

² Letter from Margaret to Zevenberghen.

³ Robertson, History of Charles V. vol. i. p. 336. Schmidt, History of the Germans, vol. vi. p. 182 et seq.

⁴ Ranke, l. c. tom. i. p. 385.

to affect us ; for cupidity and ambition soon intoxicate men. Look at France ; formerly she numbered a great many sovereigns, at present she obeys one man only : the king is absolute master. They say that this prince is bold and valiant : these are virtues which unquestionably suit a great monarchy, but which might prove fatal to our privileges." The prelate continued : " With Charles, king of Spain, we have the same to fear. I confess that his very name alarms me ; Charles will come with his Spaniards, and our liberties will run a great risk. If the Spaniards, by force of arms, recover the country of the Milanese, they will keep it."

The elector of Treves spoke long and eloquently in favour of Francis I. " If we give the preference to Charles," said he, " what troubles will arise in Italy ! The Turk will throw himself with all his forces into Hungary,—and who shall resist him ? Let us beware of calling to our aid the Spaniards, who, being masters of Naples, might oppress us. Germany requires a prince able to strengthen the state, reform the Church, and maintain our liberties. And who is better able to accomplish these ends than the king of France, who possesses as much courage as judgment,—who is pleased to converse with the learned on theological subjects,—who understands the trade of war,—at the same time active and successful ; who has conquered the Swiss, who hitherto, since the days of Cæsar, have been considered invincible ? Charles is too distant from us ; who then, in his absence, would repress sudden insurrections and domestic commotions ? And should any great tempest arise, who would save the pilotless vessel ? Charles, so far from us, would only be cognizant of our affairs by reports too frequently erroneous ; he will only have Spaniards in his council : and if, irritated by false reports, he should come into Germany with foreign soldiers, what will become of the fortunes, the constitution, and the liberty of that state ?" Then followed the archbishop of Cologne, who led the assembly in favour of Charles of Austria. Frederick, elector of Saxony, to whom on the preceding evening they had offered the empire, and who had nobly refused it, voted himself in favour of the Spanish prince.

This was a wise determination. Frederick, who had seen the hearse which Maximilian in his latter days had made to

follow in his retinue, could not bring himself to take the pledges of royalty ; besides, he was better acquainted with books than with men. His crown was his university of Wittemberg, the glory of Germany, and in which Melancthon attracted thousands of hearers. When, seated among the crowd, he listened to the young professor, Frederick would not have exchanged his place for the greatest throne in the world. Could he desire that imperial crown the master of which often had not wherewith to pay the wages of the Swiss who were in his service ?¹ To the book so fastidiously entitled the Golden Bull, he preferred the Aldine Horace, which he carried with him wherever he went.

In conformity with his instructions, the legate from the court of Rome had orders to offer, in the name of Leo X., permission to Charles to reunite the imperial crown to that of Naples.² Failing Frederick, Rome would have preferred Francis I. to Charles, king of Spain and master of Naples.

This policy displeased the old descendants of Hermann, who protested energetically, through the medium of Jerome Gebwiler, against the slavery sought to be imposed on them, by calling to the imperial throne a prince of a foreign race : as Germans born, such they wished to die.³ Ulrich von Hutten lent himself gallantly to this patriotic movement ; so the election to the empire of the king of Spain was received with transports of joy, for there was German blood in the veins of that prince.

The authority of the pope was still too much respected in Germany to allow of an open attack upon Leo X. : they therefore picked out Cajetan. Hutten, in a pamphlet of pungent eloquence,⁴ treated the cardinal's scarlet robe as he had the white one of the Dominican Hochstraet. The scholar's satire appeared at Mayence, without Cardinal Albert, the enemy of Francis I., caring to repress the insolence of the patriot.

¹ Gaillard, *Hist. de Francis I.* tom. i. 8vo. p. 301 et seq. Schmidt, l. c. vi. p. 190 et seq.

² Giannone, *History of Naples*, vol. ii. p. 498. Gregorio Leti, *Life of the Emperor Charles V.* 1708, vol. i. p. 104. Sandoval, *Historia de la Vida del Emperador Carlos V.* : en Pamplona, 1614, tom. i. p. 139 et seq.

³ " *Libertas Germaniae, quæ Germanos Gallis, neminem verò Gallum à Christiano natali Germanis imperasse, certissimorum classicorum testimoniis probatur . . . Hieronymo Gebvilero auctore, in singulare potius Germaniae et Alsatiae præconium congesto.* Argent. 1519."

⁴ *Febris Prima*, *Hutten's works*, edited by Munk, vol. iii. p. 109.

We have seen, however, that the policy of Rome was clearly marked out : she wished an elector to be emperor ; but no elector being sufficiently rich to purchase the crown, it was given to the one of two competitors who knew best how to scatter money and promises.¹ If Charles were master of the empire, what ought Rome to do ?—to rally, for the sake of Catholic unity, round the new monarch. Charles, as emperor, was bound to assist in repressing the nascent heresy.

The night following the election was occupied in drawing up the capitulations which the prince was obliged to sign before receiving the crown. They were to this effect :—

Charles swore upon the holy Gospels to defend the Christian commonwealth, the pope, and the Church of Rome ; to establish a senate composed of Germans, who should take care of the government and the empire ; neither to abolish nor diminish the rights and privileges of the various orders ; neither to impede nor shackle the deliberations of the electors ; to restore, when called upon to do so, the fiefs of the empire of which he might be unjustly in possession ; to undertake neither at home nor abroad any war without the consent of the orders ; to assemble no diet, or impose any tax or duty, without the express consent of the electors ; to maintain the liberty of his subjects, whom he could not divest of the justice of the country ; to watch that the court of Rome should never make any attempt on the privileges or liberties of the nation ; not to weaken the right of election by conferring it on too great a number ; to leave to the tribunals of ordinary justice of the country, the determination of differences between the prince and the orders ; to banish no German without publishing the reasons for his exile, and conforming to the laws ; to give to none of his courtiers the vacant estates of the empire, but unite them to the public treasury ; never to attempt to make the imperial dignity hereditary ; in short, to dispense true and faithful justice to all his subjects. The ambassadors, after accepting these capitulations in the name of their master, and having sworn to observe them religiously, repeating each article word for word, gave on the 3rd of July sealed letters to each elector, conformably to the decrees of the canon law.²

¹ State Papers of Cardinal Granvelle, vol. i. p. 112.

² Sleidan, History of the Reformation, vol. i. book i.

It is beautiful to see an assembly of princes of the Catholic Church stipulating so anxiously and carefully for the laws and liberties of a nation before conferring its crown on the prince whom they were sent to elect. So when people give out that the Reformation first raised the cry in favour of civil liberty, it is either because they have not read history, or have willingly closed their eyes against it. Whenever human nature is threatened with the loss of any of the rights which it derives from heaven, it is Catholicism which protects it against the encroachments of power, which revives those charters which are supposed to be forgotten, exposes them to the light, and knows at a strait how to defend them against those who dare to touch them, whether the aggressor goes by the name of prince or people.

Charles the Fifth, who occupies such an important place in the history of the Reformation, was scarcely known by the Teutonic world, which adopted him for its master. He was nineteen years old. One of his professors was a theologian of Utrecht, named Florence, a practical genius, who possessed in an eminent degree the art of a silent listener, which he taught his pupil. This Dutchman soon became pope by the name of Adrian VI. Charles had the German features, pale complexion, thick lower lip, light hair, large and broad shoulders. When in council he rarely spoke, steadfastly regarded the speaker, and contented himself with expressing his sentiments by motions of the head. His councillors had succeeded in understanding the various signs of this royal automaton. His minister was proud when, by force of talent, he was able to obtain from the prince a monosyllable. However, this habitual taciturnity did not proceed either from a defect of temper or intellect, for this prince had as much heart as judgment. He held the faith of his master Adrian sincerely but unostentatiously : the slave of his promise, which was with difficulty given, he would not have broken it at any price. He loved study, but cared very little for the arts. After he had visited Italy, he appeared to perceive that the pope, his professor, had been to blame in concealing from him the knowledge of visible phenomena : a picture by Titian acquainted him with the art of design. What he loved above all things was horsemanship. No one at his court knew so well as he how to manage a Spanish barb.

Upon his saddle might be read the word *Nondum*, which adverb Charles himself had chosen for his motto. Nobody could at first comprehend its meaning. The rider knew all that the horse carried, and he did not yet wish to tell it to any one.¹

He received without emotion the news of his election to the empire.² After having settled the internal affairs of his Spanish states, he set out for Aix-la-Chapelle, which the Golden Bull appointed for the place of coronation.

The archbishop, in pontificals, placed the crown on the prince's head, asking him if he promised to defend the Church, and render the required obedience to the supreme pontiff?

The emperor, raising his hand, pronounced the oath: "I will; and may God and his saints assist me to fulfil my promise."

Then, turning to the electors and spectators, the archbishop asked if they would have Charles for their master? "*Fiat, fiat,*" was the unanimous response.³

Luther, from his monastery, watched the movements of the imperial session at Frankfort. While labouring at new pamphlets against Rome, he was present at every scene passing in the visible world. Had his prayers been heard, Frederick would at that time have been emperor of Germany, and the religious revolution, protected by that prince, would have been accomplished without a check. Charles came from the hands of a Thomist; what share would he take in it? Miltitz, the new envoy from Rome, arrived in Germany, to endeavour to restore peace to the Church: but peace was the ruin of the new heresy.⁴

¹ Schmidt, l. c. tom. vi. p. 199.

² "Res digna visu, sine ulla ostentatione tantum honorem suscepit."—Pet. Martyr, ep. 648.

³ Goldast, D. N. N. Imperatorum, &c. Statuta et Rescripta, 1667, folio, p. 11.

⁴ Consult further, on the subject of the Diet and the election of Charles V., Rudloff, Neuere Geschichtte von Mecklenburg, tom. i.; Stumpf, Baierns pol. Geschichte, tom. i.; Flascons, Hist. de la Dipl. Fr. tom. i.; Mémoires de Fleuranges, coll. un. tom. xvi.; Lettres de' Principe, tom. i.; Pezii Script. tom. ii.; Hubert Thom. Leodius, Vita Friderici Palatini, tom. iv.; Spiess, Brandenburgische Münzbelustigungen, tom. i.; Herbert, Life of Henry VIII.; Dumont, Traitée, tom. iv.; Chytreus, Saxonia, lib. viii.

CHAPTER XV.

DEATH OF TETZEL. 1518, 1519.

Miltitz arrives at Altenburg, to put an end to the religious differences.—Character of this nuncio.—He writes to Tetzel to come to him.—The Dominican pleads his inability to obey the nuncio.—His letter.—Hermann Raab, provincial of the Dominicans at Leipsic, defends the monk.—His letter to Miltitz.—The nuncio, arrived at Leipsic, summons Tetzel, threatening him with the anger of the pope.—Tetzel, already unwell, takes to his bed and dies.—Luther, hearing of the monk's illness, hastens to write to him.—What is to be thought of this letter.—Luther caused the death of Tetzel, by attributing to him language of which he was innocent.—Proofs in support of this.—His disciples repeat and spread the falsehood.—Walch, a Protestant, has repudiated it.

LEO X. was anxious for the peace of his Church in Germany : it was the desire of his heart. Of this we have had an evidence in the mission of Cardinal Cajetan, which unluckily failed, owing to Luther's obstinacy. The pope persisted. On this occasion, he selected a negotiator of a less highly cultivated genius than Cajetan : this was a German, a noble Saxon, of a mildness of disposition which some Catholic historians have severely censured. Miltitz,¹ canon of Mayence, and nuncio apostolic, did not come for the purpose of disputation. The same silence which he came to demand from Luther, he imposed upon the preachers of indulgences. He wrote to Frederick of Saxony the object of his mission, exhorting him to second it with all his might, to follow the example of his forefathers, and to do nothing unworthy of their memory. At the same time, he forwarded to George Spalatinus an autograph letter, in which Leo besought him to recall Luther to obedience. Spalatinus was of Spalt, in the bishopric of Eichshaedt, in Franconia : his family name was Buchart, and he had been distinguished for his attainments at the school of St. Sebaldus, at Nuremberg. He procured a canonry at Altenburg. He wrote German purely, was conversant with antiquities, and

¹ Hofmann, *Lebensbeschreibung des Ablasspredigers D. J. Tetzel*, 1844, 8vo. p. 133.

participated in the sentiments of Staupitz on free-will and justification ; he was a man of character, tenacious of his opinions, austere in language, but infatuated by prejudice, and esteeming nothing in the literary world beyond Germany.

In travelling through Saxony, Miltitz had heard the complaints of the Catholic population against Tetzel. Everywhere was repeated the discourse regarding the Virgin Mary attributed to the monk. The nuncio arrived, therefore, at Altenburg, towards the end of December, with evil prepossessions against the preacher of indulgences. He wrote to him to come to him, in the view of reconciling him with Luther, if it were possible. The monk, who was sick at Leipsic, excused himself in a letter not devoid of interest :¹—

“ Your highness,” said Tetzel, “ requests me to go to Altenburg, as you have an important communication which you wish much to make to me. I should eagerly obey your lordship, were I able to go without risk ; for the Augustinian Martin Luther has excited against me such vehement fury, not only in Germany, but in Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland, that I am in safety nowhere. At Augsburg, both in his conference with Cardinal Cajetan, and in his appeal to the pope, he has defamed me, and branded me with the name of heretic and blasphemer. I have long since submitted to his holiness a sermon, in which the doctor accuses me of having spoken injuriously of the holy Virgin ; a calumny which I took care last year to rebut both in writing and by word of mouth. In spite of that, Martin continues to persecute me shamefully, as a heretic and blasphemer. He has so excited people’s minds against me, that when, after I have preached, I descend from the pulpit, I see menacing looks before me. Worthy and pious Catholics have warned me to be on my guard, for more than one of Luther’s disciples has already threatened to kill me.

“ Wherefore, without risk of death, I could not go to your lordship, whom I should see with more pleasure than I would an angel. Will your lordship be so kind as to excuse me for the love of God, and because of my reasonable fears ? You know that to this day I have been devoted to the Holy See, and shall

¹ Hofmann, *Lebensbeschreibung des Ablasspredigers D. J. Tetzel*, p. 181.

continue to love it to the end. For defending its honour, during many years, and more especially since Luther's rebellion, I have been exposed in name and person to the enmities of the clergy and laity ; but what does that signify to me ? I am determined, until my last breath, to maintain the Holy Apostolic See against the attacks of its enemies. Will your highness have the goodness to tell me what I am to do ? I am ready to obey you, if I can do so without danger."—Leipsic, the last day of Dec. 1518.¹

One good soul only came to the aid of the unhappy Tetzel : this was Hermann Raab, provincial of the Dominicans at Leipsic, who feared not to undertake the defence of a monk whom all the world seemed to abandon.²

The provincial wrote to the nuncio : " You are aware of all that the reverend father, master John Tetzel, has had to suffer from Martin Luther, in espousing the cause of the Apostolic See, which he has not ceased to defend at the peril of his reputation, as is sufficiently proved both by the sermons which he has preached in public, and by the evidence of those who have heard him. Whoever has read Luther's appeal and other writings, can form an idea of the fury of that monk against Tetzel. Indeed, I do not know if there has ever been one who has suffered and fought as much as Tetzel for the glory of the Holy See. Ah ! if our most holy father knew it, I do not doubt that he would reward such noble devotedness. How he has been outraged, insulted, and calumniated, our public places can tell. I take the liberty, therefore, of recommending him to your paternity ; that you will take him under your protection, under that of the Holy See, which, fettered as he is, he continues boldly to defend. I wish that your lordship had heard the discourse which he preached on the feast of the Circumcision, and you would have seen what love he bears to the Holy See. Once more I recommend him to you."³

Some weeks after, Miltitz arrived at Leipsic, called Tetzel

¹ The original is lost ; Spalatinus has given a German translation of it. Tenzel, l. c. tom. ii. p. 374. Hecht, *Disputatio de Vita Joh. Tetzeli* : Wittemb. 1707, 4to. p. 101. Leescher, l. c. tom. ii. p. 567. Hofmann, l. c. pp. 135, 136.

² Tenzel, l. c. tom. ii. p. 106. Unschuld, *Nachrichten*, 1721, p. 700. Hofmann, l. c. p. 139.

³ Hofmann, l. c. p. 146, note.

before him, and, in presence of the provincial, threatened to denounce him to his Holiness. Tetzel was unable to undeceive the nuncio. Smote to the heart, he retired without murmuring and took to his bed. A burning fever consumed him ; he felt that for him all was over, and that he must leave the world, carrying to the grave the censures of the minister of a pontiff for whom he would have died ; a monk more imprudent than faulty, and who erred only through excess of zeal.

On the 14th July, 1519, when the Dominicans saw that the last moments of their brother were nigh, they went, according to custom, to sing in the choir of their church the *Salve, Regina*. Tetzel, from his bed, could hear the pious hymn. At the instant when their united voices chanted *Sub tuum præsidium confugimus, sancta Dei genitrix*, the dying man uttered a feeble cry, raised his eyes to heaven, and expired.

Peace to his shade ! which we perhaps may have vexed, since for a long time we believed the calumnies reported of him. Luther, when he heard of the monk's illness, instantly wrote to him to take courage and fear not, because he had forgotten all.¹

¹ "Ante obitum litteris benigniter scriptis consolatus sum, ac jussi bono animo esse, nec mei memoriam metuerit."—Luth. *Præf. ad tom. i. Op. edit.* Witt. § 28.

The assertion at first put in the mouth of Tetzel was this : "Der Ablass ist das höchste und wertheste Geschenk Gottes, und vermögend, den Sünder auch ohne Reue und Busse zu rechtfertigen, selbst wenn er die Mutter Gottes sollte geschändet und geschwächt haben."—An indulgence is the most precious gift of the Divinity ; it can reinstate the sinner without repentance or penance, even if he should have violated the Mother of God. The word in German is much stronger. The proposition is thus rendered by Sleidan, part ii. p. 218 :—"J. Tetzelius inter alia docebat se tantam habere potestatem à pontifice ut etiam si quis Virginem matrem vitiasset et gravidam fecisset, condonare crimen ipse posset interventu pecuniae." Already we perceive that the proposition is no longer presented in the same form ; Sleidan speaks neither of penitence nor penance, which Tetzel would have regarded as useless to those who purchased indulgences.

Luther, mentioning the words in his letter to the archbishop of Mayence, thus expresses himself : "Predicatorm exclamationes quas non audivi." Subsequently he writes (Wider Hanns-Wurst.) : "Indess kommt für mich wie der Tetzel hatte gepredigt, gräuliche, schreckliche Artikel."—I have been told that Tetzel has preached certain scandalous propositions : he does not say what. In his *Resol. Disput. de Virt. Ind.* (Læscher, p. ii. p. 291), he expresses himself in a manner to make it believed that he only mentions a vulgar rumour. At length, in his *Tisch-Reden*, Eisl. 1566, he affirms that the words were used by Tetzel, when, in the face of Germany, he had reported that the words were merely vulgar rumour.

There is another, a Protestant version. It makes Tetzel say, "Si quis virginem aut matrem vitiasset."

Walch, the editor of the collected works of Luther, had in the first instance

Generous and noble words, which we should be disposed to applaud, if it were possible for us to forget the past.

Tetzel owed his death to Luther's imputing to him that horrible saying: that even if one violated the mother of God, an indulgence was sufficiently powerful to wash away the crime. At first Luther treated it as a vulgar rumour which he did not appear to credit, then he repeated it, and inserted it in his theses affixed to the church walls; and finally, at table, he mentioned it as a certain fact; and twenty years after the Dominican's death, he revives in the midst of his friends this false assertion! Luther knew the source of the lie; that it was Myconius who hatched it, and hawked it about. In vain, during more than two years, in the pulpit, in his writings, his monastery, his travels, and on his death-bed, Tetzel had implored them to spare the priest and the monk; Luther, for the moment, promised him, and then had the grievous hardihood to break the word which he had pledged to a dying man. His disciples have had no more concern for the truth of history than for the carcase of the monk. One makes Tetzel be thrown into a privy by his brethren.¹ Another writes an insulting epitaph, which he promises to nail on the friar's tomb, if ever he finds it.² A third amuses himself by making a caricature of the doctor: an enormous head between two monstrous shoulders, a complexion inflamed by excess of spirituous liquors, lecherous eyes, and satyr's lips; a

related the proposition as true (tom. xv. p. 417). In the 23rd volume he ceases to believe it, and considers it apocryphal. The author of *Vertraute Briefe zweier Katholiken* has cleared up the point, and proved the falsity of the accusation against Tetzel.

In addition to this, a recent Protestant writer, M. Fr. Gottlob Hofmann, in his Life of Tetzel, appears to reject the accusation brought against the Dominican. More than once in the course of his work he warns us that he suspects the testimony of Vogel; an author devoid of discrimination, and whose work (Life of Tetzel) has served for a century as the dépôt from which materials have been grubbed up for besouling the monk and his order.

¹ Arnoldi, *Vita Mauricii*, in Menk, tom. ii. p. 1158.

² "In hoc sive sepulchro sive carcere
Ad quietem inquietam,
Ad memoriam laudis immemorem,
Ad futuræ mortis expectationem potius
Quam vite melioris spem,
Ab iis fuit reconditus
Qui fotorum cadaveris ferre non poterant.
Fuge viator,
Etiam mortuus crumenis imminet."

Vogel, l. c. p. 384.

mask of their own fancy, which Vogel and the biographers do not fail to stick on the title-page of their pamphlets,¹ although they positively know that no original portrait of Tetzel exists.² Others, more daring, imagine to deceive posterity by restoring the accusation ; but each has a version of his own ; this contents himself with blasphemy against Mary ; that, to blasphemy adds heresy, and makes Tetzel proclaim that for crime committed against the mother of God, to be pardoned, there is not even need of repentance, and that some coppers thrown into a bag are sufficient to redeem it.

But, at length truth has its victory, and by a strange good luck, it is a Protestant hand which wipes off that inkspot which the pen of an Augustinian had thrown upon the white robe of a Dominican. Honour to the magnanimity of Walch !³

¹ In Kreuseler's *Denkmäler der Reformation der christlichen Kirche* : Leipzig, 1817, Pl. xiv. In Schreiber's, Beilandter's, und Hengeling's *allgemeine Chronik der dritten Jubelfeier der deutschen evangelischen Kirche*, 1 Bd. und 2 Bde. Abth. : Gotha, 1819.

² "Wo mögen sich aber wohl die Originale zu diesen verschiedenartigen Kupfern und Holzschnitten befinden ? Kein Schriftsteller, der sein Werk damit versehen ließ, sagt Etwas davon."—Hofmann, l. c. p. 154.

³ See note p. 157.

Tetzel has also his apologists. He is thus described by them : "Verum alioquin mira comitate preditum fuisse gravitatemque præ se tulisse."—Albinus, p. 342.

"Sed que doctrinae præstantia fuerit, ex seculi, quo vixit ille, consuetudine cum primis, certamine quod cum Luthero iniit, cognoscas. Quo factum uti in animos hominum ac plebeiorum in primis, sese insinaverit, eorumque amorem sibi ac benevolentiam facile conciliari. Maxime vero propter eloquentie laudem, magnam nominis apud plebem, ut plerumque fieri solet, autoritatem consecutus, magis clarescere coepit, praesonisque luculentii et suavissimi pro istorum conditione temporum, elogium inde tulit."—Hecht, p. 19.

Consult the excellent German work, entitled, *Vertraute Briefe zweier Katholiken über den Ablasstreit D. M. Luther's wider D. J. Tetzel, bei der dritten Jubelfeier der lutherischen Reformation geschrieben* : Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1817, 8vo.

CHAPTER XVI.

INTERVIEW BETWEEN LUTHER AND MILTITZ. 1519.

Miltitz, nuncio from Leo X., comes to Altenburg, to have an interview with Luther.—How he treats the monk.—Luther promises the nuncio to write a letter of submission to his holiness.—He keeps his word.—His letter.—He agrees to accept the archbishop of Salzburg for a judge of his doctrines, and writes to that purport to the elector Frederick.—But he soon changes his language.—His abuse of Miltitz, whose gentleness he had at first praised.—What he writes to his private friends.—He will neither have peace nor be silent.—His description of Rome.—The pope, in his eyes, is the real anti-christ.—Game played by the papacy.—Luther ends by rejecting the judges whom he had selected.—His opinion of the German episcopate.—Prepares to dispute at Leipzig with Eckius.

MILTITZ requested an interview with Dr. Luther. They met at Altenburg, at the table of George Spalatinus, on Jan. 5, 1519.¹ There were no sharp words, complaints, or threats; they spent the time like agreeable companions. Luther ascribed the unhappy agitation of Germany at first to Tetzel, whom the nuncio gave up; and then to the pope, whom Miltitz defended, but faintly.

"Do you know, my lord," said Luther, "what Tetzel preached? He bawled from the pulpit: 'If you will bring me gold in handfuls, I promise you that all your mountains will change themselves into silver.'"²

"It is the pope's fault," added Luther; "with his enormous claims for pallium and dispensation, he has compelled the bishop of Magdeburg (the archbishop of Mayence) to get money by means of indulgences; whence arise the scandalous cheats of the collectors."³ They embraced, and Luther promised to live in peace for the future, and to write to the pope. He protested his

¹ Hofmann, l. c. p. 187.

² "Wenn sie fleissig bezahlen würden, so würden alle Berge dort herum zu gediegenem Silber werden."—Myconius.

³ "Da der Pabst so viel tausend Gülden für die Pallien und Dispensationen genommen, hat er den Bischof zu Madgeburg genöthigt, durch den Ablass zu markten, und auf diese Weise seinen Ablasspredigern Ursach geben das Volk Christi auf's schändlichste zu schinden."—Loescher, l. c. tom. iii. p. 9.

love and respect for Leo, his humble and docile faith, and agreed to choose the archbishop of Salzburg as judge of his writings. Miltitz, on his part, swore to impose silence on the monk's adversaries.

Miltitz, who, according to Protestant accounts, was a boon companion and lover of pleasure, had fancied he could reclaim Luther by cajolment. He told him that he drew every one after him, and took them from the pope ; that between Rome and Altenburg there were scarcely two or three Papists.¹

Luther gives us no great idea of the capacity of the legate, if the words which he has put in his mouth are correct.

On seeing the doctor, Miltitz could not repress his surprise : "Do you know, Martin," said he to the Saxon, "that I am strangely mistaken ? I represented to myself an old theologian, grown gray beside the kitchen stove, and I find a brisk and thriving young fellow. If I had 25,000 soldiers with me, I should despair of carrying you to Rome. On my way, in the taverns, I found three anti-Papists for one or two Papists.² In my travels, I asked the bar-maids, ' Girls, what think you of the chair of Rome ? ' ' My lord, we do not know of what the chairs of Rome are made ; are they of stone or of wood ? ' "³

Both remained several days at Altenburg, leading a jolly life there (all this is from a Protestant pen), eating and drinking from morn to night, speaking very little of God, but plenty of good cheer and wine.⁴ They parted good friends ; Miltitz was satisfied, and laughed at Cajetan. Never was diplomatist so completely deceived.

Scarcely had the conferences been terminated, when Luther wrote to the elector Frederick :⁵

" My dear and honoured lord, I have seen Charles Miltitz,

¹ Lutheri Relatio de Colloquio Altenburgensi.

² " Carolus Miltitius me vidit Altenburgi ; conquestus quod orbem totum mihi conjunxerim et papae abstraxerim, exploratum se habere per hospitia cuncta quod inter quinque homines tres aut duo vix Romanæ parti faverent. Fuit armatus 70 brevibus . . . ut me captum perduceret in homicidam Jerusalæ, purpuratam illam Babylonem."—Lœscher, tom. iii. p. 964. De Wette, l. c. p. 231.

³ Praef. Op. Luth. Lat.

⁴ Reissenbusch, Epist. Feilitschia. Seckendorf, p. 99.

⁵ An Friedrich Kurfürsten von Sachsen, Anfang Januars, 1519. De Wette, l. c. pp. 207, 209.

and we have agreed as follows: 1. That I shall give up preaching, and live quietly, provided it is clearly understood that my adversaries do so likewise; 2. That I shall write to his holiness that I have never been other than a docile child, and that I am distressed that my late preaching has occasioned such unjust prejudices and hatred against the Church of Rome; 3. That I shall induce the people to continue obedient to the Holy See, and to construe my works, not as hostile, but full of respect for the papacy; 4. That I shall accept as judge of my writings the learned archbishop of Salzburg.—If your lordship thinks that is not sufficient, I am ready, for the love of our Lord, to do what you please.”¹

Luther kept his promise; he wrote to his holiness in the beginning of March: “Most holy father, necessity again compels me, dreg of humanity and dust of the earth, to address myself to such great majesty as thine. Will your holiness deign to lend a pitiful ear to a poor lamb, and listen to my bleatings? . . .

“Charles Miltitz, privy chamberlain to your holiness, a man of worth, has accused me, in your name, before the illustrious prince Frederick, of presumption and irreverence to the Church of Rome, and your holiness has required satisfaction for it. I am distressed at being so very unfortunate as to be suspected of irreverence to the pillar of the Church, who have never had any other desire but to defend its honour. . . .

“What am I to do, most holy father? I want advice. I cannot expose myself to your anger; and how to escape it I know not. Must I retract? If the retractation required of me is possible, I am ready to do so. Thanks to my adversaries, to their resistance and hostility, my writings have had a greater circulation than I thought they would have. My doctrines have made too deep an impression on people’s minds to be effaced. Germany at this time flourishes with men of genius, learning, and thought. If I wish to honour the Roman Church, I must

¹ Miltitz’ conduct to Luther has been severely censured. Maimbourg accuses him of having “basely commended Luther, and flattered him in a manner quite unworthy of his character and rank.”—Maimbourg, History of Lutheranism, book i. p. 29, 4to. Pallavicini is not more favourable to Miltitz: “Il si avvill a parlargli con termini di umiliazione e di timore, e si contentò di ricevere anche in iscritto risposte ignominiose al sommo pontefice.”—Pallavicini, book i. ch. xiii. n. 8.

retract nothing. A retraction would only serve to sully it, and expose it to the reviling of the multitude.

"Those who have injured and sullied that holy Church of Rome, are the individuals, most holy father, whom I have incessantly combated, and who, in their foolish discourses, delivered in the name of your holiness, would, as adorers of filthy lucre, cast opprobrium and loathing on repentance ; and as if that was not sufficient evil, they charge me, who have struggled against these monstrous doings, with the whole weight of their audacity.

"Ah ! most holy father, before God, before creation, I affirm that I have never had the idea of weakening or moving the authority of the Holy See. I confess that the power of the Roman Church is above all things ; that nothing in heaven or earth is above her, Jesus excepted. Do not let your holiness give any credit to those who say otherwise of Luther.

"As for indulgences, I promise his holiness to trouble myself no more about them, and to be silent, provided my adversaries preserve silence also ; to recommend the people in my discourses to love Rome, and not to impute the follies of others to her ; to pay no heed to the sharp words which I have used and abused in reference to her while battling with these mountebanks, to the end that by God's aid this discord may be quieted ; for my utmost desire was, that the Church of Rome, our common mother, should not be contaminated by the filth of these men of money, and that the people should learn to prefer charity to indulgences."¹

Miltitz, undoubtedly, had not dictated another letter to Luther. How should he not have been glad ? Could he have imagined that he was the dupe of the monk ; that a coarse brown cassock concealed within its folds more cunning and craft than the robe of a diplomatist ; that the guest of a court, where the lips did not always speak what the heart thought, was deceived by a young German friar ? And Leo X., how he must have been misled by that fawning and obsequious phraseology, which kissed the earth and crawled like a serpent ; by those clouds of incense which exhaled from each period ; by that

¹ See the letter, Confirmatory Evidence, No. 10.

perfume of praise which seemed so intoxicating ; by those Latin hyperboles, which, to be reproduced in their native simplicity, would defy the language richest in imagery ! Take them as you will, never could these words, so lovingly studied, and which seem to drop so naturally from the pen, be rendered into French : *Fex hominum, pulvis terræ, paternas Christi vicarias aures.* Luther is not merely a sheep, but a poor little lamb,—*ovicula* : he does not cry, he bleats.¹ Such is what he shows himself to the papal envoy, as he desires to be judged at the court of the elector of Saxony, his protector. This is Luther, placing himself in public, before his judges, in the face of Germany. But wait, —the scene changes ; the friar is about to strip himself of the lamb's fleece, to clothe himself with the skin of the adder ; and instead of plaintive bleatings, he will resume that voice of thunder by which we know him. See him in private conversation with the friends of his youth, Spalatinus, Egranus, Staupitz ; without witnesses, without mystification. Listen :

Would you desire to know what sort of person is this Miltitz, the *honestus vir* of the letter to Leo, of 3rd March ? He is “a cheat, a liar, who parted from him, giving him a kiss like Judas, and shedding crocodile tears.² The guest of Altenburg, this jolly and free drinker, who toped like a Saxon, emptying huge pots of Eimbeck beer, came armed with seventy apostolic briefs to take and lead him captive to his homicidal Jerusalem, his scarlet Babylon, as has been told him at the prince's court.”³

Do you wish to learn what he thinks of the court of Leo X. ? “Ah ! how I wish that they would circulate widely that dialogue between Julius and Peter, in which the abominations of Rome are revealed to us ; revealed ? not so, for where are they un-

¹ “Ego fex hominum et pulvis terre. . . . Quare paternas ac verbæ Christi vicarias aures huic ovi culæ interim clementissime accommodare dignetur Beatus tua, et balatum meum hunc officiose intelligere.”

² “Mutavit violentiam in benevolentiam fallacissimè simulatam. . . . Sic amicè dicessimus etiam cum osculo (Judas scilicet), nam et inter exhortandum lacrymabatur. Ego rursum dissimulatam has crocodili lacrymas à me intelligi.” —2 Feb. 1519, Sylvio Egrano.

³ “Missus ad principem nostrum, armatus plus 70 apostolicis brevibus, in hoc scilicet datis, ut me vivum ac vincum perduceret in Hierusalem homicidam illam Romanam.” —2 Feb. 1519, Sylvio Egrano. Aurifaber, tom. i. p. 140. Loscher, l. c. tom. iii. p. 956.

known? And that the cardinals might see their tyranny and wickedness exposed to all eyes!"

On the suggestion of Miltitz, he has chosen the archbishop of Salzburg to be the judge of his doctrines; turn over some leaves of his correspondence, and you will see in what esteem he holds the episcopate: "These bishops call me proud and daring; I do not say that I am not! but what are these men, to know what God is, or what we are?"¹

He prostrates himself in the dust, confessing that there is under heaven no power above that of the keys; he has humbly entreated Leo X. and the nuncio not to credit the calumnies of his enemies, who depict him as desiring to affect the pontifical authority. Wait for a few hours only, give him time to shut his letter to the pope, and send it to Miltitz; permit the ink of the superscription to dry. Look at another, which he writes to Spalatinus, his favourite confidant: "I whisper it to you; in sooth I know not whether the pope is *Antichrist* himself, or his apostle, so much is Christ, that is to say truth, corrupted and crucified in his decrees. I am lacerated in seeing the people of Jesus so deceived."²

Now, even if we believe all that Protestant writers say as to the weakness of the character of Miltitz, and which Catholic authors have repeated with too little consideration, it must be openly avowed, to the eternal honour of the diplomatist, that he was an honest man, too confiding if you will, but frank and loyal; in a word, a Saxon of the good old times. At the moment when Luther accused him of felony, he had upon his table an autograph letter from Miltitz, in which he said: "I am about to write to our holy father a letter, in which I urge him to address to you a brief, which, I trust, will put an end to

¹ "Superbum me vocant et audacem, quorum autem neutrum negavit; sed non sunt ejusmodi homines qui sciant quod vel Deus sit, vel ipsi simus."—Georgio Spalatino, 12 Feb. De Wette, tom. i. p. 224.

² "In surem tibi loquor, nescio an Papa sit Antichristus ipse vel apostolus ejus; aded miser corrumptitur et crucifigitur Christus (id est veritas) ab eo in decretis. Discrucior mirum in modum, sic illudi populum Christi, specie legum et Christiani nominis. Aliquando tibi copiam faciam annotationum measurum in decreta, ut et tu videas, quid sit leges condere, postposita Scriptura ex affectu ambitus tyrannidis, ut taceam que alia Romana curia Antichristi opera simillima exundat."—Spalatino, 12 Mart. De Wette, l. c. tom. i. p. 239.

this unfortunate business ;" and the confiding guest of Altenburg did what he promised.¹

Now let it be seen whether in this great question, wherein Rome was so much interested, the papacy had failed in its duties ; whether she had not observed the commands of Christ and the maxims of the Gospel, and exhausted for Luther all the balm of Gilead, to use the terms of Scripture. For three years the world had been disturbed by disputes on indulgences ; at that time you would not have found a village in Germany which did not ring with the name of Luther, or where the inhabitants were not divided for or against his theses. As time advances, his doctrines expand : they gain ground, they cease to be modest, and stalk forth unblushingly. Luther is no longer the poor monk, too content with his "little hole ;" his pulpit is everywhere. He is no longer master even of his thoughts. If he wishes to keep them concealed until more favourable times, the printer does not fear to disobey him, and publishes, in detached leaves, opinions which spread in all quarters. At Rome, Miltitz will tell you, they would have given all the treasures of the Vatican to suppress this mighty tumult. Francis I., in all his glory, and Charles of Austria, have been unable to forget it, except during the days of the election ; and these days have passed very quickly. What attempts has not Leo X. made to avert the storm ? From the outset, as we have seen, when the integrity of the Catholic truth was menaced, briefs are addressed to the archbishops and bishops of Germany, to the various orders, to the monasteries of Saxony and Wittemberg, the voice of which is not listened to by Luther. Then the pope has recourse to the civil power ; Maximilian is not more successful. Perhaps the pomp of Rome will dazzle the eyes of the monk ? Luther sees it and smiles. Cajetan is exhausted at the end of two conferences. Then comes Miltitz, who kills with a few sharp words that chief of beggars Tetzel ; then Staupitz, then Jerome Spalatinus, and lastly, the poor monks of Juterbock, who for

¹ "Ich habe unserm heiligsten Herrn geschrieben, und aufs fleissigste angehalten, dass von Seiner Heiligkeit Briefe und Brevia ausgefertigt würden, damit eure Vaterheit glücklich, wie ich hoffe, abgethan würde."—Walch, tom. xv. p. 865.

want of knowledge, can only say that their consciences are troubled by such discord.

The religious Franciscans of Juterbock, afflicted by those scandals which a priest diffused in Germany, assembled under the presidency of their superior, and extracted from the different writings of Luther fourteen propositions, which startled their faith; and which they submitted to the bishop of Brandenburg. They could not believe that the Saxon had maintained this strange proposition before Cardinal Cajetan: that the authority of a layman, based upon the Scriptures, is superior to that of the pope, of the council, and of the Church. This simplicity of the dove was at the bottom of real knowledge. But Luther determined to be in the right against common sense itself: "Yes," he replies to the monks of Juterbock, "greater credence must be given to a layman, armed with the Scriptures, than to the pope, the council, or the Church herself. This is taught by St. Augustine; and none in the world, except Observantine monks, with the effrontery of prostitutes, maintain the contrary."¹

Thus went bowing before Luther, tiara and crown, scarlet robe and russet frock. There was there, certainly, sufficient to move a mind, however inflexible we can imagine it; and yet for all that Luther resists. He will listen to nothing; and why? According to him, it is God who urges and impels him,—*rapit et pelvit*; he is no longer his own master. This mind-movement, this intellectual confusion, "this great scourge of heaven," has no terrors for him;² he is resolved, whether or not, to accomplish his mission, without regard to the opinion of man, the advice of his fellow-students, the threats or thunders of the Church, exile, or death.³ He fears but one man, and his letters testify how keen his alarm is; that man is the elector of Saxony,

¹ "Quod laico habenti auctoritatem, plus sit credendum quam papæ, quam concilio, *imo quam Ecclesia*, hoc etiam juristi docent . . . et adeò ut catholicum, ut Augustinus in multis locis, hoc pro regulâ habeat legendi autores. Nec fuit aliis tam fedus hereticus qui hoc negarit, nisi novi isti heretici Jutterboocenses observantini qui fronte sua meretricia *scrotissimas* patrum doctrinas quas nunquam legerunt, pronuntiant pestiferas, &c."—Venerabilibus patribus conventus Jutterboocensis ordinis Minorum. 15 Mai, 1519. De Wette, l. c. tom. i. p. 268.

² "Non fuit causa quæ plus negotii fecisset vulgo isti otiosissimo cardinalium et Romanantium Romanatorum. Ego gaudeo."—Sylvio Egrano, 2 Feb. 1519.

³ Stanpitio, 26 Feb. 1519.

who here grows above all the terrors of Luther. The more so, because Frederick with a single word could crush that instrument of trouble, and do with Luther what the secular arm did with Jerome of Prague or John Huss ; but he will not try it ; not because his faith wavers undecided, because he tortures himself with the question of indulgences, because in his eyes grace cannot be united to our free-will, or because he has the convictions assigned to him by reformed writers ; but he has a natural son, to whom Rome has refused a benefice, and this is the true explanation of his liking to Luther, and of his policy towards the Holy See.¹ So now, when Miltitz and the prelates urge Luther to fulfil his promise, and to carry his case before the judge whom he had himself selected in the conference at Altenburg,² Frederick is silent, and is not even surprised at the monk's refusal. Luther's own motives for not yielding to Miltitz are thus set forth in a letter to the pope's chamberlain :³—

" He thought when at Altenburg, that his appearance before the archbishop was necessary ; but now that his doctrines have faced the sun, what would be the good of it ? Let them point out to him the articles which he ought to retract, showing him the reasons for such retraction. Since then a solemn disputation has been proposed to him at Leipsic, by Eck, the archbishop being unwilling that it should take place at Augsburg. Now, were he to refuse to accept this challenge, what disgrace would redound to him, his friends, his order, the university, and his protector, the elector of Saxony ? Is it that the many illustrious individuals who must needs assist at this argument, are not as competent doctors as an archbishop or a cardinal ? And then," he added, " I will not be judged by a Cajetan, who would have wished me to renounce the Christian faith, and who is very far from being a Catholic." ⁴

¹ Pallavicini, l. c. tom. i. ch. xiii.

² " Placuit principi ut ipse nominarem episcopum qui hoc cause perageret ; ego nominavi archiepiscopum, et primò Treverensem, deinde Salzburgensem, tandem Naumburgensem, comitem illum palatinum."—Spalatino, 19 Feb. 1519. De Wette, l. c. tom. i. p. 213.

³ Miltitio, 17 Mai, 1519. De Wette, l. c. tom. i. p. 276.

⁴ " Sed age, sint illa omnia plena : tamen coram R. D. Cardinale nolo hanc causam agi : nolo eum praesentem, neque dignus est ut qui me à fide Christiana

The Erostratus of Augsburg, the German Arminius, the theologian who set Italy in flames, used his clothes like a true scholar. His cassock was full of holes on all sides. He wrote to the elector for another. His grace's secretary promised him one; two months elapsed, and no appearance of the cloth; another more urgent letter was despatched, and another more explicit reply received. At length the monk lost patience, and wrote: "Your words have much thread, I dare say; but of this thread it is impossible to make good cloth."¹

CHAPTER XVII.

ECK AND CARLSTADT. 1519.

Luther, at Augsburg, settles the terms of a disputation between the two theologians.—Descriptions of Eck and Carlstadt.

Eck was at Augsburg when Luther appeared before Cardinal Cajetan. He came to offer a theological discussion on the questions which disturbed everybody, to Carlstadt, who had accepted it. Luther had settled its form and subject. Eck, in a programme,—*schedula*, which he circulated widely, ostentatiously announced this news to Germany, attacking sharply several of Luther's theses.²

tentavit Augustus deturbare; ego eum dubito esse Catholicum Christianum. Atque si etiam fuerit, scribam ad Romanum pontificem et dominos cardinales, ac coarguam eum, si se ipsum non emendavit in omnibus quibus feedissime errat. Doleo legatos sedis apostolicae tales esse qui Christum abolere moliantur."—De Wette, tom. i. p. 276.

¹ "Blandorum verborum fila ducere probè novit, sed pannus bonus ex illis non texitur."

With reference to the interview between Miltitz and Luther, consult the letters of the latter, Jan. 1519, to Jer. Dungersheim, p. 205, De Wette; 11 Jan. to Spalatinus, 209; to Scheurl, 18 Jan. 211; 19 Jan. to Spalatinus, 212; 2 Feb. to Egranus, 215; 31 Jan. to Dungersheim, 218; 12 Feb. to Spalatinus, 222; 20 Feb. to Staupitz, 231; 13 Mar. to the Elector Frederick, 237; 18 Mar. to Spalatinus, 238.

² Ranke, l. c. tom. i. p. 466. Bartholini Commentatio de Comitiis Augustanis, p. 615. Epistola Lutheri, Sylvio Egrano, 8 Feb.; Spalatino, 7 Feb.; Lango, 18 April, 1519. Raumer, Neuere Geschichte Europa's, tom. i. Marheinecke, l. c. tom. i.

On the 3rd of May, 1518, Carlstadt published, at Wittemberg, in reply to various attacks made by Eck on the orthodoxy of the members of the univer-

Luther desired nothing better than an opportunity for disputing. His programme is exceedingly insolent, as may be seen by some portions of his letter to Carlstadt.

"Health! Our Eck, that illustrious teacher, has published a *schedule*, in which he announces bombastically, as is his wont, that he is to dispute with you at Leipsic. You are aware that during my residence at Augsburg, I arranged the form of a friendly discussion between you and Eck, and that you readily accepted it. But you see how wonderfully this man remembers our agreement and his promise; after having shamefully insulted you, he, under pretence of attacking you, turns upon me his assault of frogs or flies, I know not which.¹

"I had fairly expected a well-conducted argument on all those serious subjects which you proposed to discuss; upon God's grace, man's misery, &c.

"Now, my dear Andrew, I do not wish that you should singly oppose this miserable disputation which he offers you, because at the outset he attacks me also; and besides it is not right that a man of your learning should stoop to defend what I call my fantastic theories. . . .

"Ah! my dear Eck, I do not accuse you of being a victim to the desire of vain-glory in publishing your programme. . . . I do not accuse you of having fraudulently, inhumanly, anti-theologically offered to Dr. Carlstadt propositions upon which

sity of that city, a work entitled, D. Andreas Caristadii et Archidiaconi Wittenburgens. CCCLXX. et Apologeticae Conclusiones pro Sacris Literis et Wittenburgens. composite. Ejusdem Defensio adversus monomachiam D. Joannis Eckii, theologiae doctoris: large 8vo.

In this work Carstadt says nothing on the subject of indulgences. We know why; he did not then concur with Luther on this matter (*De Wette*, tom. i.); but he enters largely on penance, and appears to adopt the opinion of some theologians of the Augustinian monastery, that satisfaction is useless; and by satisfaction he means works.

In the course of the discussion Eck's name occurs several times, and almost invariably with some complimentary epithet: he styles him the very learned Eck. The book thus ends: "Sacredote Romanae Ecclesiae omnia subjiciimus."

One thing is very remarkable, the use of images, or pictorial illustration, against which he was afterwards to make war so fiercely, appears prominently on the title-page of the work. The four fathers of the Church, Saints Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, and Gregory, are there engraved.

¹ "Sed ecce homo pulchrè memor et sibi constans, postquam te fecidè infamarat, tandem promittit in te, sed vertit in me impetum ranarumque an muscarum suarum, nescio."—Eruditissimo D. Andreas Bodenstein Caristadio. *De Wette*, l. c. tom. i. p. 250.

you knew well he would not dispute ; relying, as you believed, upon some puffs of smoke which you would catch in a tilt wherein you would have no adversary.

"I do not reproach you, impudent sycophant of the pope, with attributing to me doctrines of your own way of thinking ; that becomes a theologian like yourself. Only I wish you to be aware that we understand your trickeries, and your unhappy meaningless figures ; and to admonish you charitably, for the sake of your glory, to be more dexterous in rubbing your nose on our heel ; keep your vulgar and silly cunning for your pedantic brother sophists.

"Therefore, my hero, be a man, and gird your sword upon your thigh. If, for the sake of your ease, you have refused me as mediator, perhaps you will accept me as second in the combat. Not that I have pretensions to conquer you ; but after all your Lombardic, Pannonian, and Bavarian victories, I wish to give you an opportunity of adding to all these titles of triumph, those of Saxon and Misnian, and ever august, if you desire it. To say truth, I should prefer that you would let loose the monster which you nourish against me ; that you would discharge in public that bile with which your stomach is laden, and therewith put an end to your threats of dramatic majesty."¹

But what was this professor who had the good luck thus to excite the displeasure of Luther ? As will be seen, Eck was not merely a great theologian.²

At this time, there was a young student at Ingoldstadt named Urbanus Regius, the delight of his masters, but who, after lectures, was in the habit of frequenting pothouses, in which he spent the money which his parents sent to him for payment of his teachers. He was in debt ; he owed money to the tavern-keeper, to his companions, to the citizens, to such an extent, that one day he sold his books and the contents of his wardrobe in order to pay them. After settling with his creditors, he had only a few guilders left, wherewith he purchased a sword and a

¹ "Quanquam mallem, ut monstrum quod jam diu in me alis, et quod te male habet, aliquando pareres, nauseas, quibus stomachus tuus pericitatur tandem evomeres in publicum, minisque illis tuis basilicis et gloriosis per omnia finem imponeres."—De Wette, p. 250.

² Geschichte der durch Publication der päpstlichen Bulle wider D. Martin Luther im Jahr 1520 erregten Unruhen, 4to. : Altdorf, 1676, p. 4 et seq.

halbert. The student wished to become a soldier, and to enlist for the war against the Mahomedans. He was in the great square, in rank with his fellow recruits, when Eck happened to pass, and glancing at these volunteers, with astonishment recognised among them Urbanus Regius. His surprise may be imagined. He immediately communicated with some rich citizens, and the necessary redemption-money was procured for the discharge of Regius. This was not all. On the following day the chancellor wrote a severe letter to the student's parents, in which he threatened them with the displeasure of the elector, if they did not send their son sufficient to enable him to live and study in peace. He had not long to wait for supplies.

And some years thereafter, Regius left the university of Ingoldstadt, possessed of a variety of talents, which he made use of in attacking the faith of his old friend the doctor.¹

Eck knew his own consequence, perhaps too much so: pride was his besetting sin. When he encountered men like Luther, it is right to observe that he treated them with deference; but when, by chance or good luck, he found troubling his path one of these theologians named Osiander, then he treated him with impudent buffoonery.

Osiander had censured him, in a dull pamphlet, of which the very title is forgotten,² for assuming the name of John Eck in place of that of Mayer, by which he was formerly known.

"Truly," replies the professor, "I am that Mayer, whom the Papists persist in calling Eck, but the popes do not call him by any other name. Here are letters from cardinals, bishops, archbishops, emperors, kings, princes, addressed to Dr. Eck, at Ingoldstadt. John Michael Mayer von Eck, my father, was for three years bailiff of Eck. His son has studied the law for three years under illustrious masters; Angelo di Besuzio, Paolo di Citadinis, Ulrich Zasius, the lamp of the law,—*lucerna juris*, Blasius Eichhorn, Sonnenberg, and others. Now then, Osiander, tell me a few of the names of your professors of theology; my

¹ See the Life of Urbanus Regius, in Dr. Luther und seine Zeitgenossen, von Th. Effner, tom. ii. p. 120 et seq.

² Verantwortung des nürnbergischen Catechismi wider den ungelerten, zenkischen Sophisten, Hannsen Mayr von Ingolstadt, der sich lest nennen Johannes Eck.—Andreas Osiander: Nürnberg, 1539, 4to.

ordinary ones are Chunrat Summerhat, Wendel Steinbach, James Lemp, Dietrich Sustern ; in addition to these, Arnold of Tungary, George Northofer, John Winckler, and John Brisgoicus. What have been your wretched publications ? I have treated of the logic and ethics of Aristotle, I have written Chrysopassus de Prædestinatione, de Mysticâ theologiâ Dionysii, de Juramento ; I have preached upon the sacrament of the altar, and on the Decalogue ; have commented on the prophecies of Haggai and Malachi, and on the first and twentieth Psalms ; I have written three books on the supremacy of St. Peter ; four books on Penance, three upon the Sacrifice of the Mass, on the Iconoclasts, and on your ordination.”¹

An individual so vain must be fond of disputation, and he was passionately so. He was a merciless combatant, who spared his adversary neither sarcasm nor insult ; who fought with him till the blood sprang, and when the strife was concluded trumpeted his own praises, to make his unlucky rival die of shame or ridicule. He had carried through a part of Europe his insatiable desire for theological controversy ; every place was alike suited for his disputatious habits, the pulpit as well as the table. In the pulpit as at the table, he had quite an Italian style of declamation ; incessantly in motion, he argued with his shoulder, head, hands, and feet ; rich in style and knowledge, gifted with stentorian lungs, and a memory which Picus of Mirandola might have envied ; he was, in short, one of those characters whose defects one loves nearly as much as their good qualities.

Eck had little resemblance to his rival.

Andrew Rodolph Bodenstein was born at Carlstadt in Franconia. He was a good scholar, visited Italy, stayed some months at Rome, went to Wittemberg, where he subsequently received orders, was nominated successively archdeacon and canon of the castle church, and finally, in 1502, took the degree of doctor, and was appointed professor of theology in the university founded by the elector Frederick.²

¹ Schutzred kindlicher Unschuld wider den Catechisten Andre Hosander und sein Schmachbüchlein, durch D. Johann Ecken zu Ingolstadt : 1540, 4to.

² Gottfried Arnold's unpartheyische Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie, vom Anfang des Neuen Testaments bis auf das Jahr Christi 1683 : Frankfurt am Mayn, 1729, 2 vols. large 4to, vol. i. p. 695. Hagenbuch, Vorlesungen &c. tom. i. pp. 204, 205.

The life of no innovator presents such cruel examples of the instability of fortune as that of Carlstadt. For eight years the archdeacon was flattered and feasted ; Luther had no expressions save those of kindness towards him ; he called him his master and his friend. In dedicating to him his Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, he calls him an illustrious theologian.¹ Melanthon in this followed Luther ; he extols the learning of Carlstadt, as one unequalled in learning and doctrine.² Every day the archdeacon beheld his name encircled with a glory in a letter from the Augustinian monk ; he was celebrated both in prose and in verse.

But at length, this weak head, which began to be unsettled, could no longer hold out ; it wandered and was lost. Disordered with vanity, Carlstadt wished to show the world that he was worthy of the incense which they had burnt for him during eight years ; he took the Bible, read it, believed himself enlightened, and had the daring to think and to write differently from Luther. Then he was nothing but an apostate, who in one single day lost all his titles of renown. Melanthon represented him as a sort of clown, to whom God had refused reason, understanding, learning, and almost the organs of sense ;³ and Luther, in blasphemous merriment, pretends that the leper boasted of eating daily a Holy Ghost, feathers and all :⁴ this is the most daring, but not the most cruel insult that Luther has lavished on his professor.

To us, who have dispassionately studied his character, Carlstadt seems to have been a declaimer puffed up with vanity, desirous rather of notoriety than real glory, resolved that people should speak of him, were it only for one hour of the day, to maintain the most silly conceit, to play the mountebank, at a pinch, in order to sell to some feeble wits his daily and nightly dreams ; at one

¹ . . . "Dem vornehmsten Vertheidiger der reinen Theologie, seinen Proceptorem und Ältesten in Christo."—Luther's Werke, tom. i. ep. 84 ; tom. i. Op. Lat. p. 385. Arnold, l. c. tom. i. p. 695.

² "Carlstadt ist ein guter redlicher Mann, und von seltener Gelehrsamkeit, und ist gelehrter als man sie insgemein zu finden pflegt."—Epist. ad auctorem Paralipomen. ad Conrad. Ursperg. p. 476.

³ "Es ist ein wilder Mann gewesen ohne *sensu communis*, und der kaum seine fünf Sinnen brauchen könnet."—Lib. de Sententiis veterum de Coenf Domini.

⁴ "Er wolle gesehen seinen Geist als den aller höchste, der den Heil. Geist mit Federn und mit allem gefressen habe."—Op. Luth. Altenb. tom. iii. p. 41.

time binding himself to the letter, if the letter could raise a laugh, as in his Commentary on the passage of the New Testament, "Go, whoever shall believe and be baptized, shall obtain the kingdom of heaven ;" from which the archdeacon drew the conclusion, that faith ought to precede the baptismal rite ; at another time, deserting the letter in search of the spirit which killeth not, but which he sacrifices to the derision alike of Protestants and Catholics, as in his interpretation of the words instituting the Lord's supper ; again returning to the letter, when his trope had ceased to amuse the theological world, to cry *petit pâtes* in a wretched little town, bearing upon his breast the divine sentence pronounced by God upon our first parents : "Thou shalt work in the sweat of thy countenance." A fantastic genius, ever ready at the first cock-crow to deny his master, in the sole hope that it might be told to the world that he had apostatized anew. Finally, a man without guile or malice, who never knew how to hate, who bore with courage misery and exile, worthy rather of pity than of anger, and whom Geiler, had he lived a few years later, would not even have appointed as pilot to his Ship of Fools, because the pilot would have run the vessel aground on some sandbank, in order that the coasts of the Baltic should ring with the accounts of the shipwreck.

Such were the two champions who set forth, the one from Wittemberg, the other from Ingoldstadt, to engage at Leipsic.¹

¹ As to J. Eck, consult : Rotmar, Annal. Ingolstadiensis Academie ; Cornel. Loco Callidii illustrum Germaniae Scriptorum Catalogus qui doctrinâ simul et pietate illustrum vita et opere celebrantur, quorum potissimum ope literarum studia Germaniae ab an. 1500 usque LXXXI. sunt restituta et sacra fidei dogmata à profanis sectariorum novitatisbus et resuscitatis veteribus olim damnatis erroribus vindicata : Moguntiae, 1581, 8vo. ; Christ. Siegm. Liebens, Lebensbeschreibungen der vornehmsten Theologen, so wohl evangelischer als päpstlicher Seite, welche anno 1530 den Reichstag zu Augsburg besucht.

As to Carlstadt : Daniel Gerdes, Scrin. antiqu., sive, Miscell. Groening, vol. i. part i. pp. 1—56 ; Doct. Andreæ Bodenstein, sonst Carlstadt's Leben, 1710, 4to. : Mich. Stricci Dissertation de Andreæ Bodenstein Carolostadio : Lubecæ, 1708, 8vo. ; J. Fred. Mayeri Dissertation de Carolostadio : Halena.

CHAPTER XVIII.

DISPUTATION AT LEIPSIC.—ECK AND CARLSTADT. 1519.

Luther before his departure for Leipsic.—Eck's letter to the Doctor.—Their controversy based upon the supremacy of the pope.—Arrival of Carlstadt and Luther at Leipsic.—Hostile feelings of the people of Leipsic towards the travellers.—It is settled that the proceedings at the conference shall be authenticated by notaries, and sent to different universities.—Commencement of the disputation.—Theses sustained by the archdeacon, who denies moral liberty.—The orator, defeated by Eck, withdraws.—Opinion of Protestant authors as to Carlstadt.

It was said that Luther dared not go to Leipsic, and that he was afraid of his rival. “I shall go,” said he, “even though I do not hope to entangle this tortuous sophist,—this man of noise and vanity. . . . Christ will aid me.¹ . . . Christ will lay open his tricks, and, in the words of Job, will remove the veil which mantles his countenance. You see the letters of this Eck, which I send to you, puffed up with pride; of this petty Jupiter, who thinks himself certain of victory. . . . You know that I have to deal with a crafty, arrogant, brawling, deceitful sophist, who seeks to commit me before the public, and devote me to the fury of the pope.² . . . Thus am I under the lash of the theologians, and especially of this Dungersheim, that bull, ox, ass, and straw-devourer.³

“We Germans⁴ have protected and upheld the Roman pontiffs, and, as the reward of our services, we must submit to their threats, their extortions, their thefts in the pallium and in the episcopate!”

Eck wrote to Luther: “On the 22nd of last month I named

¹ “Ego verò et si non spero me capturum lubricissimum sophistam, deinde clamosum mirè ac fastuosum, tuebor tamen, Christo propitio, mea.”—Johanni Langi, 13 Mart. De Wette, tom. i. p. 254.

² Spalatino, 13 Maii. De Wette, l. c. tom. i. p. 262.

³ “Theologi interim me proscindunt, presertim ille taurus, bos et asinus qui paleas comedit.”—Langi, 18 Mart. De Wette, l. c. tom. i. p. 255.

⁴ “Nos Germani tantum, accepto imperio, Romanos pontifices stabilivimus, quantum potuimus. Idem in prænam rurens eos passi sumus dirarum tortore, et vexatores et nunc palliorum et episcopatum exhaustores.”—Spalatino, Maii. De Wette, l. c. tom. i. p. 263.

the day which we had fixed for our disputation. As Carlstadt is only your second, and you are at present the opponent, it is for you to fix the day on which it shall commence."¹

Let us recall the time when Luther ascended the pulpit, to oppose, not the merit of indulgences, but the traffic made of them in Germany. What he seemed, in common with Saxony and Wittemberg, to demand was, that silence should be imposed upon Tetzel, and the "venders of sacred things." Now he no longer attacked indulgences; that question was grown stale. He came with Carlstadt and Melancthon to Leipsic, there to maintain other theses; for example, that man could only work evil; that the just sin even in doing good; that purgatory could not be proved by Scripture; that repentance ought always to originate in love, and never in fear; and, finally, that the papal supremacy is of human, and not of divine authority.²

If Luther triumphed at Leipsic, the popedom was at an end; for take from the papacy its divine origin, and it becomes nothing more than a human power, which participates of the nature of earthly works, changing with the times, infirm, tottery, and perishing of old age.³ If man has made it, man can unmake it. Without that luminous cloud in which it conceals its head, what then is the papacy? A crown like that of other sovereigns, with which the people can sport in their humour, and place at their will on the brow of him who pleases them; a scrap of parchment which they have given, and can retake! If the supremacy of the pope had been of human transmission, the Catholic edifice would have been long ago ruined. In times of trial and persecution, to whom shall the Christian look, when he desires to know if he suffers, fights, and dies for the truth? To his bishop! But if, as at the time of the Reformation, that bishop has fallen aside, if he has abandoned the truth for the novelties

¹ "Ich habe den 22sten Tag des Brachmonats bestimmt, an welchem wir den Anfang zur Disputation machen wollen. Weil nun Carlstadt einer Vorfechter ist, ihr aber der Prinzipal seyd, . . . deshalb will es sich geziemt, dass ihr selbst dahin kommt."—Riederers Nachricht zur Kirchengeschichte, pp. 48, 178.

² Mensel, Neuere Geschichte der Deutschen, tom. i. Hagenbach, Vorlesungen, &c. tom. i.

³ Thus Luther considered the pontifical power: "Ego istam pontificiam potestatem inter eas res numero, que sunt neutrales, ut divitiae, sanitas, et alia temporalia."—Spalatino. De Wette, tom. i. p. 264.

of Carlstadt, Storch, or Munzer, what shall he do ? But let the popedom be the child of Christ, living on earth until the consummation of the world, then his eye can no more deceive him than his faith.

We say to his bishop, because Luther still holds to the hierarchy ; but when he maintains that we are all priests, to whom, then, shall the soul, in case of doubt, appeal ? Evidently to herself alone ; that is to say, doubt will invoke dubiety.

It was upon a solemn question that the chancellor of Ingolstadt, with rare ability, desired to direct the disputation. The papacy was then to be submitted to the disputes of the school, and in its attributes so mysterious, which no voice for long had been tempted to deny. Luther had divined the thoughts of his opponent, and the snare which he laid. If he admitted the dogma of divine transmission in the person of Peter and his successors, the dispute was at an end : there was no resource for him but to return to the cloister. The personification of Christ in his vicar necessarily implied the infallibility of the pope. Now Leo X. was the legitimate successor of the apostles, and Leo had condemned the Lutheran heresy on indulgences, in a bull dated 9th November, 1518.¹ But if he denied that spiritual emanation, he separated himself with a single stroke from the Church, and lost many great people, who were interested in consulting Rome ; many uncertain minds, whose opinions he offended ; many prelates, who loved his extensive knowledge ; and even cardinals, who, beyond the Alps, mentioned his name with a sort of admiration. We see in every page of his correspondence, especially with his friends, how that discussion tormented him, and his endeavours to avoid it. "In truth," he says to Spalatinus, "I would I were elsewhere ! I shall vomit all that I have on my heart against Rome, or rather against that Babylon which lays waste the Church and the Scriptures ; my friend, we cannot speak of the Scriptures or the Church without offending that ferocious beast."² Spalatinus himself dreaded this

¹ Printed by Roscoe, tom. iii. p. 507. He is right in observing (tom. iii. p. 178), that Leo, instead of at first having recourse to excommunication, wished to test the sincerity of Luther by issuing a bull, declaring that the pope, in his character of successor to St. Peter, and as vicar of Jesus Christ upon earth, has the right to grant indulgences.

² "Quæ, si alibi essem, evomerem in vastatricem Scripture et Ecclesie

controversy, and was impatient to know the arguments which Luther intended to employ ; but Luther only partially satisfied the desire of his friend. "Not," says he, "that I fear to confide the secrets of my mind to you, but because the Lord will not suffer his designs to be revealed. For thus says Isaiah : *In novissimis intelligetis consilium ejus.*"¹

There was something in this dispute, too wonderful for the soul of the monk not to be moved. We see the poor cenobite, who blushes in thanking Spalatinus for the loan of ten miserable florins, disputing in learned Leipsic with Eck, one of the greatest theologians of the period, on the origin of the popedom, then represented by the illustrious Medicis, the Mecænas and friend of the learned ! Leo X. and his tiara between Eck and Luther ! The former who regards it with respect, and the latter who disdainfully smiles in contempt of it.

If the theologian of Ingolstadt is to be credited, Luther made his entry into Leipaic in a military dress, in an open carriage, seated between Melanthon and Carlstadt, and followed by two hundred students of Wittemberg, four doctors, three licentiates, a great number of masters, numerous disciples, the theologians Langus and Egranus, and by schismatics and Hussites, who saw in him another John Huss. Eck left Ingolstadt for the ducal city attended by a single servant.²

The people were not yet accustomed to see theocracy publicly abused. At Leipsic they perceived that Luther, in defending himself from all intention of rebellion, was about to treat the papacy as he had done the indulgences. On his arrival, the inhabitants came, according to custom, to offer to Luther the wine of hospitality ; but there their politeness stopped, they did not visit him, or invite him to supper ; they did not even uncover themselves when they met him ; while they exhausted themselves in courtesies to his opponent, to whom they gave a very fine cloak, and accompanied him on horseback through the streets. The

Romam, melius Babylonom. Non potest Scriptura et Ecclesia veritas tractari, mi Spalatine, nisi hæc bellua offendatur." — Spalatino, sub fine Maii. De Wette, tom. i. p. 260.

¹ Spalatino, sub fine Maii. De Wette, l. c. tom. i. p. 262.

² Chrit. Huber, Hist. Martini Lutheri, 4to. : Ingolstadt, 1582, p. 20.

prince elector sent Luther a deer, and Carlstadt a hind, to welcome their arrival.

When they reached Leipsic, there was affixed to the church doors an order by the bishop of Merseburg, Ernest Adolphus of Anhalt, who in his capacity of chancellor of the university of Leipsic, forbade every kind of disputation on religious subjects: but Duke George wished no regard to be paid to the bishop's commands, and threatened with imprisonment whoever should throw obstacles in the way of the projected meeting.¹ By order of his grace, a large hall in the castle of Pleissenburg² had been prepared for this theological tournament, splendidly ornamented and hung with tapestry. Two pulpits were erected, facing each other, on which were representations of the two saintly knights, Martin and George.³

On Sunday, June 26th, there was a preliminary meeting at Pleissenburg, at which were present the ducal commissioners, Caesar Pflug, knight and chancellor, and John Kuchel, secretary of Prince George of Wiedebach, governor of the castle. It was decided that the proceedings in the disputation should be reported and submitted to the judgment of different universities, and that none of the parties should publish them.⁴

Seventy-six soldiers were to be posted at the gates of the castle, until the conclusion of the conference, to protect the theologians from all annoyance.

On Monday, the 27th, at seven in the morning, the three champions and their adherents assembled in the hall of the college of the princes, and were addressed by Simon Pistorius, ordinary professor of the faculty of law. They then went to the church of St. Thomas.⁵ After having heard high mass, they went to the castle, where Prince John, Prince George of Anhalt, and other great personages were waiting for them.⁶

Peter Mosellanus, professor of Greek literature, opened the assembly in the name of Duke George, by a discourse in which he took care to recommend to the theologians moderation in

¹ Luther's sämmtliche Werke : Halle (Walch), tom xv. p. 1281.

² Gretschel, Leipzig und seine Umgebungen, p. 87.

³ Ranke, l. c. tom. i. p. 411.

⁴ Vogel's Leipziger Annal. p. 97.

⁵ Lingke, l. c. p. 62.

⁶ Vogel's Leipziger Annal. p. 97.

language, accuracy in quotation, and charity in discussion. This address lasted upwards of two hours.¹ When Mosellanus had concluded, the company went to dinner.

At two o'clock, the disputation commenced upon free-will. Carlstadt spoke first, after making, at Eck's desire, a profession of the Catholic faith, and of submission to the Church of Rome.

It is easy to see, on perusing the thesis maintained, that the master only refuted the lesson of his pupil.² Indeed, the archdeacon asserted, like Luther, that man, since the fall, possessed not even a shadow of liberty; that the actions which he had the pride to consider as the manifestation of his will, had only the semblance of being spontaneous; that under God's direction man moves, stops, or retreats fatally; that the word liberty, which the schoolmen have so ostentatiously retained, is not found in the Scriptures, but is the fiction of the brain of some of these sophists called schoolmen; according to him, the dogma of free-will could not boast of a higher antiquity than two or three centuries.

To the honour of the people of Leipzig, it must be mentioned that the cheerless thesis of Carlstadt was received with smiles of incredulity; none of his auditory being desirous to resemble this man-machine, created not in the image of God, but in that of the archdeacon.

Then came the question of works, which, whether good or bad, were, according to Carlstadt, always offensive to God. The illustrious professor of Ingolstadt demonstrated, amidst the applause of the assembly, that such a doctrine offended alike God and his creatures. He invoked the blood of Golgotha, and demanded for what then had it flowed, if man always sinned, even when he collected it to adore it?

¹ Luther's Werke: Halle, tom. xv. pp. 999—1015.

² "Nonne omne peccatum est omnino mortale ex natura sua, sola autem misericordia Dei veniale? Nonne omne peccatum est contra legem Dei? At contra legem Dei esse, jam gravissimum est, quantum in ipso est. Necesse est enim perpetuè separari à Deo, quidquid quocumque contra legem Dei est, cum nihil inquinatum intraturum sit in regnum cœlorum. . . . Propositionem Eocianam esse erroneam et impiam, quoniam negat justum in omni opere bono peccare, affirmo, aut justum peccare mortaliter, aut peccatum in baptisato remanere."—Resolutiones super tredecim propositionibus Lipsie disputatis, 8vo. 1519.

Unluckily for Carlstadt, it had been decided that the controversy should be entirely by word of mouth, and none of the disputants should bring books with him.¹ Now the archdeacon, who had never thoroughly studied the matter which he pretended to discuss, and whose memory was as defective as treacherous, sought for authorities sometimes on the floor of the hall, sometimes in the eyes of his friends, and sometimes on his brow, covered with a cold sweat, and finding them nowhere, besought indulgence and delay till the next morning.

On the morrow, the rising sun flooded with its rays the vast hall of Pleissenburg, but could not enlighten the brain of the unlucky archdeacon. Never was there a more humiliating defeat.²

¹ So at least Luther asserts: "Carlstadius noster secum libros attulerat. Cum sit honestissima disputanda et tutissima, ex praesentibus libris loca ostendere et dicta vel probare vel refutare, magno tumultu hoc Eccius noster detrectavit."—Epistola Dr. Martini Lutheri ad Georgium Spalatinum de Disputatione sua. The original work, in large 8vo. black letter, thus ends:—

..... "Præsens male judicat ætas;
Judicium melius posteritatis erit."

² In this Protestants concur. "Carlstadt hatte es sich nicht nehmen lassen, zuerst zu disputiren, trug er wenig Ruhm davon."—Ranke, l. c. tom. i. p. 411. "Carlstadt and Eck disputed upon free-will; the archdeacon, like Luther, denied human liberty,—an opinion as false as repugnant to common sense. After he had been defeated by Eck, who was so superior to him in eloquence, and because he had on his side good sense and authority, the controversy was resumed."—Menzel, Neuere Geschichte der Deutschen, tom. i. pp. 43—54.

CHAPTER XIX.

DISPUTATION AT LEIPSIC.—ECK AND LUTHER. 1519.

The discussion resumed.—The supremacy of the pope divine or human?—Luther's argument.—Impugned by Eck.—Whence derived by Luther.—Eck proves that his adversary's opinion was the same as that of John Huss and the Bohemians.—Luther at first repudiates all community of sentiment with the heresiarch.—But, pressed by his opponent, ends by confessing that among the articles of the confession of Huss, condemned at Constance, some were orthodox.—A general council has then been deceived.—Conclusion drawn by Dr. Eck from this admission.—General appearance of the parties assembled at Leipzig.—Description of the three rivals.—Luther abandons the disputation.—State of his mind.

CARLSTADT required rest. On the 4th of July, Luther appeared in the rostrum : the doctor of Ingolstadt was to take up the question of the papacy. From that passage of St. Matthew : “Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church,” Eck deduced the divine origin of the popedom. If the bishops are successors of the apostles, and Luther had not yet rejected that outward mark of the true Church, it follows that the hierarchy is of divine authority, and that the pope is its visible head.

Luther replied : *Thou art Peter*, is addressed to the apostle ; *and upon this rock I will build my Church*,¹ applies to the person of Christ himself. He acknowledged the supremacy of the pope, but denied that this supremacy was of divine authority ; that is to say, he rejected implicitly the visibility of the Church.

It is manifest, indeed, that if the words of Christ do not apply to the apostle, there is no living alliance between Christ and his vicar, and that without an external chief, whose power emanates from God, there is no visible church. One so clear-sighted as the doctor of Ingolstadt, immediately perceived that his opponent revived one of the heresies of John Huss, and with a mischievous satisfaction that he could ill conceal, said, with a smile, that he knew very well the source of Luther's inspiration.

¹ Menzel, Neuere Geschichte, tom. i. pp. 43—54.

"Where is it, then?" asked Luther.¹

"Where, but in the works of John Huss. And the Bohemians are very proud of having found a supporter in the frock of an Augustinian."

"You do me injustice," said Luther; "I have always considered the Bohemians as disturbers of the Church."²

Eck then quoted the proposition of John Huss, condemned by the Council of Constance: it was word for word that of Luther.

Luther appeared to recollect himself; what was he to say to this? All were in expectation.

With his eye boldly fixed on his adversary, Luther, raising his voice, exclaimed, "That among the propositions condemned by the Council of Constance, there were some perfectly in accordance with the Gospel."³

There was a general silence, which Duke George broke by saying, in an angry voice and with uplifted hand, in a threatening manner, "Indeed this is dangerous!"⁴

Eck rose, delighted with his triumph, and addressing his opponent in a coaxing manner: "Is it possible," he asked, "that Luther thus condemns a general council? Truly, I did not think that their highnesses, the princes electors of Saxony, could have permitted him so far to outrage the decisions of the Church."

"But," replied Luther, thinking to explain his opinion, "the Council of Constance has not condemned as heretical all the propositions of John Huss;" and he began to quote some of them, which he said were to be found in St. Augustine.

"No, no," replied Eck, growing warm, "there is no distinction; both letter and spirit, all has been condemned; the council could not err."

"Nor make, doubtless," added Luther, "a new article of

¹ Ranke, l. c. tom. i. p. 416. Menzel, l. c. tom. i. pp. 43—54.

² "Iniquè fecisse Bohemos quid ab Ecclesie communione discesserint, eamque ob causam sibi inviso semper fuisse."—Ulenberg. l. c. p. 52.

³ "Er wagte zu sagen, unter den Artikeln des Johann Huss, welche das Verdammungsurtheil des Conciliums zu Costritz verzeichne, seyen einige grundchristliche und evangelische."—Ranke, l. c. tom. i. p. 416.

⁴ "Das walt die Sucht."—Walch, tom. xv. p. 1400.

faith ; and how will you prove to me that a council cannot err ? ”

“ Ah ! dear father,” cried Dr. Eck, “ what is that you say ? How can a council regularly convened err ? That savours of paganism.”

The disputation, although resumed, but upon other points, was at an end ; the victory was on the side of the professor of Ingolstadt, who compelled his opponent to reject the universal doctrine of the Church. Luther was no longer a Catholic.

Moreover, Duke George of Saxony, on leaving the hall of controversy, said sufficiently loud for Luther to hear him :—

“ As grandson of Podiebrad, king of the Hussites, George of Saxony knows too well the recent history of his mother’s family to begin a new schism.”¹

Luther, who was interested in protesting against the name of Hussite, abhorred in Leipsic, muttered some words in defence of his orthodoxy.

“ In conclusion, I repeat,” said he, “ what I said at the commencement of the disputation ; I confess and assert the papal supremacy, but as of human authority. Of the divine supremacy, no father of the ancient Church has ever sought to make a dogma of faith.”²

But was Luther, who had more than once in the course of this debate boasted of saying all that he really felt, true to his word ? His letters and numerous writings remain to us, and prove, that before, as well as after the disputation, the pope was in his eyes only Antichrist.

What then was the supremacy that he admitted and maintained ? The supremacy of the wicked angel.

After the lapse of three centuries, we may awaken these two great shades, who so long ago were engaged at Leipsic. The one, if he could revisit the light, would not maintain his cause by any other arguments. He would find that Church for which he had fought so nobly, still standing ; and if he cast his eyes on the

¹ “ Als Enkel des Hussitenkönigs Podiebrad hatte Georg in der Geschichte seines mütterlichen Stammes die Wirkungen einer Kirchenspaltung viel zu nahe gehabt, um vor derselben nicht zu erschrecken.”—Menzel, l. c. tom. i. pp. 48—54.

² “ In fine repeto quae in principio dixi : Me prorsus confiteri et tueri pri-matum Romani pont.”—Resolutiones, &c. : Wittemb. 1519.

chair of St. Peter, then so violently threatened, he would see it radiant in life and youth. The other, on the contrary, would search for and be unable to find his work, so much has it been disfigured by those who still call themselves his disciples ; he would no longer recognise his doctrine, strangled in its turn by commentaries ; nor his creed, which the reformed school has repudiated, or from which it daily cuts off some new letter. Who then shall dare now to teach that man is an automaton ?

Seated upon the ruins of that edifice, the scene of this theological combat,¹ we may recall them to the imagination ; we may restore to that long hall of conference, wherein were assembled all the illustrious men of Misnia, its benches filled with students, and its two pulpits, of which portions still remain, preserved under glass. There is the desk on which Carlstadt had piled up the voluminous works of Augustine, Origen, Scotus, and Capreolus, which to his great annoyance he was not permitted to open. In the middle of the hall is the golden arm-chair in which constantly sat Duke George of Saxony, who, according to Erasmus, said the most profound thing that was uttered in the course of the disputation, “ That whether the power of the pope was of divine authority or not, it existed, and that was enough.”² He was a noble prince, who entertained Luther thrice at his table, and, when the repast was ended, took Luther aside, and strove to reclaim him in the name of that old Germany so dear to both of them.³ At the side, to the right of the duke, you perceive in their professional costume, the nephew of Reuchlin, the licentiates in theology, and doctors of law, whom Luther was pleased to bring with him, and who, if we may believe Eck, whom his opponent has not contradicted,⁴

¹ It is still known at Leipzig by the name of the little or old Pleissenburg, No. 678, on the bank of the river.

² Erasmi Epist. lib. xiii. ep. xix.

³ “ Invitavit aliquando ad prandium, cùmque mensa remota esset, Lutherum à reliquis duxit seorsim, eunque perbenigne monuit, Bohemos lectis ipsius libellis in erroribus confirmari.”—Ulenberg, l. c. p. 57. Lingke, l. c. p. 66.

⁴ Eck gives an account of the disputation at Leipzig. His narrative is accompanied by a letter to the reverend father Hochstræt. Op. Lutheri, tom. i. pp. 302, 343 : Jenæ, 1612. This letter is a model of courtesy ; there is not an offensive or harsh word in it. He complains of the excitement made by Luther’s friends, while he went alone, confident in the cause which he defended. A controversy followed between Eck and Carlstadt ; the archdeacon

clapped their hands at the least word of their master. In the centre of the hall are members of the faculties of theology and law of Leipsic and Cologne, who soon will be called upon themselves to judge Luther's doctrines;—theologasters, the sink and scum of the schools, big-bellied sophists,¹ whose learning Luther has complimented before entering the lists. Among those doctors of law you will easily recognise, by his white beard and furrowed visage, clear evidence of a life exhausted in study, old Hochstraet, who has not yielded to the seductions of the monk of Wittemberg, and to the end will remain steadfast in his faith,—that ass, as Luther terms him, whom Erasmus represents as devoted to literature, and as breathing in his writings all the charms of antiquity.² Emser, a celebrated canonist, who is seated by the side of Duke George, has acutely detected the heresy of Huss³ in the theses of Wittemberg. That exposure has infuriated the doctor, who revenges himself by comparing his adversary to an elephant in labour. All around the hall, in a circle resembling the amphitheatre of the ancients, which it pretty well imitates, are raised rude benches of wood, occupied by some hundreds of students in the different faculties, who bow when Luther is announced. To these young imaginations, misled by the perusal of the pagan writers of ancient Rome, Luther appears a second Hermann, come to deliver his country from papal tyranny. This beardless throng, when the time for action arrives, will serve more effectively than

at first entitled his work, *Contra brutissimum asinum et assertum doctorulum*. This title displeased Luther. Georg. Spalatino, 20 Nov. 1520.

¹ "Ventrosi sophiste."—Georg. Spalatino, Nov. 20, 1519.

² "Nam literarum nostrarum avidissimum esse te, vel tua scripta, palam clamitant."—Ep. Erasmi, ep. xix. lib. xvi.

³ Luther repelled, as an injury, the comparison instituted between different points of his doctrine and the articles extracted from the writings of the Bohemian priest. A few weeks had not elapsed when he reverted to John Huss, and expressed his delight at the idea of reprinting and disseminating his opinions.—Spalatino, 19 March, 1520. Somewhat later, Huss was a martyr in his eyes. Emser replied to Luther, in a work entitled, *A Venatione Lutheriana Ægocerotis Assertio*. This religious controversy, as is seen, was invariably conducted in Latin, and the Catholic theologians did not avoid the Latin language in defending themselves. We read, however, in a letter from Luther to Spalatino, 7 Dec. 1519: "Tessaradecada mean nondum scio an edam, præsertim Latinæ, cum id genus scriptioris quod Christum caput, sophisti sit odiosissimum." Eck spoke German and Latin. . . . "Eck spat in the prince's face a chaos of saliva, vernacula."—A. J. Lange, 18 Dec. 1519.

they think the views of the innovator. They will burn the bull, and make bonfires of the pontifical decisions. These students are indebted to Luther for ruining theology, and they will not be ungrateful. Many already have thrown away their books and note-books, to read and study the only book which he extols, the Bible. The majority have come from Wittemberg expressly to attend their master, for whom they wait as he comes out of the palace, and encourage with their looks and plaudits. At night, they assemble before the monastery where the professor of Ingolstadt lodges, and cry, "Death to Eck!" "Long live Luther!"—"Pereat Eccius!" "Vivat Luther!" They then return to the tavern singing the song of Hessus Eobanus:—

"O monachi, vestri stomachi sunt amphora Bacchi,"

and slip under the doors of the monasteries sheets of paper, in which the Bavarian is threatened with assassination. Without the precautions taken by Duke George, the chancellor perhaps might not have left Leipsic alive.¹

Some shaking heads and grizzled beards appear here and there in the middle of that moving circle of students. These are two or three Bohemian priests, who have retained a respect for John Huss, their great apostle, and who have come to this disputation because they had been told that Luther would defend communion under both kinds. Louvain has sent to this theological congress her distinguished professors: James Cerasinus, one of the most distinguished scholars of the time; Hermann, skilful in training the mind and the disposition of youth; Adrian Suesionius, canonist, philosopher, and lawyer; Regerus Rescius, professor of Greek, a very well of learning; Conrad Goclenius, as accomplished as industrious in study; Adrian Barlandus, who was taken for Cicero when he spoke in Latin; Melchior, who bore on his brow the double coronet of learning and virtue.²

Leipsic is represented by John Cellarius, professor of Hebrew;³ by George Rhau, chanter at St. Thomas's, and who subsequently

¹ Arnold, Kirchen- und Ketzerhistorie, part ii. p. 514. Arnold is a Protestant author. See also, Auserlesene Merkwürdigkeiten von alten und neuen Theologischen: Augsburg, 1750, part iii. p. 279; Menzel, Neuere Geschichte, tom. i.

² Epist. Erasmi, lib. xvii. ep. xii.

³ Löescher, Ref. Act. tom. iii. p. 232.

became a printer to circulate Luther's pamphlets ;¹ by John Poliander, who betrayed his friend Eck, and went over to the Lutheran camp ;² by Simon Pistorius, the jurist ;³ by Henry Stromer of Auerbach, professor of therapeutics ;⁴ by Breitenbach and Henry Schleinitz, councillors of Duke George.⁵

At intervals may be seen coming in or going out some priests of Leipsic, admirers of Eck, who as they pass scowl on Luther, "willing to give absolution to any one who would kill him;"⁶ or the officiating clergy of St. Paul's, who, on the report that Luther intended to visit their church, hasten to conceal in the sacristy the blessed Sacrament, and relics of the saints.⁷ To the right of the Saxon, you perceive that countenance stamped with a gentle melancholy, that forehead so white on which play such luxuriant locks, that half-subdued eye which is only lifted to rest with an inquisitive anxiety on Eck when he ascends the pulpit, or on his impatient master : it is Melancthon, Philip Schwartzerde, "the most formidable enemy of the devil and scholastic theology."⁸ Like the bishop of Merseburg, Ernest Adolphus of Anhalt, he had wished to avoid these disputationes, which nowise advanced the Lord's kingdom ; "for," said he, "the Spirit of God prefers gentle silence, loving as it does, not an empty sound, but charity, which flees from observation ; it is the bride, who waits not for the bridegroom before the gates, but conceals herself to introduce him within the sanctuary of peace, the house of her mother ; it is the divine ray, which only enlightens us when our heart is purified from all stains, and is desirous of glory."⁹ He did not once break silence during the course of the debate. Occasionally, however, he leant upon

¹ Walther's ergänzte Nachricht, tom. i. p. 72.

² Dav. Pfeifer, Lipsia, p. 356.

³ Albini, Meissnisch's Landbuch, p. 38.

⁴ Hoffman's Refor. Hist. von Leipzig, p. 428.

⁵ Luther's sämmtliche Werke : Halle, tom. xxi. p. 652.

⁶ "Hac horâ mihi Philippus refert, sacerdotes Lipsenses adeò cum Emsero in me insanire, ut sine peccato esse eum censeant qui me interficerit."—Spalatino, 25 Dec.

⁷ Lingke, l. c. p. 65.

⁸ Spalatino, 21 Dec.

⁹ "Sua enim silentia amat Spiritus, per que nobis illabatur, seque insinuat cupidus non glorie, sed cognoscendi veritatis."—Epistola Philippi Melanchthonis de Lipsiâ Disputatione, ad amicum quemdam, tom. i. p. 303, Opera Luth.

Luther's shoulder, perhaps to whisper to his master some forgotten text ; but recovered himself quickly at the sharp voice of Eck calling to him, " Hush, Philip, mind your studies—*Tace Philippe, et tua studia cura.*"¹ His eye lovingly followed the smallest motion of his master. But he exhibited no injustice towards the chancellor. And more than once, captivated by the attractive eloquence of the Catholic theologian, he mingled his plaudits with those of the spectators ;² even when the disputation was closed, he did not know to whom to give the victory.³ Like Melancthon, Erasmus felt charmed when Eck wrote to him : " You will not be displeased, nay, I am sure you will thank me for it, if I your pupil, whose infancy was cradled by your adages, should plainly tell you the calumnies invented by your enemies. No, you will not be more dissatisfied than when I proclaim you to be the star of logic, the phoenix of modern authors. Believe, my dear Erasmus, this artless style. As the chameleon assumes the colour of the object which it touches, you see that I who live among barbarians partake of their barbarism, and sully myself with their impurity. Ornament of your age, be happy, be glorious. I shall say that you love me, if you answer me." This was the Eck whom Luther called a syphant. There is in that letter to Erasmus a perfume of antiquity, a choice of expressions, a grace of style, a harmony of periods, which no translation could attempt to give ; after perusing it, one is tempted, like Erasmus, to place a crown of oak on the brow of the theologian.

We know the archdeacon of the church of All Saints. Melancthon affirms that Carlstadt exhibited in the disputation the talents of an orator, with the dexterity and learning of a

¹ Effner, l. c. p. 264.

² " Cæterum apud nos magnæ admirationi plerisque fuit Eccius ob varias ingenii dotes."—Oper. Luth. tom. i. p. 345.

The eulogium of the professor of Ingolstadt by Menzel, deserves to be quoted : " Zu Ende des Jahres 1518 hatte Johann Eck als mehrfacher Sieger in Disputationen hervorholt, und nicht mit gemeiner Belesenheit in den Kirchenwätern und Kanonisten, Fertigkeit im lateinischen Ausdruck und Gewandtheit in den Künsten der Rede-Kunst begabt, zu Wittenberg eine Disputation mit And. Carlstadt verabredet."—Neuere Geschichte der Deutschen, tom. i. pp. 48—51.

³ " Quorūm inclinarint rea, mihi sānē non est in proclivi judicare . . . non pronuntio uter vicerit."—Defensio Melanchthonis contra Eccium, epist. cvi.

theologian.¹ We may be permitted to believe the witness then heard only the inspirations of friendship, or that he gave way to unfortunate prejudices, when two years later he will represent Carlstadt to us as a sort of clodhopper, devoid of mind, learning, or a spark of divinity.²

Amsdorff and Mosellanus, two enthusiastic friends of Luther, assisted at the disputation.

Amsdorff pretended that on the part of the people of Leipsic, it was a contest of lungs and throat, rather than of learning and reason. "As Eck talked louder, and bellowed more vigorously than his adversaries, he was always sure of being applauded."

Mosellanus, who presided at the disputation, has sketched the external appearance of the three combatants.

"Martin is of middling size, so much emaciated by care and watching, that when you look close at him you might count his ribs. He has a soft and clear voice, great learning, and so wonderful intimacy with the sacred Scriptures, that he knows them almost by heart; with Greek and Latin sufficient to determine all sorts of biblical commentary. In conversation he is copious and varied,—a very forest of words and of matter; easy, polished, never pedantic. In society he is an agreeable, alert, and lively speaker; from the serenity of his countenance you would never imagine the cares which fret him. He is justly blamed for carrying into disputation a bitterness befitting neither a reformer nor a theologian.³

"Carlstadt is of small stature, swarthy and burnt face, rough voice, passionate gesture and tone, and of treacherous memory.

"Eck carries a thick body on two strongly-developed haunches,

¹ "Er ist ein redlicher Mann, von seltener Geschicklichkeit und hoch studirt." —Melanchthon's Bericht über die Leipziger Disputation, an Oecolampadius.

² "Carolstadius primum excitavit hunc tumultum: homo ferus sine ingenio, sine doctrina, sine sensu communi, quem nullum unquam humanitatis officium intelligere aut facere animadvertisse sit." —Ep. ad Frider. Miconium. "Melanchthon pflegte Carlstaden nur das böse A, B, C, zu nennen." —Effner, l. c. tom. ii. p. 238, note.

³ Peter Mosellanus has given two accounts of this disputation; one addressed to Bilibed Pirkheimer, the other to Julius von Pflug. It is from the latter narrative, partly, that the description of the three antagonists has been taken.

with the air of a comedian or public crier. With his large eyes, thick lips, and fiery face, one would take him rather for a butcher or Carian soldier, than for a theologian ; give him as much learning as he has memory, and you will make an accomplished man of him. He is defective in penetration and judgment. In disputing, you see him pile up arguments and quotations without choice or method. His aim is to mislead those who hear him ; added to which is an incredible self-sufficiency, which he has the art of concealing with infinite success. He employs cunning. If he perceives that his adversary has found him out, he knows by a rapid turn to shift his ground and occupy that of his rival, who appears then to defend the opinion which his opponent at first maintained ; he is a hornet who steals the honey of others."

At the time when least expected, for the disputation was not concluded, Luther and Carlstadt left Leipsic.¹ Luther explained this sudden departure, by the fear which he had of remaining longer at the expense of his friends, who lodged him gratuitously, by the desire of returning to Wittemberg, whither the university called him ; finally by the complete exhaustion of the questions in dispute. Catholic writers see in this a real flight, a shameful abandonment of the debate, an insult to Doctor Eck, whose turn it was to reascend the pulpit, a defeat palliated by futile pretexts. John Ruber (Rubeus), who had at first appeared full of admiration for the Augustinian, was quite afflicted when he saw him withdraw without taking leave of his friends and opponent ; and in the account which he has drawn of the debate, a contemporary admits that, since that flight, Luther had lost much in the estimation and friendship of his disciple.²

Luther left Leipsic at the end of July,³ during nearly three

¹ "Lutherum prius et dein et Caroloestadium subito post disputationem et quasi clanculum discessisse."—Sohlerus. Seck. l. c. lib. i. pp. 76, 92.

² "Ich gestehe dass der ehrwürd. Vater weyland selbst bey Rubro gross war ; nun aber gestehe ich, dass sein Lob ganz in meinem Herzen verlossen und vergangen ; denn der ehrw. Vater hat, ehe der Kampf ausgegangen, so wenig drum gewusst, dass er sich fleissig nach den Thoren umgethan."—Luther's Werke, tom. xv. p. 1474 Rubens produced a small poem, entitled, *Neu Büchlein von der läblichen Disputation.* Löescher, tom. iii. p. 272.

³ See, in order to have an idea of the Lutheran account of this disputation, the letters to Staupitz, 3 October, 1519 ; to Spalatinus, 18 October, same year ; to Spalatinus, 9 December ; to the same, 3 December ; to Langus, 28 December, &c., printed in Dr. De Wette's collection ; Dr. M. Luther's Briefe, Sendschriften, &c. tom. i.

months he did not write a single letter in which the name of Eck was not mentioned in terms of exasperation.

That disputation has driven him to madness. From the cell in which he is inclosed, he resists his opponents, and allows them no breathing-time. Popes, archbishops, bishops, priests and monks, whoever wears a cassock, be it red or black, is exposed to his fury.

His bishop is in labour, he will soon be confined of a monster; Eck is only a wretched bladder, blown up with wind, a *glorianus*, *gloriensis*, *gloriosus*;¹ the people of Leipsic are asses, wearing the doctor's cap;²—Alfeld, who had defended the papal supremacy, is an ox in head, nose, mouth, and skin.³ Not a single Catholic countenance of all those before him has been blessed by heaven. They grin in such a manner as to excite a smile of contempt.

But already Luther no longer confined himself to denouncing the abuses which had crept into the temporal government of the Roman pontiff. In the work which he published shortly after the disputation at Leipsic, entitled, “To the Emperor and the German Nobility,”⁴ he proposed to suspend the pontiff from his spiritual dignity; so that, Menzel here observes, to satisfy Luther, the pope ought to have descended from his throne and become curate of Rome.

How different now from the hours when the boy Luther earned his bread by singing at the doors of Magdeburg! Luther has become rich in his turn, they solicit alms from him, and he refuses. His heart is as hard as those of the inhabitants of the inhospitable city. He will have peace at no price; war with the schoolmen, war with theology, war with the popedom, war with Catholicism! Let his will then be done! Let the world be disturbed, Germany convulsed, and soon the blood of her sons flow in a copious tide! But you will see him regret the past! And when, after long fatigue and unsupportable heat, he shall find, like Tieck's Athelstan, a fountain to quench his thirst, he will

¹ Spalatino, 13 Oct. 1519.

² Spalatino, *ibid.*

³ Alfeld's work is entitled, *Super Apostolica Sede, an videlicet Divino Jure sit, nec ne, &c.* Lociner replied to Alfeld in a work published at Wittemberg, *Contra Romanistam Alveldensem, &c.* Luther, who had at first considered Alfeld as an opponent beneath his notice, ends notwithstanding by replying to him in his German pamphlet, *Vom Pabstthum zu Rom.*

⁴ *An den christl. Adel deutscher Nation.* The work appeared 25 June, 1520.

instantly apply his lips to it, and withdraw them as quickly, for he is devoted to suffering.

The bishop of Merseburg did right to prohibit the meeting at Leipsic. The disputation only served to excite new passions against Rome. The moral disorder revealed itself by pamphlets, in which dogmas and history were equally outraged.

Carlstadt, to be revenged of his recent defeat, seeks to prove, in the style of a demoniac, that the Holy See had oftener than once failed in its faith.¹ For some months, Luther had complained in a letter to one of his friends, of his inability to convert the archdeacon, any more than some other doctors of Wittenberg, to his doctrine on indulgences. Carlstadt, who boasts that, in the interval, he had been enlightened by the Holy Spirit, attacks the pardons by the aid of all the arguments with which the Augustinian, his pupil, had prompted him.²

Removed from the eye of Eck, the archdeacon seeks to make a noise, without fear of contradiction. He rummages in books, and produces pamphlets on pamphlets against the traditional teaching of the Church.³

On all sides Germany is called upon to burst its fetters and tear itself from Rome, which oppresses it.

Luther points out to the emperor how the popedom has always conducted itself traitorously in regard to the empire, and how little confidence he ought to have in it.⁴

An appeal quite lyric is made to the noble heroes of the German

¹ "Von päblicher Heiligkeit Andres Bodenstein von Carlsstadt D. Dieses Büchlein beschleust durch Heil. Schrift dass päbliche Heiligkeit allzuviel irren, ständigen und Unrecht thun kann."—Witt. at the commencement of 1520, 8vo.

² "Von Vermögen des Ablass, wider Bruder Franciscus Seyler, Barfüsser Ordens, Andreas Carlsstadt, Doct."—Witt. 1520, 8vo.

³ Missive von der allerhöchsten Tugend, Gelassenheit. Andreas Bodenstein an seine liebe Mutter und Freunde, 1520.

Appellation Andreas Bodenstein von Carlsstadt zu dem Allerheiligsten meinen Concilio christlicher verständiger Versammlung, 1520.

Bedingung Andreas Bodenstein von Carlsstadt, Doct und Archidiac zu Wittenberg.

Von geweihetem Wasser, wider den unverdienten Gardian Franciscus Seyler an Heinrich von Kouritz, Hauptmann in Sanct Jochimstal, 1520.

⁴ Kurzer Ausszug, wie bößlich die Päbste gegen den deutschen Kaisern iemahls gehandelt, dass billig auch nur um der Gewohnheit willen kein Kaiser einigen Pabst mehr trauen sollte, er wolle denn gern betrogen seyn.

nation, whom another author instigates to break the fetters in which the infernal Cerberus, Rome, holds them confined.¹

The anti-Catholic opposition is no longer addressed to the students exclusively, the people is sought to be seduced ; books are written for the multitude, such as, for example : " How idolatrous Germany, transformed into an Ass by the Pope, has found her own true Knight, thanks to the Water of the White Mountain (Weissenberg) by which she is disenchanted."²

They treat the vicar of Christ as the Jews treated his master : they put a crown of thorns on his head, a purple robe on his shoulders, a reed in his hand, and to that sovereignty which civilized the world, one says : " Prove to us that St. Peter, whose successor you say you are, ever went to Rome, liar that you are ;"³ another, " Cast away the reed with which you have lashed this poor German nation, so long since weary of your yoke ;"⁴ another, " Strip yourself of that regal robe, which you have stolen from our emperor and master."⁵

If Germany desires to be saved, her pope must be John Huss.⁶

¹ *Lebendige Abcontrafactur des ganzen Papstthums, sampt einer tröstlichen Ermahnung an die freien starken Helden deutscher Nation, dass sie doch einmahl das Vaterland von diesen höllischen Hund gar erretten.*

² *Der neu deutsch Bileams Esel, wie die schon Germania durch Arlist und Zauberey ist zur Pabst Eselin transformiret worden, jetzund aber, als sie vom Wasser aus den Weissenberg fliessend getrunken, durch Gottes Gnad schier wieder zu ihrem rechten Aufsetzer kommen.*

³ " *Gravissimis certissimisque et in S. Scriptura fundatis rationibus varis probatur apostolum Petrum Romanum non venisse neque illic passum. Proinde satis frivola et temeraria Romanus pontifex se Petri successorem jactat et nominat, cum praefatione Ulrichi Veleni Minhonensis, 1520.*" We know that historical criticism has proved the reality of this journey by the utmost evidence.

⁴ *Von der Gewalt und Haupt der Kirchen, ein Gespräch zwischen dem Peter und dem allerheiligsten Pabst Julio, 1520.*

⁵ See the most of Hutten's Dialogues.

⁶ *Liber egregius de unitate Ecclesiae, cuius auctor perit in Concilio Constantiensi M. Joh. Huss, quem collegit à 1418, et est pronunciatus publicè in civitate Pragensi, 1520.*

CHAPTER XX.

LUTHER IN REBELLION AGAINST ROME. 1519—1520.

Rome does not lose hope of reclaiming Luther.—Affectionate letter addressed to him.—Fresh protestations of obedience and submission on the part of the monk.—Interview between Miltitz and Luther at Liebenwerda, and then at Lichtenberg.—Luther pledges himself to write to his holiness.—The nuncio is deceived.—Luther seeks the emperor's protection.—His humble and submissive letter to him.—Conclusions to be drawn from it, when compared with those which he addressed to his private partisans.—His opinion of the pope, who seems in his eyes nothing but Antichrist.—Various writings in which the monk attempts to destroy the Catholic doctrine.—Progress of the rebellion.—Their causes rendered notable by Erasmus and other writers.—Priesthood in the Lutheran point of view.—Real character of the Lutheran doctrines.—Can they be considered favourable to intellectual freedom and to spirituality?

ROME, patient because she is eternal, still laboured to reclaim Luther. She wished to see and hear him, to embrace and forgive him. Miltitz encouraged the hopes of Leo X. There was continually a messenger of the nuncio, bearing from Germany agreeable news to the Holy See. The cause of all the clamour excited by the preachers of indulgences, no longer existed: Tetzel was dead, Luther had promised to be silent; more than once he had testified his repentance and sorrow in presence of the elector, Duke George of Saxony, the bishops, and the vicar-general of his order. Moreover, at Liebenwerda, where Miltitz had had a meeting with the monk, they had settled definitively an interview with one of the most enlightened prelates of Germany, whom the doctor had promised to accept as judge.

And Rome permitted herself to be deceived, and gladly wrote to Luther this letter, which the first scholar of the age, Sadole-tus, the beloved secretary of Leo, signed with his name:—

“ Dear Son,—It is with lively satisfaction that we have learned, by the correspondence of our dear son Charles Miltitz, with our dear son Frederick, elector of Saxony, that the writings or words for which you have been censured, were addressed not against the Apostolic See, or the holy Roman Church, which you have never intended to offend, but to a religious, commissioned by our

dear son Albert, cardinal, by the title of St. Chrysogonus, to preach indulgences. We know that in replying to him, you have exceeded, by your own admission, the bounds of truth and decorum ; that you have repented of these deviations in the bitterness of your heart, that you are ready to disavow them, even in writing ; to acknowledge them publicly before princes and others ; to refrain from them henceforward, and that you would retract them before our legate, were you not afraid to find in him a judge too severe and too prejudiced, perhaps, in favour of the monk, the sole cause, in your opinion, of all the faults into which you have fallen.

" For ourselves, considering that the flesh is hasty and the spirit weak, and that, carried away by irritation, people suffer expressions to escape which, in calmer moments, they would hasten to disown, we return thanks to the Almighty, who has condescended to enlighten your heart, and who has been unwilling that faithful Christians should, by the authority of your learning, be drawn into errors destructive to the salvation of their souls. Wherefore, representing on this earth Him who desires not the death of a sinner, but rather his conversion and his life, we accept paternally your apologies, and moved by that kindly feeling which we entertain towards men who cultivate sacred literature, our most ardent desire is to see you and to hear you, in order that the retraction which you have been afraid to make before our legate, you may make in all security and freedom before the vicar of Jesus Christ. On receipt of this letter, set out and come to us. We hope that, laying aside all hatred, animosity, and prejudice, listening only to the voice of the Holy Spirit, the counsels of charity, and for the sake of the glory of God, you will give us the happiness of finding in you an obedient son, and yourself that of embracing a father full of mildness and clemency."¹

This letter is dated from La Magliana, that country seat where Leo, far from the noise of Rome, delighted, like our St. Louis, under his oak, to administer justice to the poor villagers. Luther received it in the month of September.

We should be curious to know the effect which such charming

¹ See the letter, Confirmatory Evidence, No. 11.

expressions had upon the mind of the monk : Luther seems affected ; it will be said that he is overcome. He confesses that "the Roman Church is the chaste marriage-bed of Christ, the mother of churches, the mistress of the world, the spouse of the Lord, the daughter of God. He loves that Rome ; he loves that Church ; he never wishes to be separated from her."¹ . . .

Let us not blame Miltitz ; who would not be deceived like the nuncio, unless he could read the inmost depths of the heart ?

But this moment of Christian outpouring passes like lightning. Two days afterwards, Luther writes to Staupitz that Miltitz, in a honied epistle, has appointed to meet him at Liebenwerda, and he adds, "I see through the fox !"²

Miltitz a fox !

Then he adds : "The curtain is dropped, and the farce is over."³

Then the curtain is drawn up again : the two Saxons are found at table, the fox Miltitz and the dove Luther. There, the fox allows himself again to be caught in a trap, and confesses piteously, says Luther, that the pope's supremacy is only of human authority.⁴

At the time of the interview at Altenburg, Miltitz had demanded a fresh interview with Luther ; pressed to go to Leipsic, as we have seen, to dispute with the professor of Ingoldstadt, Luther had consented to it. On the 30th of September, the elector Frederick, through the medium of Spalatinus, entreated the Augustinian monk to keep the promise he had made.⁵ On the 8th of October following, Luther and Miltitz, as we shall see, met at Liebenwerda. The interview was of short duration. Miltitz contented himself with asking the monk, if he had still the intention of submitting his

¹ "Ilam scio purissimum esse thalamum Christi, matrem Ecclesiarum, dominam mundi, sponsam Christi, filiam Dei, terrorem inferni. . . . Sciant sese errare quando à Romana Ecclesia alienum clamant qui purissimè diligo non modò Romanam sed totam Ecclesiam Christi."—Petr. Lupino Radhemio, et Andreae Carlistadio, Sept. 1519. *De Wette*, l. c. tom. i. p. 334.

² Joh. Staupitio, 3 Oct. 1519. *De Wette*, tom. i. p. 341.

³ "At hic ultimus actus fabule."—Spalatino, 8 Oct. *De Wette*, tom. i. p. 248.

⁴ *Ibid.* *De Wette*, p. 344.

⁵ Cyprian, *Urkund*, tom. i. p. 418.

writings, as he had publicly engaged to do, to the archbishop of Salzburg.

Luther replied by a monosyllable, IA.¹

After squeezing Luther's hand, Miltitz took his departure, still amused by the bad diplomacy of Cajetan, and happy in having overcome a little monk who set the Latin and German nations by the ears.

Now Luther had not the slightest inclination to bring himself under the judgment of the archbishop; in his letters to his friends, he continues to laugh at Miltitz, the archbishop, and the pope.

Miltitz was unwilling to leave Germany, without being certain that Luther had kept his word. Three bishops had by turns been selected by the monk as capable judges, and none of them had, for a year following the month of August, officially received one of the denounced writings. Then the nuncio had recourse to his ordinary expedient; he demanded a third interview, which they did not care to refuse him.

They met again then at Lichtenberg, 12th of October, (1520).²

On that day Miltitz wrote to the elector in a less exulting strain: "As I had previously informed your grace, I desired to have a fresh interview with Dr. Martin, and God be praised, it took place on the 12th of this month, on the feast of St. Maximilian the Martyr, at Lichtenberg; it was quite friendly. God grant that the business may have a fortunate termination."³

At this conference, of which Luther sent an account to Spalatinus, it was agreed that the doctor should write to his holiness a new letter, to which he should add an ascetic treatise calculated to soothe Leo.⁴

Now the letter had been written, the treatise composed, and both despatched long before to Rome.

In the next chapter, we shall see what the book and the letter contained.

¹ Cyprian, Urkund, tom. ii. p. 140.

² Ibid. tom. i. p. 444.

³ Lingke, l. c. pp. 75, 76. De Cyprian, l. c. p. 449.

⁴ De Wette, l. c. tom. i. p. 495.!

Now Miltitz could set out for Rome.

If he sees at Florence Machiavelli, the late secretary of the republic, he might relate to him his conferences with Luther, and we are certain that the author of "The Prince" would not venture to suspect the good faith of the Saxon monk. Machiavelli has found his master.

See how in the interval of these two interviews Luther used to amuse himself with Germany.

Charles V. was emperor. Luther had need of the protection of the prince. We have seen his arrogance to Eck and Emser; he will soon be at strife with another power. He knows how to change his nature, and at a pinch kiss the feet of the monarch, safe to laugh afterwards, with his friends, at the imperial good-nature.

He writes to Charles a letter, in which he expresses his desire to rest concealed in his little corner of ground; implores compassion from his enemies; and offers silence as a pledge of his good will for the peace of the Church.¹

"Grace and peace in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. That I should dare to write to your most serene majesty, very dear Emperor Charles, will astonish every one. Strange, indeed, that the king of kings, the ruler of the powers on this earth, should be provoked by such a low-born dwarf.²

"But their wonder will cease if they consider attentively the dignity of the subject, as relating to evangelical truth. If truth is worthy to approach the throne of the Divine Majesty, she may well address herself to a prince of this world; but these earthly princes, the images of the heavenly King, ought to take him as their model, and although inhabiting high places, should consider those beneath them, raising the poor and the beggar from the dunghill; I, poor and mendicant, cast myself at the feet of your royal majesty. . . .

I have published sundry works, which have drawn upon me numerous and powerful hatreds. I trusted to be protected from

¹ "Nihil unquam ardenteribus votis repetens quam ut in angulo meo latorem." 16 Jan. 1520.

² "Quid enim insolentius videri poterit quam regem regum et dominum dominantium in terris a vili et infame sortis homuncione compellari!"—De Wette, l. c. tom. i. p. 392.

these attacks, first, because I have been forced in spite of myself, by the machinations of others, into the arena of public disputation, when I desired only to have quiet in my little nook of ground ; and next, because, in the opinion of men of distinguished worth, it is the truth of the Gospel which I have sought to defend against the superstitious follies of tradition. For three years I have been the object of hatreds, insults, and dangers. In vain I have cried for mercy, in vain offered to be silent, in vain proposed terms of peace, in vain demanded to be informed ; they seek to stifle me and the Gospel.

“ After all my endeavours, nothing remains to me, after the example of St. Athanasius, but to invoke the aid of your imperial majesty, if it shall please God that you should come to the support of His sacred cause. Most serene majesty, dear prince of the kings of the earth, I embrace your knees ; may your majesty condescend to take me under your wings, or rather the truth, for which alone you are armed with the sword, and protect me only until I know whether I am vanquisher or vanquished. I have nothing more to ask from you, if I am convicted of impiety or heresy.¹

“ Your humble client.”

This letter was read by all Germany, and Germany, like Miltitz, was deceived. It was said that Tetzel being dead, Luther would re-enter his cell, hide himself from observation, cultivate those little flowers which he so passionately loved, and unbend himself with his flute or his books, from all these fatigues, to which both his mind and body must have ended by succumbing. Staupitz and Wenceslaus Lingke had had several conferences with the monk, who had promised them to bury himself in that little hole of which he had spoken to Charles V. And, indeed, he had ceased travelling, and, returned to Wittemberg, was shut up in his monastery ; but thence he continued to disturb the world with his burning language.

His letter to the emperor had not had time to reach Spain, when he wrote to Spalatinus :—

“ In truth, my good friend, I am almost certain that the pope is the Antichrist whom the world expects. He is Anti-

¹ See the letter, Confirmatory Evidence, No. 12.

christ in thought, word, and deed. I shall tell you of him a great deal more : you shall read me.”¹

In a letter addressed to John Voigt, an Augustinian monk of Magdeburg, he said : “ My brother in Jesus Christ, I have just finished, in German, a book against the pope, *De Statu Ecclesiae emendando*. I treat the pope in it as Antichrist ; pray that my words may make the Church fructify.”² Spalatinus had in the mean time received further secrets from his friend. “ Do you know what I think of Rome ? it is a confused collection of fools, ninnies, simpletons, ignoramuses, blockheads, num-skulls, demoniacs, and devils.³ You see then what we may look for from Rome, which vomits such a hell upon the Church. I am about to treat that ass Alfeld in a manner that the Roman pontiff shall not forget. It is necessary that we should not spare them ; let us expose to light the mysteries of Anti-christ.”⁴

The pope Antichrist ! This new word recurs for the third time in his letters, and from Wittemberg is to ring through all Germany. Three years ago, if Luther had uttered it, they would instantly have separated from him ; they might have smiled compassionately perhaps. Luther knew well what he was about, when, in the midst of the doctors of Leipsic, he examined coolly the kind of obedience and respect due to the pope. At that time he denied only the divine origin of the papacy ; now the pope is nothing but an ambassador from Satan upon earth. How answer him ? He is there, with his book open, in which he has read that the pope, working by Satanic deeds, is but the vicar of Satan. What says common sense to him ? Read my

¹ “ Ego sic angor ut propè non dubitem papam esse propriè Antichristum illum quem vulgatè opinione expectat mundus : adèò convenient omnia, quæ vivit, facit, loquitur, statuit. Sed hæc magis coram. Si non vidisti, curabo ut legas.”—Spalatino, 24 Feb. De Wette, l. c. tom. i. p. 420.

² “ Nihil timemus amplius, sed jam edo librum vulgarem contra papam de statu Ecclesiae emendando : hic papam acerrimè traxi, et quasi Antichristum.”—Johanni Voigt, 3 Aug. De Wette, l. c. tom. i. p. 476.

³ “ Ich mein, sie sind zu Rom alle toll, thöricht, wthend, unsinnig, Narren, Stock, Stein, Hölle und Teufel worden.”—Spalatino, Jun. De Wette, p. 453.

⁴ Johanni Voigt. Schröckh, l. c. tom. i. p. 190. See also, Lutheri Epist. 9 Feb.; Spalatino, De Wette, tom. i. p. 406; Spalatino, 5 Maii, De Wette, p. 446; Spalatino, 17 Maii, De Wette, p. 449; Henrico de Bunau, 30 Maii, De Wette, p. 450; Spalatino, 10 Jul. De Wette, p. 465; and all the letters to this doctor from Luther, in 1520.

book, says he ; is not the name of Antichrist marked in broad letters on the forehead of him who calls himself the successor of the apostles ? In vain you will reply to him that his eye does not see it : you will be like Eck. Luther will call you heretic, fool, ignorant, child of the great whore ; for Rome, the seat of Antichrist, is no longer Rome, but Babylon.

It is a wonderful thing that, of the Lutheran creed, Wittemberg has only preserved the article which teaches that the pope is Antichrist. The church of Wittemberg no longer believes in the impanation, the enslaved will, the free necessity of the doctor, but she firmly holds that the sovereign pontiff is the Antichrist foretold by Daniel. For a moment her faith appeared to give way, but Wigand, Gallus, Judex, Amsdorf, laboured efficaciously to sustain it ; John Wigand¹ and Matthew Judex² proving that the pope is indeed the son of perdition. It is true that Jahn von Muller ingeniously observes, that it is more probable that Antichrist is incarnate in the body of some minister who denies Christ's divinity.³

Luther kept the promise which he had made in different letters to his friends ; he laboured to ruin the Catholic doctrines in Germany. At the beginning of 1520, he published his

¹ Synopsis Antichristi Romani, Spiritu oris Christi revelati.

² Gravissimum et Severissimum Edictum et Mandatum Æterni et Omnipotens Dei, quomodo quisque seee adversus Papatum nimurum Antichristum gerere et exhibere debet.

³ In the number of writers *de Antichristo* who have demonstrated that the *spiritus Antichristi* had established its chief seat among the popes, at Rome, may be mentioned Professor M. Beumler, Arn. Cheffreus, Lamb. Danseus, Andr. Willer (Englishman), Professors Conrad Grasser and Alb. Grawer, Henry Hammond (Englishman), Jac. Heerbrand, the reformed minister Sam. Marcius, who wrote his *Antichristum Revelatum*, in reply to Hugo Grotius, the inventor of absurd fancies on the subject of Antichrist; Andr. Mengiletus, Jon. Georg. Siegwart; Joh. Conrad Danhauer; Spener, who sought to show in a sermon that the pope was Antichrist; Professors Fred. Baldwin and Joh. Höpfner; the English bishop John Abbot; Nic. Hunnius; Theod. Thummius; Dorsch, and many more, such as John Fox, Whitaker, Fulke, Willet, Isaac Newton, Joseph Mede, Lowman, Towson, Bicheno, Henr. Kett (Interpret. of Prophecy, pref.), the Anglican Bishops Fowler, Warburton, Newton, Hurd, Watson, the Lutheran Braunbom, Sebastian Francus, the Protestant Church of Siebenbürgen (De Abolend. Christ. per Antichrist.), Napper (On the Revelation), Beza (In Confess. Gen.), Fleming, Bullinger (In Apoc.), Junius, Musculus, Whiston (Essay on Revel.), the Huguenot Alix, G. S. Faber, Daubeny (The Fall of Papal Romé, &c.). In 1840, the Protestant Review announced with praise the appearance of a work by Cunningham, in which this proposition, The Pope is Antichrist, is clearly demonstrated. Such also is the opinion of the editor of the journal.

sermon on the Eucharist,¹ which Duke George denounced to the elector of Saxony as tainted with the views of Huss, and which the bishop of Misnia, in an order affixed to the doors of the churches in his diocese, condemned as heretical.² Luther revenged himself on the bishop in a pamphlet, in which he treated the prelate as a fool and a mole.³

In the preface to his *Manifesto to the German nobility*, he speaks of the necessity for reforming the Church, and to attain that end, he proposes to destroy all kinds of priestly hierarchy. He holds that baptism in making us children of God, bestows upon us ecclesiastical powers, and he adjures all who feel Teutonic blood flow in their veins, to put an end once for all to that papacy, which represents upon earth the Antichrist of Daniel.⁴

In the “*Captivity of the Church in Babylon*,” he attacks the sacraments of the Church, which he reduces at first to three, and then to two. He is unwilling that the Eucharist should be a sacrifice. He speaks of the punishments which Rome prepares for him, and it is to turn them into derision. “If the punishment is inflicted,” says he, “my retractation is quite ready, it is in the *præludium* of my book ; besides that,” he adds, “I have another at their service, a retractation such as Rome has never seen or read the like ;”⁵ this is what he calls elsewhere, to corn Rome with his salt.

Erasmus said, “Who ever could have believed that the Reformation, at the first bound, would come to clash with the morals, the dogmas, and the faith of fifteen centuries ?”

Erasmus had not understood Luther.

In proclaiming the supremacy of individual judgment over authority or tradition, Luther has made a revolution. Reason has taken him at his word, and anarchy has entered into the Reformation. When it has, Carlstadt no longer hears the voice of his disciple ; he wishes to be leader of a sect, and preach his gospel ; Melancthon has conferences with some of the future

¹ Op. Luth. Jen. Germ. tom. i. p. 165 et seq.

² Op. Luth. tom. ix. Witt. Germ. p. 87.

³ Selne. Hist. Luth. p. 16.

⁴ Cochl. l. c. pp. 42—44.

⁵ “Alteram se prope diem editurum, talēm certā qualem hacten⁹ Romana sedes nec viderit unquam, nec audiverit.”—Ulenberg, l. c. p. 70.

prophets of the New Jerusalem. The curate of Einsiedeln has heard the voice of Luther ; but to overturn the old Catholic building, he makes use of another mode than the Reformer. Luther detaches one stone ; Zwinglius knocks down another with it. The one says, "That stone ought to be preserved, the Lord has placed it with his hands ;" and the other, "Smash it ; for it is the work of Satan :" the Reformation is only three years old, and it reforms itself already.

Let us not be told that Luther is indebted for his success to the new light which he brought to Germany ; he who proscribes, in preaching his new gospel, the sciences as useless and damnable, philosophy as devilish, and whose beloved disciple calls in question the utility of the schools.¹ They have wished the world to be enamoured of the new dogmas, because he who preached them was endued with a wonderful genius. We do not deny that he had a splendid intellect ; but was Catholicism at that time so ill represented by Emser, by Eck, and by Cajetan ? It has been said, that the human mind oppressed, slumbered in chains, and that, at the voice of Luther, she awoke. Indeed, what then has the monk done ? Has he not founded another slavery under the name of private judgment, the instrument of absolute truth, proceeding only from itself, a ray which has only a human source, the brain whence it escapes ? Luther, on the contrary, weighed down thought, which was obliged to acknowledge him as its father, otherwise the monk would say, "You are no longer my daughter, you follow your own caprices, you come from darkness and not from light, you are the offspring of scholasticism." And by the schools we know what he means ; the teaching of the Church, which is perpetuated from age to age, from Christ to his vicar, from his vicar to the bishops, from the bishops to the priests, from the priest to the communion of the faithful ; a divine and wonderful chain of gold, which he has snapped with his private authority ! for pontiff, bishop, Church, priesthood, all that is the work of Satan. There is no longer but one priest, himself, man. Such is the other great novelty which gains for him so many adhe-

¹ "Nonne Lutherus scripsit omnem disciplinam tam practicam quam speculativam esse damnatam ? omnes scientias speculativas esse peccata et errores ? Nonne Melanchthon aliquando damnavit scholas publicas ?"—Eras. Epist. ep. 59, p. 31.

rents, especially in courts and among princes. That proposition which teaches, "that we all belong alike to the priesthood, and that the Scriptures make no distinction between laymen and priests, be the priest styled bishop or pope,"¹ was the confusion of two powers, the tiara attached to the ducal or imperial crown, the censer in the hands of whoever wore the sword, the Church delivered, bound hand and foot, to secular princes, Henry VIII. director of consciences, the papacy destroyed, and, as a consequence, Catholicism.

If his universal priesthood be admitted, there is no farther need of a human doctor; each faithful person invested with the sacerdotal dignity can preach the word, remit sins, administer the sacraments; then, no more religious truth, for an independent Christian cannot acknowledge authority. Is it astonishing that, at the sound of this doctrine, seductive in theory, we see arise a crowd of prophets, priests, and apostles, according to the letter of Luther? By an unaccountable phenomenon, Luther, who repudiates metaphysical liberty, exaggerates ecclesiastical freedom, since he positively teaches in the "Captivity of the Church in Babylon,"² which he is about to publish, that neither pope nor bishop has the power of imposing a syllable on the Christian who refuses to accept it.³ The Confession of Augsburg was obliged to reject the doctrine of Luther, who never applied it practically. But we see what numerous disciples it gained for him. Such is one of the spiritual elements of his successes.

Besides, we do not deny that the eloquence of Luther, his head, or rather his stomach of Achilles, as Melancthon calls it,⁴

¹ "Scriptura sancta nihil discernit inter eos, nisi quodd ministros, servos, economos appellat, qui nunc papa, episcopi, dominique jactantur; nam verum est hos equaliter sacerdotes esse."—De Libert. Christiana, p. 390, tom. i. Opera Luth.

² De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiae, præludium ad Herm. Eulichium. Witt. 1520. Von den Babylonischen Gefängnissen der Kirchen. Ibid.

³ "Dico itaque neque papa, neque episcopus, neque ullus hominum habet jus unius syllabæ constituenda super Christianum hominem, nisi id fiat ejusdem consensu: quidquid aliter fit, tyrannico spiritu fit."—De Captivitate Babyl. p. 228.

⁴ "De ordine ecclesiastico docent quodd nemo debeat in Ecclesia publicò docere, nisi ritè vocatus."—Conf. Aug. art. xiv. See Plank, Geschichte des protestantischen Lehrbegriffs, tom. ii. p. 342.

* "Achilleus stomachus." Melanchth. Epist. lib. iv. ep. 240.

and that purity of morals which his enemies then admitted, were powerful auxiliaries to him ; but the people would not have been led away so easily if their princes had not been the first to apostatize. For, was the protection granted to Luther by the elector of Saxony any other than a scarcely dissembled apostasy ? The people did as they saw their rulers do. At the elector's court, Luther's name was venerated ; Frederick called him his father, his friend, the chosen of the Lord, the man of God ; the courtiers, to please his highness, circulated the writings of the Augustinian, perused them, and held up to ridicule everything at which they gibed : indulgences, Rome, the monks, and the pope. Put Luther in the place of John Huss, and he will be more fortunate than the Bohemian priest. John Huss had much to seduce the multitude : courage, obstinacy, and an outward faith. But he was greatly to blame, not in letting himself be burnt, but in preaching at the outset of his mission against the vices, avarice, licentiousness, and riches of the great, and in commiserating the tears and the miseries of the people. The great abandoned him in the day of danger, and proscribed his disciples with fire and sword. From the first, Luther had honied words for the Saxon nobility ; for Rome and her cardinals, insults and buffooneries. A red hat put him in a fury ; on the ducal ermine he exhausted flattery ; as a priestly courtier, he found warm protectors in the majority of the German princes ; but they knew well at what interest they lent him their aid. We shall soon see them renounce Catholicism, not that they in the slightest degree believe, any more than Luther perhaps, that idolatry and fornication had established their seat at Rome, but to avoid for the future payment to the chancery of their annual dues. They will one day throw open the doors of the monasteries ; not that they consider monastic vows prohibited by the Gospel, but because they will find there vases of gold and precious stones. They will call the Reformation a work of freedom ; not that it has emancipated the people, but because it has delivered them from the control of the clergy. Three spiritual forms of revolution are noted by the thoughtful observers of the period. Erasmus marks one : " Who need be astonished that the Reformation gains ground ? The people willingly listen to preachers who tell them that contrition is unnecessary, and satis-

faction a vain thing.”¹ Calcagnini has found another: “Be calm,” Luther cries, “the blood of Christ is sufficient to obtain your eternal salvation; heaven opens for you, if the sinner has not abandoned faith in the blood of Jesus.”² Melancthon notes the third: “They are only attached to Luther because he has delivered us from the bishops, and torn us from their jurisdiction.”³

A great German author, M. Heine, who reproaches the French with never having understood but the negative side of the Reformation, sees in the struggle of Luther against Rome only the triumph of spiritualism over sensuality; spiritualism, properly understood, is the Reformation, “mediatizing,” says he, “the saints; clipping the angels’ wings; taking from the Virgin her claims to the crown of heaven; making of God a celestial bachelor, and rudely calling in question the legitimacy of his Son.”⁴

Singular spiritualism, we admit, which denies moral liberty, and makes of man a plant that yields to every breath of wind; a steed that bends to every motion of its rider; a nail that yields to the slightest pressure of the hammer; for it is with the assistance of these different comparisons that Luther represents man under the hand of God!⁵

¹ “Populus enim libenter audiebat esse qui docerent non esse necessarium exomologesim, supervacuam esse satisfactionem.”—Epist. Erasm. lib. xxvi. ep. 28.

² “Nec enim vult Lutherus quemquam de actionibus suis admodum anxium esse, siquidem ad salutem et aeternitatem promerendam fidem et sanguinem Christi sufficere. Lasciviant igitur homines, obsonentur, pergracentur in Venerem, in cedes, in rapinas, ut libet, effleurantur. Paratum tamen eis oculum, parata immortalitatis felicitas, si fides inconcussa maneat, et in sanguine Christi spes tota subsidat.”—Calcagninius. Epist. Er. ep. liv. lib. xxi.

³ “Quem nullā de causā, ut video, amant, nisi quia beneficio ejus sentiunt se episcopos excussisse.”—Melanchth. Ep. Camerario, lib. iv. ep. cvi.

⁴ Germany, by Henry Heine, tom. i. part i. The author (p. 55) affirms notwithstanding, that the Reformation cost Germany the loss of much poetry.

⁵ Consult further, for the doctrines of Luther in 1520, *Confessio Ratio D. Martini Lutheri*: Lipsiae, 1520; *Eine kurze Form der Zehn Gebot*, *eine kurze Form des Glaubens*; *Ein Sermon von dem heil. hochwürdigen Sacrament der Taufe*: Witt. 1520; *Eine sehr gute Predigt*, D. Mart. Luther, Augustiner, von zweierlei Gerechtigkeit, aus dem Latein ins Deutsche übersetzt, cum præf. Geor. Spalatinus: Leipzig, 1520; *Eine fast nützliche Betrachtung des Leidens Christi*; *Eine Unterweisung von der Beicht*; *Erklärung etlicher Artikel*, nemlich von der Fürbitzung der lieben Heiligen, von dem Fegefeuer, von dem Ablass, von den Geboten der Kirchen, von den guten Werken und von den römischen Kirchen, &c.: Witt. 1520. Printed from Jan. to Oct.

CHAPTER XXI.

LETTER FROM LUTHER TO LEO X. 1520.

Luther's theses are condemned by the universities of Louvain, Leipsic, and Cologne.—Luther, who at first had consented to accept these universities as judges, refuses to conform to their sentence.—Prophetic furies of the monk.—His predictions of Germany.—Luther's letter to Leo X., sent at the very time when he encourages Miltitz.—Analysis of the work on Christian Liberty, which he annexed to his letter to the sovereign pontiff.—Dogmas of Luther on faith, works, and the sacraments.—His priesthood.

AFTER his disputation, Eck set out for Rome, “in order to invoke against Luther abyss upon abyss, and to set fire to the forest of Libanus.”¹ It had been agreed that the theses should be submitted to the universities of Leipsic, Cologne, and Louvain, and not be published before their decision.

Eck was true to his engagement; only, before leaving Germany, he was desirous to vindicate the Council of Constance from Luther's accusations. In a few pages full of vigour, such as he well could indite, he had little trouble in proving the heterodoxy of certain of John Huss's doctrines, and the small foundation for the reproaches levelled against the emperor and the pope, of violating the safe-conduct granted to the heresiarch.²

Melanchthon, less discreet, forgot the promise made by his master. In a letter to Æcolampadius, printed at Wittemberg, and circulated in Germany, he gave a Lutheran summary of the discussion, and while doing justice to the fine genius of Eck,³

¹ “Eccius meus vadit Romam succensurus saltum Libani.”—Geschichte der durch Publications-Bulle wider Dr. Martin Luther erregten Unruhen, 4to. p. 7.

² Des heiligen Concilii zu Costritz, der heiligen Christenheit, und hochlöblichen Kaisers Sigismunds, und auch des deutschen Adels Entschuldigung, dass ihnen Bruder Martin Luder mit Unwahrheit aufgelegt, Sie haben Joannem Hus und Hieronymum von Prag, wider päpstlich, christlich, kaiserlich Geleit und Eyd, verbrandt. Johann von Eck, Doct.: Lipsæ, 1520.

³ “Cæterum apud nos magna admirationi plerisque fuit Eccius ob varias et insignes ingenii dotes. Carolostadium de scriptis, credo, novisti. Bonus ut vir et rara doctrina, planèque nonnihil extra vulgi aleam eruditus.”

he sharply attacked the theses of the professor of Ingolstadt. Eck reasonably complained of this infraction of the treaty. Melanthon replied with an asperity of expression, which was not according to his habit of controversy,¹ and which Luther found means for praising, affirming, in the face of Germany, that a grammarian of five and twenty, like Melanthon, was better versant in theology than three or four Ecks.²

Be that as it might, the universities,³ after having received the proceedings in the disputation, met and named referendaries. Luther's doctrine was condemned unanimously. Let us remember that Luther had declared that he would refer it to the judgment of his masters in theology; he was right; for Erasmus informs us that these universities shone by learning and knowledge. Luther numbered in them more than one admirer. There was,

¹ *Defensio Melanchthonis contra Eccium, prof. theologiae.* Epist. 706.

² "Vidisse te credo Eccii excusationem adversus Philippum nostrum, satis dignam Ecciano ingenio, in qua homini etiam in sacris litteris terque quaterque omnibus Eccii doctori, denique et sordide illus Eccianæ theologiae non ignaro, opprobrat magno vitio grammaticam professionem."—Luth. *Resolut.* Seckendorf, l. c. p. 82.

³ See, for the abuse lavished by Luther on the universities, Letters to John Langus, 16 Oct.; 15 Oct. to Spalatinus, in which he accuses the doctors of Leipsic of discharging their venom *per fistulam Rubii*; to Eck, 1 Nov.; to Spalatinus, 20 Nov. "Præter ventrem, marsupium, pomparam, quid fulget in vobis?" to the same, Dec. 8, in which he admits that he had accepted the judgment of the doctors of Leipsic; 18 Dec. to Spalatinus, in which he rebels against the sacraments of the Church, blots out that of Orders, and declares that "omnes nos esse sacerdotes et hoc sacerdotis genus in quo nos sumus prorsus non differre videatur à laicis, nisi ministerio, quo sacramenta et verbum ministrantur;" to John Langus, 18 Dec., against the university of Paris; to Spalatinus, 10 Jan. 1520, where he acknowledges the omnipotence of the council decreeing upon the communion under both species. As evidence of submission, and of faith in the lights of the episcopate, read his Letters, to Albert, archbishop of Mayence, 4 Feb. 1520; to Adolphus, bishop of Merseburg, 4 Feb. same year—in this last he affirms, *sub fine*, that he does not differ from his opponents upon the pontifical power, except *solo nomine*: turn the page, 9 Feb., and he desires "to hide in the charnel-house all the evidences of the iniquity and absurdity of the bishops"); 12 Feb. to Spalatinus, in which the entire episcopate is sent back to the Gospel, and treated as ignorant; 18 Feb. to the same, in which the bishop of Misnia is treated as a blasphemer. The faculty of Cologne condemned, on the 30th Aug., and that of Louvain on the 7th Nov. 1519, some propositions extracted from the works of Luther. The Augustinian replied in a writing which appeared under the title of *Condemnatio Doctrinalis Librorum Mart. Lutheri per quosdam Magistros nostros Lovanienses et Colonienses facta.* *Responsio Lutheriana ad eamdem Condemnationem ad Christophorum Blancum, Oper.: Witt. 11, 39, Jenæ, 1568.* The collector of Luther's Letters says, on the subject of this reply, that it was "sehr heftig;" the expression is too mild,—it better deserves to be called insolent.

however, but one opinion as to the monk's theses. One may read in the Saxon's letters with what brutal rage he received that decision. The theologians of Leipsic, Cologne, and Louvain, were sacrificed to his derision. For several months, there is not a single one of his letters in which one of his judges does not figure in the form of an ass or a mule. Luther had not yet found the Satan whom he will abuse at a later period.

A friend of Erasmus, James Latomus (Mason), professor in the university of Louvain, defended the sentence of the theologians¹ with greater humour than the schoolmen allowed themselves to indulge in. While combating his opponent by means of the Scripture, he did not despise the use of epigram : his Latinity, which savoured not of the colleges, had called forth, on another occasion, the praises of Bilibad Pirkheymer,² unquestionably a good judge.

But Luther had at his command other imagery than ~~his~~ bad figures of rhetoric. Observe how he has swollen :—“ I do not wish to make a pen of a sword ; the word of God is a sword, it is war, ruin, scandal, perdition, poison ; it is, as Amos says, ‘ like a bear on the highway and a lioness in the forest.’ ”

“ I have written more violently against Emser and Eck, and you have said nothing to me.³

“ If you comprehend the spirit of the Reformation, you would know that it cannot work without tumult and commotion. I feel that God leads me on. Yes, I admit it, I am too violent, perhaps, but they know me well, and ought not to rouse the mastiff ; he must be left quiet. Look at Christ, my dear Spalatinus. Did he calumniate, when he called the Jews an adulterous and perverse race, children of vipers, hypocrites, sons of the devil ? Or did Paul, when he called them dogs, fools, silly ones ? when he denounced a false prophet with a violence that might have passed for insanity, and treated him as a child

¹ *Opera Latomi*, folio.

² “ *Mirā quādam brevitate, sed ut nihil fieri absolutūs.* ” Latomus had at first unjustly attacked the faith of Erasmus, who wished his friend to retract : this Latomus did, in some pages which highly pleased Pirkheymer.—Epist. Erasmi, 12, lib. xii.

³ “ *Verbum Dei gladius est, bellum est, ruina est, scandalum est, perditio est, venenum est, est ut Amos sit, sicut ursus in viâ, et lœna in sylvâ; longè vehementius in Emser, in Eccium scripsi, et nihil es conquestus.* ”—Spalatinus, Feb. De Wette, tom. i. p. 417.

of Satan, the enemy of the truth, a soul full of cunning and deceit? Truth knows no empty respects. . . .¹

"Lord! what darkness and iniquities Rome has vomited upon the earth, and by what judgment of God has she survived so many centuries? To deceive men by filthy decretals and bare-faced lies, which she makes so many articles of faith. I am almost convinced of it: the pope is Antichrist, that son of perdition which the world expects. Whatever he does, says, or prescribes, all smells of Antichrist. . . .²

"Let them no longer speak of my transports. You see that whatever is done in our time calmly faints and falls. The womb of Rebecca carries infants who fight already. The present age judges me erroneously. Posterity will do me ample justice. . . . The reverend father, Vicar Staupitz, writes to me from Erfurt not to publish my book *De Emendando statu Christianorum*; it is too late. It must be the Holy Ghost that impels me, since it is neither the love of money, nor of pleasure, nor the passion of glory. I resemble Christ, whom they crucified because he had said, 'I am the king of the Jews.' They crucify me for doctrines which I have not taught, the communion under both species, for example.³

"The bishop of Misnia, and with him other bishops, accuse me! I know well how to answer them: I shall not suffer errors condemned by the Gospel to be taught even by angels from heaven, still more by these idols of bishops. I am willing to forgive them for the time; let them write to them then, to be silent, and do nothing against Luther. Let them take care of themselves; they think to escape the hail, they will perish under an avalanche of snow. Let God only preserve my reason, the more they stir the dung, the worse it will stink.⁴

"What fools your doctors of Misnia and Leipsic are! have they lost their reason? I never had such adversaries,

¹ Spalatino, Feb. 1520. De Wette, p. 418.

² Wences. Lingke, 19 Aug.

³ "Sicut enim Christus propter vocabulum: Rex Judeorum crucifixus est, ita et ego propter utramque speciem quam nec jussi sumendam, nec prohibui." —Spalatino, 13 Jan. De Wette, tom. i. pp. 389, 390.

⁴ "Ne si incipiunt velle fugere pruinam, obruantur nive. . . . Si sterlus amplius moverint, latius et crassius fetebit." (The proverb is easily recognised.) —Spalatino, 18 Feb. De Wette, l. c. p. 415.

ninnies. Tell them, then, to leave me alone ; I have them, and if they enrage me, I shall cover them with shame. I shall give due notice to the Duke George, but if I write to him, he does not read, or does not comprehend me. I am at God's disposal ; my bark is ready for the gales and billows. I can only at present pray to God. I read in the future, the Lord shows me a portion of it ; I see tempests at hand, unless Satan is chained. The thoughts of my enemies are those of guile and malice. What would you have, my friend ? The divine word never advances without trouble, that powerful word, which works such great wonders, which rolls and roars in the heights and the clouds, and which kills the slothful souls of Israel. We must renounce peace, or the divine word. The Lord has come to bring war, and not peace. I am struck with dismay. Woe to the earth !¹

" New visions have appeared in the heaven ; at Vienna, flames and burning ; I would like to see them ; it is my tragedy which these signs announce.²

" Is it then strange that the world should be troubled on account of the word of God ? At the bare intelligence of the birth of Christ, were not Herod and his court troubled ? And were not the earth and the sun darkened when Christ died ? For my own part, the evidence that a doctrine is wise, is, that the multitude, the great and the learned are offended by it. The Psalmist says, ' He has been set as a sign to be contradicted for the fall and resurrection of a great number, not among nations, but in Israel.'³

" Whether I will or not, every day my knowledge increases. It is not two years since I wrote upon indulgences ; now I would destroy my books. I was then under the yoke of Roman tyranny ; I did not wish them to reject these indulgences, and in truth, to what purpose be surprised at it ? I was alone to roll that rock. But soon my eyes were opened, and I saw that those pardons were only wretched impostures, invented to filch from men their money and their trust in God. Ah ! I would

¹ Staupitio, Feb. De Wette, p. 425.

² Spalatino, 19 Mar. De Wette, p. 428.

³ Archidiacono Elsterwicensi, 30 Maii, 1520. De Wette, p. 450.

that my books on indulgences were burnt ! . . . Glory and peace in the Lord. . . . My dear Nicolas, we must not reply to Emser,¹ because he is a man of whom the apostle Paul has said, ‘He is condemned, shun him, his breath is deadly.’ A little longer, and I shall pray against him ; I shall ask of God that he may render to him according to his works ; that he may die, because it is better that he should perish, than continue to blaspheme against Christ. . . . I do not wish you to pray for this wretch, pray for me alone.”²

Such is what Luther wrote at the time when, seated at table beside Miltitz, he drank the health of the holy father, to the peace of Germany. Beyond the Alps all were glad in the sacred college, and Leo more than all beside, he who loved so freely the *frate*. The *frate* is no longer an humble monk, writing on indulgences, but an apostle, possessed of the Holy Spirit, an inspired being, a prophet who read the stars, and to whom the Lord had revealed the future ; a future of woe, for it is a tragedy which he is to play. It will be unravelled like the ancient tragedy, by murder ; that does not alarm him, he affirms, he repeats it. His work will cause to human nature tears and blood ; what matter ? he will not give it up. A priest demands of heaven the death of his enemy ! He wishes that he may die, and that they should abstain from prayers for that soul, which he condemns from this life. At that moment the voice of some timid monks comes to warn him, that voice of these simple men is a call from God, which points to him the open abyss. But Luther laughs at these terrors, as he sports with the tears which he is about to make be shed ! Never was cry more fearful than that prophecy expressed so briefly : *Woe to the earth. Vix terræ !* A little while, and that prophecy will be accomplished ! All Germany will revolt ; debauchery and murder will stalk through the streets of Munster ; frightful copulation will pollute the interior of the convents ; men and women calling themselves possessed by the Spirit of God, will

¹ Nicolao Hausmann, 26 April. De Wette, pp. 442, 443.

² “Adhuc modicum, et orabo contra eum, ut reddit ei Dominus secundum opera sua ; melius est enim ut moriatur quam ut sic perget contra conscientiam Christum blasphemare ; sine ergo eum, velociter nimis satis compescetur miser iste ; sed et tu desine pro eo orare ; ora pro me.”—Nicol. Hausmann, 26 Apr. De Wette, p. 442.

walk about naked with Bibles in their hands. There will be blood in the churches, blood in the public places, blood upon the altars. Then, when all that has come to pass, Eck, turning to Wittemberg, will point to Luther and say,—It was Luther who cried, *Woe to the earth!* his prediction is accomplished.—It was Luther who wrote that he would make a tragedy, his tragedy is performed ;—it was Luther who sought to see signs in the heavens, those signs have appeared ;—it was Luther who said that the word of God was a sword, that sword has been drawn from the scabbard, it gleams in the hand of Storch ! Luther has not sinned through ignorance, since he foretold all that has happened now. Glory, then, to Luther !

But already his words have produced fruit. At Zwickau, a priest who was soon to rouse to arms the peasantry of Thuringia, Munzer, ascends the pulpit on the feast of the Assumption, and revives the insults of Luther against the See of Rome. He treats the papacy, indulgences, purgatory, the mass, the most of the sacraments of his Church, as human juggleries.¹ He must have for himself a new church, of which he shall hold the keys, for, according to him, “Luther has wanted courage. He still embraces the flesh, like a poltroon ; he leaves man in the jaws of sin, and the creed which he preaches is still more deadly to salvation than that of the papists. The new divinity required by a regenerated world, is one wholly spiritual, who reveals himself to man in slumber, and visits him in his dreams.”² Unhappy man, who, had it not been for Luther, would have continued to evangelize in peace his small flock.

It may be remembered that, at the time of his interview with Miltitz at Lichtenberg, Luther promised the nuncio to write a third letter to his holiness. Now, when he made that promise, the letter was already despatched to Rome. It has arrived, and with the letter Leo has received the ascetic work spoken of by the monk to Miltitz. The letter is dated April 2nd, 1520.³ Here it is. In reading it let us have in our eye the hospitable table, at which Miltitz and Luther are seated side by side, the

¹ Weller, *Alles und alle Theile der Geschichte*, part i. p. 732.

² Theod. Strobel, *Leben, Schriften und Lehren Thomä Müntzers*: Nürnberg, 8vo. pp. 12, 13.

³ See note (1), p. 222, seq.

large pots of beer before them ; those capacious glasses clinked together at each fresh bumper ; those two hands of monk and nuncio warmly clasped ; those embraces, the pledge of reconciliation ; those tears of joy, those expressions of friendship exchanged between the two boon companions, and even the skin of the fabulous fox with which Miltitz has been clothed.

" Amidst the enormities of this age,¹ with which I have been warring for three years, my thoughts and memory are directed towards you, most holy father. . . . I protest, and my memory is not treacherous, that I have never spoken of you but with honour and respect. . . . Were it otherwise, I should be ready to retract. Have I not called you Daniel in the lion's den ? Have not I defended your innocence against a man like Sylvester Prierias, who dared to stain it ? . . . You cannot deny, my dear Leo, that the seat in which you sit exceeds in corruption both Babylon and Sodom ; it is against that impious Rome that I rebel. I am roused with indignation by seeing how, in your name, the people of Jesus Christ are treated so unworthily ; it is against that Rome that I fight, and shall so long as a breath of faith exists in me. Not that I believe, which is impossible, that my efforts will prevail against the crowd of flatterers who reign in your dissolute Babylon ; but charged to watch over the destiny of my brethren, I would that they should not be the prey of all the Roman pestilence. Rome is a sink of corruption and iniquity. For it is clearer than light that the Church of Rome, of all churches the most chaste hitherto, has become a stinking cave of robbers, the most impudent of brothels, the throne of sin, death, and hell, and that its wickedness could not reach to a higher degree of crime, were Antichrist to reign there in person.

" You, Leo, are like a lamb in the midst of wolves, like Daniel among the lions, or Ezekiel among the scorpions. To all these monsters what have you to oppose ! three or four cardinals, men of faith and learning ; what is that in the midst of this

¹ Epistola Lutheriana ad Leonem X. summum Pontificem. Liber de Christiana Libertate, continens summam Doctrinæ Christianæ : quo ad formandam mentem, et ad intelligendam Evangelii vim, nihil absolutius, nihil conductibilius, neque à veteribus neque à recentioribus scriptoribus proditum est. Tu, Christiane lector, relege iterum atque iterum, et Christum imbibe : Recognitus Wittembergæ, 4to. 1521.

See Confirmatory Evidence, No. 13.

nation of miscreants? You will be poisoned if you attempt to remedy so many evils, and before even you have dreamt of an antidote. . . . The days of Rome have been numbered, the wrath of God has breathed upon her. She hates councils, she dreads reformation, she cannot bear restraint to be placed on the madness of her impiety. It will be said of her, as was said of her mother, ‘We have cared for Babylon, but she cannot be healed; leave her alone.’ It was for your cardinals and you to remedy such an amount of evil; but the disease mocks the hand of the physician, the chariot heeds not the reins. . . .

“ Filled with love for your person, I have often mourned to see you elevated on the pontifical seat, in an age like ours; you deserve to have been born in another period. The See of Rome is unworthy of you; it ought to be occupied by Satan, who, in truth, reigns more than you in that Babylon. . . . Is it not true that, under this vast heaven, there is nothing more corrupt, more iniquitous, more pestilential than Rome? Truly, Rome surpasses in iniquity the Turk himself; she, formerly the gate of heaven, is now the mouth of hell, which the wrath of God prevents from shutting; scarcely is it permitted us to save any souls from the infernal gulf.” . . .

After narrating how the quarrel stands between him and the pope’s courtiers, Luther thus concludes:—

“ I do not wish to come to you empty-handed, I offer you a small treatise, dedicated to you; as a pledge of my love of peace, an evidence of that wherewith I should have wished to employ my leisure, if your flatterers had allowed me; an offering of small value, if you look to the appearance of the work, but very valuable, unless I deceive myself, if you enter into the spirit of the book. I, an humble monk, have nothing better to offer you; you have no need of any other than a spiritual gift.”¹

Would you now know this book of affection which Luther

¹ Luther translated into German the Letter to Leo X. This translation, which appeared under the title of *Sendschreiben an den Papst Leo den Zehnten*, D. M. Luther, &c., differs in some passages from the original. The German text is much more energetic and violent. The “lupanar omnium impudentissimum” is rendered by “ein Bubenhäus über alle Bubenhäuser.” Sodom and Gomorrah recur in it much more often. The German version was intended for his fellow-citizens, the Latin for the learned. De Wette has printed both texts, pp. 497 and 506, in his Collection of Luther’s Letters.

sends to Leo X., in testimony of his love and filial piety? It is his treatise on Christian Liberty,¹ in which the Augustinian establishes as doctrines, founded on the words of the Gospel, not only justification without works, but the impossibility of faith with works, which he regards as so many sins; the subjection of the creature to the devil, even when it makes an effort to escape from him, and its birth in sin, when it rises towards the Creator; when its thoughts, detached from the bondage of earth, bury themselves in contemplation of the Saviour's merits; when its hand scatters alms; when its lips open to pray or to bless; when it weeps or repents; for, says he, all that is in us is guilt, sin, and damnation, and man is incapable of doing good.

"There are," he says likewise, "two men in man; the interior and exterior man: the inner man is the soul, the outward man is the body. The body cannot sully the soul; let the body drink, eat, pray,—not with the mouth, as does the hypocrite,—or haunt profane places, the soul cannot be affected by it. As soon as the soul has faith, she is one with Christ; it is the bridegroom and the bride."

It is a dangerous doctrine, surely, which maintains the compatibility of faith with a heart designedly stained with the most horrible crimes, and for which one fears at first to make responsible a genius so enlightened as Luther. But it is needless to attempt to deny it; it is the very sentiment which he again develops in his "*Captivity of the Church in Babylon*." "Thus, then," he says in a passage of that book, "you should see how rich the Christian man is who cannot lose his salvation, even when he would by all manner of sins, excepting always that he refuses to believe; for, with the exception of sins against faith, nothing can close the gates of heaven against him. . . . Contrition, confession, satisfaction, are works invented by men; all that will fail you, will make you unhappy, if, forgetful of faith, you repose your security on the vain practices of human superstition."²

¹ *De Libertate Christiana*. Luth. Op.: Witt. fol. tom. ii. The first edition appeared in 1520, a second in 1521, without the names of author, printer, or place. *Von der Freyheit eines christen Menschen*. Antiqua Litterarum Monuments: Brunswigæ, 12mo. 1690, p. 118.

² "Ita vides quām dives sit homo Christianus; etiam volens non potest perdere salutem suam quantiscunque peccatis, nisi nolit credere. Nulla enim

In order that his theory on the efficacy of faith should be grasped, even by the minds of the common people, Luther took care to express it still more explicitly. It is thus he writes to Melancthon :—

“ Be a sinner, and sin boldly ; but more boldly still believe and rejoice in Christ, the conqueror of sin, of death, and the world. Sin is our lot here below. This life is not the abode of justice ; ‘ but we expect,’ says St. Peter, ‘ a new heaven and a new earth wherein dwells justice.’ It is sufficient that by the riches of God’s glory, we may know the Lamb who takes away the sins of the world ; sin cannot deprive us of Him, even if in the same day we were to commit a thousand murders or a thousand adulteries.”¹

“ To believe is a gift so precious, that if one could commit adultery in faith, it would not be a sin.”²

Works occasioned him such dread, that he sought to turn from them all whom he called Christians. “ Pious souls,” says he, “ who do good to obtain the kingdom of heaven, will never reach it ; I consider them as impious : it is more cogent to fortify oneself against works than against sin.”³

Luther, in his “ Christian Liberty,” strives also to establish that the priestly office is infused into human nature, as the soul into the body ; that it pertains to every man who believes, because Christ being himself united to humanity by a mysterious union, the soul has become his spouse, and then participates in all the gifts which the bridegroom bestows upon his beloved ; that the words priest, clerk, ecclesiastic, mean nothing, and are an abuse of the word of God, because we are all his children in the same degree, his stewards and ministers ; and that vestments,

peccata eum possunt damnare, nisi sola incredulitas,” etc.—De Captiv. Bab. tom. ii. p. 234.

¹ “ Esto peccator et pecca fortiter ; sed fortius fide et gaude in Christo, qui victor est peccati, mortis et mundi : peccandum est quandiu hic sumus. Vita haec non est habitatio justitiae ; sed expectamus, ait Petrus, ccelos novos et terram novam, in quibus justitia habitabit. Sufficit quod agnovimus per divitias gloriae Dei Agnum qui tollit peccata mundi : ab hoc non avellet nos peccatum, etiam si millies, millies uno die fornicemur aut occidamus.”—Melanchthoni, 21 Aug. 1521.

² “ Si in fide fieri posset adulterium, peccatum non esset.”—Luth. Disp. tom. i. p. 523.

³ Op. Lutheri : Witt. tom. vi. fol. 160. Mœhler, Symbol. vol. i. p. 229 Robertson’s Trans.

external pomp and ceremonies, are only vain figures, human forms, which the spirit of Christ should banish from among Christians.”¹ And, as Professor J. Marx here remarks, “the Lutheran priesthood is not a figure, but a reality, which confers on the layman all the powers of the Catholic priest; preaching, forgiveness of sins, absolution, and dispensing of the sacraments.”² But what signifies this sign, which faith alone bestows on us, as the water of baptism does the title of children of God; which man rejects or accepts at his pleasure, according as he embraces belief or scepticism? What then is that Lutheran faith, which makes us like the angels, and suddenly changes our nature? Is it faith, *minus* indulgences, as in 1518; faith, *minus* the divine supremacy of the pope, as in 1519; faith, disencumbered of the sacraments of Orders and Extreme Unction, as in 1520; or faith without the mass and invocation of the saints, as in 1521? But faith implies a creed. Now Luther cannot establish a creed without authority. If the private judgment of Carlstadt, for example, as we shall see, rebels against the belief of the doctor, who shall decide between them? What then is faith according to Luther, except a caprice, a phantasy, a phantom; in one, weakness; in another, fever of the brain, excitement of the nervous system, prostration or exuberance of vitality, light or darkness? Luther says, “Believe;” but then let him not teach, that “the mission of bishops is double, mediate and immediate; in our days mediate, that is to say, derived from man, but immediate in the apostles, who received it from Jesus himself; immediate in the prophets, who received it from God; that the apostles have transmitted that mission to their disciples; St. Paul to Timothy and Titus, who transmit it to the bishops their successors, the bishops to those who succeed them; thus until our days and the end of time, so that this mission, although mediate, is nevertheless wholly divine.”³

¹ See *De Libertate Christiana*, tom. ii. Op. Luth. Wittemberg, at the beginning.

² “*Omnes quotquot baptisati sumus æqualiter sumus sacerdotes, nullum sacerdotibus super nos est jus imperii. . . . Christiani omnes sunt æqualiter sacerdotes, eamdem in verbo et sacramento quocunque habent potestatem.*”—Luth. Op. tom. ii. p. 297, b.

³ Luther, part i. 8th leaf of the 1st chap. of the Epistle to the Galatians, 2.

Thus, then, faith alone is insufficient to confer the priestly office, which is a real inheritance by divine delegation ; every man is not then a priest ; every man then has not a mission to teach.

It is narrated in the history of Cromwell, that a soldier of his army crossed the Thames to go to London. He carried with him a lantern, in which were five lighted candles. On the banks of the river he addressed the multitude in a loud voice, and opening his lantern, took one of the candles, blew it out, and said, "So perish tithes." Then a second, "So perish parliaments." Then a third and a fourth ; finally the fifth, and exclaimed, "So perish the Bible." The people began to mob and abuse him. One of the bystanders said to the soldier, "Where have you found all that ?" "It is the word of God," replied the soldier, "which I preach to you : Luther made a new religion, Calvin puffed it out ; Calvin made a new religion, Cranmer, the great archbishop, blew it out ; and Queen Elizabeth has blown the whole out. Well ! I, in my turn, come in the name of Christ's word, to sweep away with my breath all that has been said." The people were silent. Was not the soldier right ? He was a priest after the order of Luther, for he said that he believed in Christ and his sacred word.¹

CHAPTER XXII.

THE TWO BULLS. 1520.

Character of Luther's opposition.—Forbearance of Leo X.—He determines to fulminate a bull against the heresiarch.—But while he condemns Luther's errors, he offers him the means of reconciliation.—Literary estimate of the Bull *Exsurge*.—Hutten comments on the bull of his Holiness.—Luther's anti-bull.—How Luther applies himself in this to ruin his adversaries in the opinion of Germany.

Now, we may be permitted to ask every one whose reason is not obscured by sectarian prejudice, to place his hand upon his heart, and tell us if Luther, such as he is seen during three years

¹ Cobbett, History of the Reformation in England.

in the pulpit and in his writings, has not exceeded all bounds ; if there remains for him a single outrage to devise against Rome ; an old or new mockery of the popedom to revive or set in motion ; a contempt against authority to borrow from the works of the heresiarchs who have preceded him. He has left far behind him both Jerome of Prague, and John Huss, and Wickliff. During three years Germany sees him arm himself with the sword of the Word, to stab to the heart all the ancient opinions, under the shade of which she has so long reposed ;—what dirt he has thrown in the face of the successor of St. Peter ! Has not the Catholic world been sufficiently disturbed by these foolish disputations, which, in the words of Melancthon, conduce so little to the advancement of God's kingdom ; and has not the divine word, alleged by the new apostle to be the only law and gospel which men are bound to believe, been subjected, in passing through his lips, to enough of alterations, interpretations, and different torturings ? If during three years a monk has had it in his power without mission to trouble society, throw it into disorder, agitate consciences, and carry away the minds of the people, shall the papacy not be permitted to let its voice be heard ? Though Seckendorf considers Luther's letter as a mark of respect to the Holy See, the reader will only perceive in it a hideous irony, and, in the language of an English author, “a deadly satire on the Church of Rome.”¹ Sleidan thinks that

¹ Roscoe, Life and Pontificate of Leo X. vol. iv. p. 10. Luther's Letter to Leo X., in the Jena edition, is dated 6th April, 1520, *and we believe correctly*. Seckendorf, to extenuate the offence of Luther, assigns it to the month of October in that year ; that is to say, long subsequent to Leo's bull : “So that,” says this historian, “the bull might have provoked the letter ;”—as if it was probable that Luther, being cognizant of the bull, would have made no allusion to it in his letter ! Admitting the supposition of the historian of the Reformation, we cannot see what Luther could have gained by it ; for he wrote, on 11 Oct. to Spalatinus : “At length Eck has brought from Rome the bull of which we have heard so much, . . . Christ, as you will see in reading it, is therein condemned. They wish me to retract. I am much more free now. I now know that the pope is none other than Antichrist ; I know the seat of Satan.” Jam multo liberior sum, certus tandem factus papam esse Antichristum, et Satanum sedem manifestè inventam. Now, observe the good faith of Seckendorf ! He affects to believe the submissive words of Luther, who on 11 October knows, for certain, that the pope is Antichrist, and who on the 13th makes him a Daniel in the lions' den,—a lamb amid wolves ! Either Seckendorf had not read Luther's letters, or he disguises the truth. But Luther himself here deceives Spalatinus, his correspondent ; it is not Leo's bull which has revealed to him that Satan reigned at Rome ; he has known this as a certainty long before. Did he not write to Langus, on 18 Aug., “I

the pope was bound to exercise patience, and to wait longer. To wait until Luther had demolished piecemeal the whole old Catholic edifice, and he who had been appointed by God himself its keeper, should see the stones fall one by one, without uttering a single cry of warning and vexation? When Carlstadt shall come to lay the hammer on the work of the Reformation, Luther, the apostle of Wittemberg, will not wait three long years to run from Wartburg.

There was enough of forbearance.¹ Leo X. could no longer remain deaf to the wail of the Catholic Church. He was bound to speak out, under pain of seeing men wander at random in search of the light which Christ had promised them; and Leo hesitated long. It is known how devoted the pope was to the muses. In his youth he loved to indulge in the reveries of the Platonic philosophy. When he put on the tiara, he could scarcely divest himself of his sympathies with Plato, the most poetic mind of antiquity. For a time the Vatican was converted into a real Sunium, where Leo might be found, when the sun set on St. Peter's, surrounded by his cardinals, discoursing with them on that literature of which he was the father, and of which he might himself have been the ornament and glory. He loved Saxony, where the spark of learning, borrowed from Italy, began to shine, and especially Luther, who at nineteen years of age had carried it into his monastery, fanned it, kept it warm in his bosom, and walked in gladness by the gleams of this new star.

owe no more obedience to the pope than I do to Antichrist himself!"—*Ego pro me confiteor papæ & me nullam deberi obedientiam, nisi eam quam τῷ γνησίῳ Αὐτιχριστῷ debeo*, tom. i. p. 478. Observe that we go on the supposition that the letter to the pope was written on the 15th October. But, whether written before or after the pope's bull, it is an indelible stain on the Reformer. Besides, different dates have been assigned to that letter: 6 April, in the edition of Aurifaber and of Jena; 13 Oct. in De Wette's Collection, tom. i. p. 497; and 6 Sept. by Luther himself.

There exists, on this question of date, an important dissertation, inserted by Roscoe in the second edition of his Life of Leo X., in which the writer proves, by irrefragable evidence, that Luther's letter is indeed of 6 April, 1520. This excellent piece of criticism has unfortunately been omitted by M. Henri in his translation from the English work; but it will be found in the Italian version, published at Milan by Bossi, vol. ii.

¹ It is remarkable that Leo X., accused by the Reformers of excessive harshness to Luther, has been charged by some Catholics with too much condescension and lenity: "Papa Leone che ruminando alti pensieri di gloria mondana, e più che agli affari della religione agonisante in Germania, pensando all' ingrandimento temporale della Chiesa. . . ."—Muratori, Ann. vol. x. p. 145.

Among the members of the sacred college, the learning of the cloistered friar reckoned many admirers ; among others Sadoletus, called by Erasmus the Attic, to describe in one word the elegance of his manners and diction ; “whose Ciceronian style,” says he, “is ever pure, limpid, gentle, and musical,—woven not like flax, but flowing like a stream.”¹ His holiness’s council sat for several days. Luther did not want advocates there;² but what could they do ?—deser for some days, perhaps, a condemnation inscribed in every page of the book of Christ. Leo at length opened it.

It is not for us to appreciate as a dogmatic work the pope’s bull, that magnificent document of our Church.³ In like manner, the words of the successor of the apostles are placed too high to be submitted to our examination. But if, descending from the heights of the faith, we consider it with a human eye, and as a work of art, it is impossible not to find in it the most complete disclosure of the classical regeneration of Rome at that period. Have similar flowers ever fallen from that tree which the Reformation made to become green again in Germany ? Can anything that has yet proceeded from the hands of the Reformers be compared with that glorious composition as a literary creation ? Has Erasmus himself, who for long passed as the inheritor of all the treasures of the Roman language, ever diffused in his writings so much richness and harmony, given them so musical a cadence, and reflected antiquity so charmingly as Cardinal Accolti in this bull against Luther ? We see that Italy had made a serious study of the Ciceronian style ; a worldly ornament, doubtless, which the Reformers also used, and which no Catholic who hitherto has defended the integrity of our dogmas, either an Eck or a Prierias, has rejected as useless, whatever Luther may say. According to him, however, the Rome of Leo X. did not then contain more than two or three cardinals of intelligence. He had not even heard of the name of Cardinal Accolti. The exordium of the bull is itself a vast picture, in the style of Michael Angelo.

¹ “Quid enim nunc prædicem illum verum tullianum orationis fluxum, ubique purum, limpidum,” &c.—Epist. Erasmi.

² William Roscoe, Life and Pontificate of Leo X. vol. iv. Sarpi, Stor. del Concilio di Trento, lib. iv.

³ This bull was fulminated 15 June, 1520. Sarpi, Concil. di Trento, lib. iv. p. 11. Pallavicini, Concil. di Trento, cap. xx. p. 119. Op. Luth. tom. iii. p. 423.

Heaven opens, and God the Father rises in all his majesty : he inclines his ear to listen to the groans of his Church, which cries to him to expel the fox that ravages the sacred vine,—the boar that lays waste the Lord's forest. Then we see St. Peter, the chief of the apostles, attentive to the supplications of his cherished daughter, of that Church of Rome,—the mother of churches,—the mistress of the faith,—the first stone of which he sprinkled with his blood. He rises full armed against these master-liars, whose tongue is a burning coal,—whose lips distil poison and death. You see St. Paul, who has heard the mourning of the faithful, and who comes to the defence of his work, tinged likewise with his blood, against a new Porphyry, whose tooth fastens upon the pontiffs deceased in the faith, as formerly did that of the old Porphyry on the saints of God. Then, at last, the whole firmament is displayed. You perceive the universal Church. On a luminous cloud the angels and thrones, the cherubim and powers, the prophets of the old law and the martyrs, the doctors and apostles, the disciples of Christ, and the army of the blessed, who, with hands extended towards the throne of the Lamb, cry to the Lord to put an end to the triumph of heresy, and preserve peace and unity to the holy Church of Christ !¹

But there is in that bull something infinitely preferable to the Latin phraseology, in which the writer vies with the great models of Roman antiquity : the letter is beautiful, but its spirit is far more exquisite.

Leo X., like a father, suffers while he chastises a rebellious child. How much happier he should be could he forgive him ; and that pardon it is not difficult to obtain ! To-morrow all the past shall be forgotten, if Luther will consent to retract in presence of two witnesses what the pope shall mark out ; or rather to come to Rome, which is the dearest wish of the supreme pontiff, who before the whole Catholic world pledges his word for his safe-conduct.² The pope will even be at the expense of his

¹ See the bull, No. 14 of Confirmatory Evidence.

² “Ipse Lutherus errores et assertiones hujusmodi omnino revocet, et de revocatione hujusmodi per publica documenta in forma juris validâ, in manibus duorum prælatorum consignata, ad nos intrâ alias similes sexaginta dies transmittenda, vel per ipsumnet (si ad nos venire voluerit, quod magis placebet), cum prefato plenissimo salvo conductu quem ex nunc concedimus deferenda, nos certiores efficiat, ut de ejus verâ obedientia nullus dubitationis scrupulus valeat remanere.”

journey.¹ Let the child come and throw himself at the knees of his father, who waits there to embrace him.

To this picture of so great a decree, in biblical colours, and which gives us such an elevated idea of the talents of Accolti, let us oppose a picture of a very different character, such as Callot might have painted in a debauch of imagination. On one side is the Roman purple, on the other the monkish hood ; the red cassock, and the coarse brown dress ; Italy and Saxony ; Rome and Wittemberg. Luther, likewise, publishes *his BULL*.

"They tell me, my dear reader, that a bull has been hurled against me. Every one knows it. It has not reached me yet. Perhaps this daughter of night and darkness will tremble to look me in the face. At length—thanks to the zeal of my friends—I have seen this bat (*noctuam*), and in all its beauty. In truth, I do not know if the Papists jest with me. No, this can only be the work of John Eck, that man of lies and iniquities,—that accursed heretic. What adds to my suspicion is, that this Eck comes from Rome : a fine apostle, most worthy of such a mission ! It is some time since I heard that they were preparing a very wicked bull at the instigation of this hangman Eck, who has imbued it with his style and drivelling I maintain the author of this bull to be Antichrist. I curse it as an insult and a blasphemy against Christ the Son of God. Amen. I acknowledge, I proclaim in my soul and conscience, as truths, the articles which it condemns. I wish that every Christian who shall receive that infamous bull may suffer the tortures of hell. For my part, it is a pagan, it is Antichrist in person. Amen. See how I retract, daughter of a soap bull. But tell me, then, most ignorant Anti-christ, are you so stupid as to think that mankind will suffer themselves to be alarmed ? Were it sufficient to condemn me to say, 'This displeases me, I will not have it,' there is not a mule, an ass, a mole, a stock who could not discharge the functions of judge. What ! your meretricious face has not blushed thus to dare, with words of smoke, to oppose the thunders of the Gospel"²

¹ M. Michelet, *Mémoires de Luther*, tom. i. p. 266.

² "Quis morio, quis asinus, quis talpa, quis stipes non queat damnare ? Non pudescit frons tua meretricia ut sic in publico ecclesiastico audeas inanibus inermibusque verbis, verborum tuorum fumis contradicere coelestium verborum

" It is often said that the ass only sings badly because he pitches his voice too high. This bull would have better intoned had it not at first directed its blasphemous mouth against Heaven . . . Ah ! bullists, do you not tremble lest stone and wood should sweat blood at the noise of the abominations which you vomit ? Where, then, are you, emperors ? Where are you, kings and princes of the earth ? You have given your names to Jesus in baptism, and you suffer this hellish voice of Antichrist ! Where are you, doctors ? All you who preach Christianity, will you be silent before such a monster of impiety ? Unhappy Church, which has become the sport and prey of Satan ! Unhappy they who live in this age ! see, the anger of God comes on all who bear the name of papist.¹ Leo X. and you, Roman cardinals, listen, I tell you to your face, if it is you who have produced this bull,—if you avow it as your work, I use the power which God has given me in baptism, in making me his son and heir. Founded on this rock, which fears neither the gates of hell, nor heaven, nor earth, I say to you, ' Return to God, renounce your Satanic blasphemies against Jesus Christ, and immediately. Know this, that Christ still lives and reigns. The Lord comes, who with a breath of his mouth will consume this man of sin, this child of superstition. If the pope has written that bull, I proclaim him Antichrist, come to overturn the world.' "²

Ulrich von Hutten commented upon the bull in terms of fearful audacity : the disciple is worthy of his master.³

" It is thou," he says to Leo, whom he calls " Tenth,"—" it is thou who art a fox, who hast ravaged Germany. Go, Christ hears you not,—you are a mere liar. The Gospel has always been offensive to you, tyrant that thou art. You have swallowed Germany ; may God draw it out of your belly ! You have extorted and deprived us of our money. The witcheries and fables which you

fulminibus!"—*Adversus execrabilem Antichristi Bullam.* Opera Lutheri, tom. ii. p. 89.

¹ Oper. Lutheri, tom. ii. p. 91.

² He says, in his untranslatable language, " Do not be afraid of the bull ; if any one dies of fright, instead of bells, when they carry him to the grave, they will hear *crepitus*."

³ " Einige haben wohl auch Luthern zum Verfasser der spitzigen und bittern Glossen über diese Bulle machen wollen ; es ist aber unstreitig, dass sie von Ulrich von Hutten herkommen."—Geschichte, &c. p. 38.

and your predecessors have heaped upon us had softened our hearts. What call you the liberty of the Church?—the power of robbing us, doubtless! It is you who are a heretic. Go, tenth of your name; forget not that Germany nourishes lions against you, if her eagles are not sufficient. You have become a lion,—you would devour us. Your cardinals are gluttons, libertines, drunkards, whoremongers.”¹

Hutten was of opinion that they should finish the dispute with Leo and Albert of Mayence by means of arms. He proposed to Luther a crusade, in which Sickingen and his noble friends the iron gauntlets were ready to take part. Albert of Mayence was the same archbishop who had lent the poet 400 gold ducats at various times, and whose virtues had been celebrated by Hutten in a poem.²

It should be remarked that Luther never gets into a passion without seeking in some improper place for images or comparisons, which he afterwards throws ostentatiously in his opponents' faces. It was then, we shall be told, the language of the time. How, then, is it not to be found in the writings of the Catholics? We must admit that the Holy Ghost, by whom Luther says he was inspired, spoke a very strange idiom by the mouth of his disciple. We must, in spite of ourselves, prefer that which Satan puts in the lips of the Antichrist Leo X. He is an Antichrist, at least, who does not cause modesty to blush. Besides, the son of the miner did not calumniate his adversaries in their manners only, but he pursues them even in their learning. If the age resembled the pictures of it drawn by Luther; if it was such as represented in the monk's letters, we should have to weep over the debasement of the human mind at that period. The heart is grieved in reading his correspondence, and one is tempted to bless him for having caused light to shine in the midst of such dense darkness. But

¹ Scortatores.

² Hutten employed both sword and pen in the cause of Luther. He wrote in his defence: *Exclamatio in Incendium Lutheranum*; *Conquestiones ad Imperatorem*; *Invectiva in Aleandrum, Caracciolum, cardinales, episcopos et sacerdotes impugnantes Lutherum*; *Dialogi varii*—*Bullicidae, Monitores, &c.* Carlstadt attacked the bull in one, in 4to., entitled, *Von bepstlicher Heylichkeit, Andres Bodenstein von Carlsstadt Doctor.* It is a poor work, devoid of fancy or style, and which contains only one salient passage, with which the work concludes: “He who does not believe me is a bad Christian”—*Wer das nit glaubt, der ist ein büsser Unchrist.*

one is not long the sport of Luther. What ! in this vast gallery of portraits which he brings under the reader's eye, is there not one single brain possessed of a ray of intelligence ? Stupidity in Germany,—stupidity in Italy. Look at Prierias, Emser, Hochstraet, Eck, Cajetan, and all the Augustinian's adversaries. One is a driveller ; another has horns and a tail. This one is Antichrist ; that other is Satan. Frequently the same individual is in the same page mule, camel, mole, and owl. If Protestant posterity still believes that the pope is Antichrist, it has long since ceased to see him in the person of Leo X. : it has cut the tail and the horns from all those evil spirits which Luther charitably lodged in the body of his enemies : it no longer (let us do it justice) declares that Rome is a prostitute ; and if Babylon were revived, it would no longer place her at Rome. But, unhappily, it still believes in the ignorance of the monks who disputed with its apostle. What a picture M. de Villers has drawn of the Reformer's opponents ! His language is undoubtedly more polished than that of his master, but it is equally explicit : “Prierias, Emser, Eck, and Cardinal Cajetan himself, were only pitiful theologians, incapable of coping with the monk.” We have seen whether these Catholic intellects knew how to defend themselves, if they deserve the insults of the Saxon, and the contempt of M. de Villers. And then, fortunately, Providence has taken care to place by the side of Luther, Erasmus, a theologian and orator equally gifted,—a multifarious author, writing with such marvellous facility upon antiquities and history, or criticism and speculative philosophy ; a grumbler by temperament, a passionate railer against all who wore frock or hood, and believing infinitely more in Luther than in the monks, as he confesses. Now we have read the works of this Voltaire of the sixteenth century, and to the testimony of the doctor of Wittemberg we have ever to oppose that of the philosopher of Rotterdam. What is the result ?—that all these Catholic physiognomies which the Reformer in his ill-humour has daubed with ink or smut, lay aside, one after the other, this false mask, and re-appear in the lineaments of masters in sacred theology,—well-tried professors,—men of learning and faith ; that these minds, afflicted with cretinism, and possessed by the spirit of darkness, have spent their lives in the study of the sacred authors, whose multifold

language they often speak ; that these foreheads, stamped with the mark of the beast, shine with luminous rays ; and that under this ridiculous cap, which, to make Germany laugh, a monk puts upon other monks, we perceive a head grown prematurely bald in study and intellectual labours. It is no less certain that Luther was indebted for much of his success to his prodigious talent of caricature. Germany and Saxony especially dilated at the sight of doctors thus lashed who were unworthy to venture themselves with an athlete like Luther. The devil also laboured for the Reformer. The Gospel assuredly does not contain so many possessed ones as the mere correspondence of Luther for two years only. Let a man come forward to avenge the Catholic faith, undeterred by the jeers and sarcasms of Luther ; let him have the courage, at the risk of his reputation and ease, to attack him to the face ; if, consulting but the suggestions of his conscience, he denounces to Germany the novelties which menace its future, you may be certain that, at first, this man is an emissary of Satan, and if he continues his opposition, Satan himself. If one of the disciples of the new evangelist attempts to undertake the defence of his master, "What are you about, my dear Amsdorff ?" he says to him "Philip informs me that you wish to reply to Emser ! You do not know, then, that this man is filled with Satan ? If you answer him, take care that you are not replying to the angel of darkness : he knows not what he does, it is the infernal spirit who speaks by his mouth, his malice requires to be inclosed in a vessel of stupidity and ignorance. If I had sooner been aware that the devil had made himself master of him, I should have known how to shake out the evil spirit."¹ Now this is the same Emser whom Luther prayed that God, one day when the Dominican's argument pressed him too hard, would

¹ "Rursus cùm sit Satana plenus, metuo ne rideat et cavilletur si quisquam à juvenibus ei respondet. . . . Ipse enim quid loquatur, nihil intelligit : sed spiritus qui longo invidiæ morbo, eum in furorem vertit, et solum, ut irriteret et cavilletur, loquitur, omnia loquitur. . . . Planè malus spiritus est, sed hoc unum deest sua malitia, quod stolidum, stupidum et indoctum vas obsidet et occupat," etc. — Amsdorf, 13 July, 1521. Observe on what occasion the devil entered Emser : Luther maintained, resting upon the first Epistle of St. Peter, ch. ii. ver. 9, that all men are priests. . . . Emser, on the contrary, established that there existed a great difference between the clergy and the laity. That possession is the third : the first occurred, according to Luther, when the same Emser upheld the pope's supremacy.

remove from the earth,¹ and who died in final impenitence, that is to say, constant to the faith of his ancestors ; " having his neck twisted," says Luther, " by the devil,"—that is to say, by a stroke of apoplexy occasioned by excessive labour, according to Catholic accounts ; and that version is the true one.

CHAPTER XXIII.

LUTHER BURNS THE BULL OF LEO X. 1520.

Eck is charged with publication of the bull in Germany.—It is posted on the church-doors in Saxony.—Luther's account of the treatment experienced by the bull.—Luther renews his appeal to the council.—He resolves to cause the bull to be burnt.—How he announces this event to the Catholic world.—The nobility encourage him.

WITH the proceedings in the disputation at Leipsic, Eck had carried to Rome some sermons published by Luther,² pamphlets printed at Wittemberg and reproduced in several towns of Germany, and even caricatures against the Holy See, the works or suggestions of the monk. The archbishops of Salzburg, Mayence, Trèves, and the bishop of Misnia (Meissen), had several times denounced the dangers to which Luther's preaching exposed their dioceses. Monasteries, that of Jutterbock among others, complained earnestly of the unheard-of disorders which Luther occasioned in Germany. The bishop of Misnia demanded that silence should be imposed on that Augustinian who was so daring as to *travestie*, under the name of mole, the official Stolpensis, who had countersigned the public proclamation against the errors of the new doctors.³

Eck was the party selected by the pope to publish and circulate

¹ Nicolao Hausmann, 26 April, 1520. De Wette, tom. i. p. 442.

² It was thus that, under the title of Ein trostlich Predigt von der Gnaden Gottes und freyen Willen, und von der Gewalt der Schlüssel Sant Petri, beschrieben durch Dr. Martinum Lutherum, gedruckt zu Basel durch Adam Petri, was reprinted in 1520 a sermon by Luther against free will and the pope's supremacy. Like all the writings of that period, this sermon has a title-page illustrated with allegorical figures. Engraved on wood are St. Peter holding the keys, and St. Paul the sword.

³ Seln. Hist. Luth. p. 16. Ulenberg, l. c. p. 62.

the bull. He who had, in the disputation at Leipsic, maintained with such renown the interests of the tiara, deserved the honours thus conferred upon him by the Holy See. He left Rome with the dignity of nuncio and protonotary apostolic.¹ We cannot imagine why some Catholic writers have censured the choice of the supreme pontiff. "This selection must have appeared to Luther," says Pallavicini,² "the suggestion of hatred rather than the advice of wisdom and prudence." But to what more capable administrator could the pope have committed the holy revenge of outraged faith? Who better than that theologian knew the state of mind in Saxony, the resources of the doctor and his party; the dispositions of the princes, courts, universities, prelates and clergy? who united to greater firmness manners more conciliatory? Eck started from Rome, travelled rapidly over part of Germany, carried the bull to the bishops of Misnia, Merseburg, and Brandenburg; stopped at Louvain, Cologne, and every university town, where the writings of the heresiarch were publicly burnt, at the same time that the bull was posted on the doors of the churches. Luther has given an account of the mission, which was not always successful, nor invariably without danger. "My dear John," he writes, "you have shown much courage in the commotion which this bull carries with it. Eck wished it to be received at Erfurt, but they laughed at him; they said, 'The bull is not legitimate.' Numerous students waited for him; he did not make his appearance. They burnt the bull, and then threw the ashes in the water amid cries of *Bulla est, in aquâ natet*—It is a bubble, let it swim in water. The bookseller has demanded the price of his impression, the consulate has feigned to have heard nothing of it. Such is a bull which is not a bull!³ . . . The people of Cologne and Louvain have burnt my writings; egregious zeal, but not according to knowledge! poor blind creatures, whose folly makes me ill. How easy it is to burn what they cannot answer! In like manner, King Joachim burned the book of the prophet Jeremiah. Such is human virtue; the clergy stifle

¹ Geschichte der durch Publication der päpstlichen Bulle wider Luther erregten Unruhen, p. 8.

² Pallavicini, Concilio di Trento, cap. xxv.

³ 30 Oct. Johanni Greffendorf, 1520. De Wette, tom. i. pp. 519, 521.

the truth, the people embrace it with avidity.¹ The bishop of Misnia has made an *auto-da-fé* of my writings, and so also has that little saint of Merseburg,² that prelate puffed up with pride and avarice.³ At Leipsic they have torn to pieces the papal bull, after besouling it; so have they treated it at Torgau; so also at Deblin; they have hanged it up with this inscription, *Das Nest ist hier, die Vægel sind ausgeflogen*—The nest is here, the birds have flown. At Magdeburg they have fastened Emser's book⁴ *in publico infamiae loco*—in a place of public infamy—with this inscription, *This place is worthy of such a book*. On these days of amusement, our students divert themselves by representing the pope in full canonicals and state, have him carried in procession, and when arrived at the market-place, have pursued pope and cardinals, bishops and attendants, with their taunts and ridicule; the enemy of Christ, who sports with kings and with Christ himself, richly merited so comical a chastisement. They make rhymes of the farce.”⁵

¹ Fabiano Feilitzsch, 1 Dec. De Wette, tom. i. p. 530.

² “Sanctula, sanctitula sua non sufficit pro operculo impietatis, quā papa plus statuit obediēre quam Deo suo.”—Spalatino, 13 Nov. De Wette, tom. i. p. 524.

³ Langö, 6 Mar. On the 4th Feb. preceding he wrote to this very bishop: “My reverend father in Jesus Christ, I write to you full of reliance on your kindness, of which I have received so many proofs. . . . Indeed, I should think myself guilty, if you were capable of believing all that my enemies say against me. I entreat your fatherly goodness to have regard to my infirmity; if I have ever erred, show me wherein I ought to retract.”

⁴ Wider das unchristliche Buch M. Luther's, Augustiner, an den deutschen Adel ausgegangen. Vorlegung Hieronimi Emsers an gemeine hochlöbliche deutsche Nation: Leipzig, 4to.

⁵ Spalatino, 17 Feb. 1520. De Wette, p. 560.

We quote some fragments of Luther's correspondence at this time:—Libellum Captivitatis Babylonicae prohibitum esse nihil curo. Nihil scribam in rudes illos spermologos (20 Oct. 1520, Patri Michaëli Marx).—Libellum Thomas Rhadini Emseri esse, stilus et saliva consonat (ibid.).—Legi exemplar literarum apostolicarum, seu apostaticarum, ad ducem Johannem (Greffendorfio, 30 Oct. 1520).—Quis Satanum quam tam impudenter ab initio mundi locutus est in Deum? Sed quid dicam, vincet me magnitudo blasphemiarum istius bulle, et id nemo observat. Prorsus persuasus sum, extremum diem adesse in limine, multis et potentibus argumentis Antichristi regnum finiri incipit (Spalatino, 4 Nov.).—Gaudeo Huttentum prodisse atque utiam Marinum ac Aleandrum intercepisset (Spalatino, 15 Nov.).—Excommunicatio bulistica nobis non timetur quamquam episcopos istos duos audianus processuros, quos rursum et ego pulchrè excipiam et insignibus suis ornabo (Spalatino, 13 Nov.).—Dux Georgius insanit, imd plus quam furiit (28 Nov. Georgio Lango).—Galerus Moguntinus mea publico dicto inhibuit. Asinus Aveldensis iterum in me scriptit (Spalatino, 15 Dec.).

Luther was bent on revenge. In presence of notaries and witnesses, he renewed his appeal to the general council. The appeal¹ was posted, as his theses were formerly, on the walls of the church of All Saints. From Leo X., "that proud contemner of the Church of Christ," he appeals to the voice of the Church in council assembled; although some months previously he had solemnly declared at Leipsic, that a general council might err. He calls upon every generous mind in Germany,—emperor, electors, princes, and nobles, to come to his aid, and oppose the acceptation of that impious bull, the work of a fool and a tyrant.² Then recollecting that Jerome of Prague had burnt the sentence of the fathers of Basle against John Huss,³ he desires to do the same to the bull of Leo X. The elector being absent, there was no one there to oppose this intention.

On the 10th December, a large pile of wood was heaped up near to the east gate of Wittemberg; around it was scaffolding raised in steps, after the fashion of the ancient amphitheatres.⁴ At nine o'clock appeared some members of the university, Augustinian friars, and a crowd of students and inhabitants, forming a merry multitude, assembled by Luther's orders to attend the spectacle which he had promised them on the preceding day. Soon came the doctor in full canonicals, carrying under his arm the papal decretals, the Extravagants, and the bull of Leo X., which was seen by every one, printed in large letters. Others followed carrying the works of Emser, Eck, Prierias, and all those who had entered the lists with the father of the Reformation. On Luther's appearing, the people cheered. He beckoned to them to be silent, and made signal to a beadle to set fire to the pile. When the flames shot up, he exhibited the bull to the spectators and threw it into the fire, exclaiming,

¹ Appellatio Martini Lutheri. Luth. Op. tom. ii. p. 258.

² "A superbo contemptore sancte Ecclesie Dei . . . Quocirca oro suppliciter serenissimum, illustrissimum, inclytos, generosos, nobiles, strenuos, prudentes viros et dominos, Carolum imperatorem, electores imperii, principes, comites, barones, nobiles, senatores et quidquid est Christiani magistratus totius Germaniae, velint pro redimenda Catholica veritate et gloria Dei, pro fide et Ecclesia Christi, pro libertate et jure legitimi concilii mihi menseque appellationi ad hanc papae incredibilem insaniam adversari, tyrannidi ejus impiaissime resistere," etc.

³ Hagenbach, l. c. tom. i. p. 225.

⁴ Op. Luth. tom. ii. p. 320. Pallavicini, ch. xxii. Ulenberg, p. 78.

"Thou hast disturbed the house of God, therefore thou shalt be consigned to fire eternal."¹

The multitude replied, "Amen;" and spread themselves round the pile, endeavouring to snatch from the devouring flames some fragments of the books, with which they amused themselves by tossing them in the air amid cries of "Long live Luther!" "Down with the Papists!" "A mass for the poor bull!" Neither the elector's lieutenant, the senators, consuls, or others interfered to disturb this scurrilous jollity, which the doctor announced to the Catholic world on the following day, as a general narrates a victory. On that day it only cost tears; blood was to follow.²

"In the year of Jesus Christ MDXX., 10th December, at nine o'clock, there were burnt at the east gate of Wittemberg, opposite Holy Cross Church, all the books of the pope, the rescripts, the decretals of Clement VI., the Extravagants, and the new bull of Leo X., together with the Summa of the angel of the schools, the Chrysoprasus of Eck,³ and other works by the same author, as well as of Emser, in order that the Papist incendiaries may learn that it needs no great courage to burn books which they cannot refute."⁴

Next day Luther ascended the pulpit. On the previous day he had given notice of his intention to preach, and the church was crowded. "Yesterday," said he, "I burned in the public square, the satanical works of the pope. I wish rather it had been the pope, I mean the Papal See, that had been thus consumed.⁵ If you do not separate from Rome, there is no salvation for your souls. . . . Let every Christian seriously reflect that in communicating with the Papists he renounces eternal life.

¹ "Weil du den Heiligen des Herrn betriibt hast, so betrübe und verzehre dich das ewige Feuer."—Luther's sämmtliche Werke: Halle, tom. xxiv. pp. 450—459.

² Exustio Antich. Decretalium, official account, 2 pages 4to. Coll. Passionei, vol. clxviii. at Rome.

³ Chrysoprasus sive de Prædestinatione, centuriae sex. Aug. Vind. 1514.

⁴ Georgio Spalatino, 10 Dec.

⁵ "Parum esse hoc deflagrationis negotium, ex re fore ut papa quoque, hoc est sedes papalis, concremaretur."—Luth. Opera, v. ii. p. 320. Roscoe. Life of Leo X. vol. iv. Luth. Op. tom. ii., Exustionis Antichristianarum Decretalium Acta, p. 320: Jena, 1600.

Abomination to Babylon ! So long as I have breath I shall exclaim, Abomination !”

“ Certainly,” a Protestant author observes, “ if ever a formal blow was given to the rights of authority, it was in the public burning of the decrees of the Holy See;”¹ and by a manifest contradiction, which has not escaped the perception of Menzel, Luther, who hitherto had condemned the use of brute force, resting himself on Christ’s words, “ If any man take your cloak, give him your coat also,” himself burned the pope’s bull, saying in self-justification, “ I do to them as they have done to me.”²

War was declared, and the schism effected. The Church on that day sustained a great loss; some thousands of souls burst violently the bond that united them to the old family, the cradle of which was at Bethlehem. But scarcely is it born, than that Lutheran work, the Christian’s torch, his light in this life, his pledge of immortality in that which is come, is a ground of division among those who had adopted it !

Those whom the Reformation had seduced are the first to give an example of discord. Observe them in their turn interpreting their master’s doctrine, and subjecting it to the doubts of their own mind. Scarcely is it hatched, when the Reformation has found among the reformed strenuous opponents.³

¹ “ An sich und nach aller Strenge beurtheilt, war freilich das öffentliche Verbrennen eines Gesetzbuches etwas Unerlaubtes, ein Eingriff in die Rechte der Obrigkeit.”—Schreckh. l. c. tom. i. p. 246.

² “ Das Auffallendste war, dass Luther unter Anderem auch die Lehre, es sey einem Christen erlaubt, sich mit Gewalt gegen Gewalt zu schützen, als eine widerchristliche aufführte, weil sie dem Spruche Christi: ‘Wer dir deinen Rock nimmt, dem lass auch den Mantel,’ entgegen sey, während er doch durch den Verbrennungsaakt selbst und durch seine Rechtfertigungschrift, die mit den Worten schloss: ‘So wie sie mir gethan haben, so habe ich ihnen gethan,’ auf das deutlichste kund that, dass er gegen den römischen Stuhl noch mehr, als bloße Selbsthilfe für rechtmässig hielt.”—Menzel, l. c. tom. i. p. 88.

³ In the first month of 1521, Carlstadt published a book, entitled *De Celibatu, Monachatu, et Viduitate*, in which Luther found much to reprehend. See the letter which he wrote on this subject to Melanthon, 6 Aug. tom. ii. p. 37. Dr. De Wette.

At this time there appeared in Germany a mass of pamphlets against the celibacy of the clergy; Luther, astonished at this deluge of publications, wrote to Spalatinus: “ Good God ! we Wittembergers will give wives to our monks whether they will or not ! At nibi non obtudent uxorem. The author of Dialogues on Celibacy has neither genius nor learning sufficient to convince me.” We see him tormented with doubts on the celibacy of the clergy ; he

Let us for an instant follow Luther to his cell, after the great crowd of students have saluted him with their repeated cheers. Numerous letters wait for him upon his table from the nobles of Franconia, who write, "Courage, father, be not afraid; in case of need we are ready to protect you. We offer you a hundred armed men, who are ready, at the first notice, to go to your aid: woe to him who shall touch a single hair of your head!"¹

These letters are signed by Ulrich von Hutten, Franz von Sickingen, and Sylvester von Schaumburg.

These nobles thought that the lion of the papacy was for ever prostrate on the earth, and they already divided among themselves, in anticipation, the spoils of the Catholic clergy. The man of the north is at length to have his revenge! Luther is his liberator; the monk-knight adopts for his device, **CEDO NEMINI—I yield to none.**²

consults St. Paul's epistles, compares the texts, and admits that there are obscure passages in the Scriptures. . . . "Vellem à vobis nihil prodiri quod obsecris et ambiguis scripturis nitatur, cum à nobis exigatur lux quae plusquam solis et omnium stellarum sit, neque sic tamen vident."—To Melancthon, 6 Aug. 1521.

¹ Selnecc. Hist. Luth. pp. 17—19. Ulenberg, l. c. p. 64. Cochl. l. c. p. 40.

² Joach. Westphal, in libello Wilkom. p. 84.

The following works may be consulted: — Tob. Schmid, *Zwickanische Chronik*; *Lebensbeschreibung eines christlichen Politici*, nemlich Lazar Spenglers, weiland vördersten Rathschreibers zu Nürnberg: Nürnberg, 1741, 8vo.; Pirkheim. Op.; Hansdorf, *Nürnbergisches Gelehrt.-Lex.*; Jac. Schwindel, *Neue Sammlung von lauter alten und raren Büchern*; Rorer's *Relation von seiner Handlung bei D. Ecken zu Ingolstadt*, in *Geschichte der durch Publication, &c., quoted in this chapter (p. 125 et seq.)*; Schelhorn, *Act. Hist. Eccles. Sec. XV. et XVI. tom. i.*

CHAPTER XXIV.

LEO X.

On ascending the throne, Leo X. conceives the design of completing the church of St. Peter.—He intrusts Raphael with that great work.—The artist's letter to the pope.—Michael Angelo and Julius II.—Leo prefers Raphael to Michael Angelo, and why.—Devotion of the pontiff to the arts.—Sansovino.—Giulio Romano.—Protection afforded by the pope to literature and science.—Machiavelli, Paulus Jovius, Guicciardini, Valeriano, Celio Calagnini.—Italy, under Julius II. and Leo X., the asylum of literary men.—Erasmus desires to visit it.—His reception by the cardinals Raphael de Saint-Georges and John de Medici.—His recollection of Leo X.—Correspondence of the pope and the philosopher.—A reception at the Vatican under Leo X.—The painters, poets, and literati.—Benevolence of the pope.—How much to be regretted that Luther had not listened to the voice of Leo, and gone to Rome.

LET US for a while leave Germany, and transport ourselves to Italy. We long to see if Rome resembles the view which Luther has drawn of it ; if Leo X. is a Daniel in the midst of lions, an Ezekiel among scorpions ; and if in the sacred college we can reckon only three or four cardinals, men of learning and faith, as the Reformer has told us. We desire to know if the dangers of ambuscade and of death, with which Sickengen and Hutten sought to torment the Augustinian, were chimerical or real. We must become acquainted with these southern people, who made the man of the north laugh, if they did not alarm him.

Let us enter Rome by the Porta del Popolo, under which, ten years before, Luther had passed ; let us go to the Vatican, and see with what the papacy is occupied.

On ascending the pontifical throne, Leo X. perceived the necessity of completing the most splendid architectural work which had ever been attempted, a second temple of Solomon, as it was then called—St. Peter's of Rome. And Leo wrote to Raphael :—

“ My dear Sanzio, my most anxious desire is that this basilica should be speedily completed, and with all possible magnificence. You are young, Raphael ; this is the time to lay the foundation of your immortality, to make you worthy of the

confidence which I have reposed in you, of the affection which I bear to you, and of the work which you are called on to finish."¹

Raphael was a great architect. Bramante, who had been employed by Julius II., died. Who was to be chosen to continue his work? Three competitors were in the field: Balthasar Peruzzi, Raphael, and Fra Giocondo, that monk versant in the ancient languages, who made two noble works at the same time—Julius Scaliger and the bridge of Notre-Dame at Paris. But Raphael was the friend of Bramante. Upon his death-bed, close to which Leo X. stood among the princes of the Church, Bramante had gazed upon the painter, extended to him his failing hand, and said, "You shall be my successor." Leo did not repudiate the will. He provided gold plentifully for its execution, and all the marble of the suburbs of Rome, and all the ruins which were discovered, and which were bound, under a penalty, to be restored to the prefect of St. Peter, who purchased them with the funds of the papal treasury. What apparently was only an honour to Raphael, was the occasion of most admirable good fortune. Several months were spent in making excavations, searching with eager eye for such treasures as the earth might contain, and they were found in abundance. Around the Vatican, on the place of St. Peter, a museum soon arose, visited each morning by Raphael, who would touch a stone, and say, "This is for the temple; this frieze, for study; this column, for Fra Giocondo; this inscription, for Chigi—that Lombard who invited Leo X. to his table, and when the repast was ended, ordered the gold and silver service to be thrown into the Tiber;²)—for Marc Antonio Raimondi, these bas-reliefs; to the painter Andrea del Sarto (for Raphael knew not envy),

¹ "Fra i nostri desiderii questo oper così dire, il maggiore, che sia fabbricato con somma celerità e magnificenza, qual tempio. Al fine ti esorto ad imprender così questa cura che all'eseguirla habi rispetto del nome, e dell'onor tuo di cui ti convien gettare buon fondamento in giovinezza; e della fiducia nostra e dell'affezione verso di te; e della dignità e celebrità del tempio medesimo, il quale fu sempre di gran lunga il più santo, e il più magnifico di tutto il mondo, et della divozione che noi debbiamo al principe degli apostoli."—Brief of Leo X. to Raphael. Pallavicini, *Storia di Concilio di Trento*, tom. i. p. 90.

² See Bayle, art. Chigi. Roscoe, *Life and Pontificate of Leo X.* vol. iv. p. 273. Paulus Jovius, *Life of Leo X.*

this Greek statue." Then arose competition in searching the soil for the discovery of ruins. Rome, for a season, was transformed into a vast workshop, where gods and emperors jostled each other pell-mell. What wonders of the Grecian chisel rose from the ground and reappeared glittering in the sunlight, which, but for Leo X., might long have lain buried ! All these fine images, carried in triumph, were subsequently to adorn the secular buildings and palaces of the great nobility, where they may be studied at the present time.

In the evening, Raphael, after having long been watching over this exhumation of the pagan Olympus, would go to the Vatican, where Leo discoursed upon ancient art, and surprised every one with his taste and learning. It was in one of these conversations, when the majesty of the tiara was intentionally laid aside, when the Vicar of Jesus Christ became as it were the pupil of Marsilio Ficino, when mutual discourse circulated as in an ordinary studio, that Leo conceived a grand project. This was in some measure to resuscitate ancient Rome, to rear it again in all the glory of the past, in all its architectural splendour, its palaces of gold and marble, its theatres and gardens ; more noble than the Rome of Augustus ; such as it was under Nero. It was to Raphael that the pope intrusted that great task, which delighted the architect. "For," says the artist in a letter to Leo, wherein the painter of the Madonna is clearly exhibited, "it grieves my heart to view this carcase of a city, once the mistress of the world, battered and ruined. If piety towards our country is a duty, then I feel obliged to use what little power I have to breathe life into this land, so cherished by all who bear the name of Christian ; into that Rome so powerful, that for a while she thought herself protected from all assaults, and destined, contrary to all the laws of mortality, to live for ever. But Time, distrustful of his own power, called to his aid Destiny and the Goths ; and we have seen these conspirators united ; Time, with his iron tooth and destroying breath, and the Barbarians with fire and sword, desolating this great city. Then under this combined assault fell the splendid efforts of genius ; nothing of it now remains save the skeleton."¹

¹ "E grandissimo dolore, vedendo quasi il cadavero di quella nobil patria che è stata regina del mondo, così miseramente lacerato. Onde se ad ognuno

When Raphael thus spake, Carlstadt, in Saxony, was ready to break images.

Unhappily death surprised Raphael before he found Rome in Rome ;¹ before he could recall to life this old carcase ; “at the time,” says Paul Jovius, “when, by means of the instrument which he had imagined, he was about to exhibit the Latin city to the admiration of the world.”² The design of Leo X. might have remained incomplete ; nobody appeared willing to continue the great artist’s work. But the excavated ground had produced too many archæological treasures, to admit of the works of exhumation being interrupted. They were continued accordingly, and it was soon seen how happy the pontiff’s plan was.

But we must take care not to be unjust to the memory of Julius II., insulted by Luther. The intellectual movement which appeared in Italy about the end of the fifteenth century, long before the Reformation had taken literature under its protection, was due to the Medicis, who had entertained the Greek refugees.³ Rome was not the last to enter into the holy crusade against barbarism, and she brought to it the munificence and splendour of her sovereigns. Julius II. has especial claims

è debita la pietà verso i parenti et la patria, tengomi obbligato di esporre tutte le picciole forze mie, acciocchè più che si può resti vivo un poco della imagine, e quasi l’ombra di questa, che in vero è patria universale di tutti li Cristiani, e per un tempo è stata tanto nobile, e potente che già cominciarono gli uomini a credere, ch’essa sola sotto il cielo fosse sopra la fortuna, e, contro il corso naturale, esente dalla morte, e per durare perpetuamente. Però parve che il tempo, come invidioso della gloria de’ mortali, non confidatosi pienamente delle sue forze sole, si accordasse con la fortuna e con li profani, e scellerati barbari, li quali alla edace lima e venenato morso di quello aggiungessero l’empio furore, e l’ferro, ed il fuoco, e tutti quelli modi che bastavano per ruinarla, &c.”—Raffaello d’Urbino, to pope Leo X. This admirable letter is printed at length in Roscoe’s Life and Pontificate of Leo X. Appendix, vol. iv. p. 474.

¹ “Nunc Romam in Romā quærerit reperiturque Raphael.
Quærere magni hominis, sed reperire Dei est.”
Celio Calcagnini.

“Atque urbis lacerum ferro, igni, annisque cadaver
Ad vitam, antiquum jām revocasque decus.”
Castiglione.

² “Perit in ipso etatis flore, cùm antiquae urbis ædificiorum vestigia architecture studio, metiretur novo quidem ac admirabili invento, ut integrum urbem architectorum oculis consideratam proponeret.”—Jovii, Vita Raph.

³ They landed at Ragusa. The first regular tragedy, printed at Venice in 1500, was by Menze, a Ragusan; the first commercial book, printed likewise at Venice, was by another Ragusan, named Gothugli.

upon our acknowledgments ; to him is due the honour of having found out Bramante, Michael Angelo, and Raphael,—three diamonds whom he knew how to make shine. Observe what works he ordered to be executed by these three artists : by Bramante, the basilica of St. Peter ; by Michael Angelo, the Sistine Chapel and his tomb ; by Raphael, the Dispute of the Holy Sacrament, the School of Athens, and the Parnassus of poetry.¹ It is in this latter fresco that we perceive old Homer with his majestic face ; Virgil, who says to Dante, “ See the path of light which you must follow ;” Sannazaro and Tebaldeo, and in a corner of the picture, and as if illuminated with the reflexion of every epic glory, the painter himself, his forehead crowned with laurel, and near the Mantuan. “ For,” says Bellori, in his mythological style, “ he who in his infancy was bathed in the waters of Hippocrene, and nursed by the Muses and Graces, was well entitled to seat himself on Parnassus.”² On his elevation, Leo X. did not forget that he was of the race of the Medicis, the heir of Peter and Lorenzo the Magnificent. On the death of Bramante, he made Raphael his successor, for he had discovered that Sanzio was an architect. Michael Angelo, by his command, was instructed to build the church of St. Lawrence, at Florence, replete with the majesty of that great genius, and at a later period, to execute the colossal figure of Moses, his favorite work, for the tomb of Julius II.³ Michael Angelo had a greater sympathy with Julius II. than with Leo X. His characters were Homeric. Julius II., who caracoled in his brilliant armour ; who marched at the head of soldiers and archers ; who, instead of excommunicating his enemies, took his sword and cuirass and fought like a soldier for the liberties of the Italian nation, was one of the spirits by whom he felt attracted. He loved that fiery eye gleaming from its bony orbit, that figure wasted by the cares of royalty, that brief and curt speech. A pope who asked him, “ When will you finish that chapel ? ” and to whom he could reply, “ When I am able ; ” and who, flushed with passion, added, “ Do you then wish

¹ See Carlo Fea, *Notizie intorno Rafaelle Sanzio da Urbino* : Roma, 1822, 8vo. ; Passavant, *Rafael von Urbino* : Leipzig, 1839, tom. i. 8vo.

² Bellori, *Descrizione delle Imagini dipinte da Rafaello*, p. 53.

³ Cicognara, *Storia della Scultura* : Prato, 1833, tom. i.

that I should cause you to be thrown from your scaffolding?"¹ without caring to hold his tongue, was the man for Michael Angelo. He was an excellent type of the Southern. Raphael, could he have bestowed the tiara, would have given it to none other than to Leo X. We may understand the attraction of two such characters as those of the pope and the artist, contemplating them as drawn by the painter; the painter, at first, in nearly all his pictures, with his girl-like countenance, pale and melancholy, his fine hair falling in ringlets over his shoulders, his Grecian hand, his blue velvet cap affectedly brought down over the ear, his doublet tight upon the hip, his close-fitting jacket and shoes ornamented with ribands; Leo X. as framed in the Florence Gallery, the brow expansive and unwrinkled, the eye full of celestial mildness, and the countenance purpled with bright colours, which annoyed him, and which he endeavoured in vain to get rid of by violent exercise. When we look at that head of the pope, calm as that of an ancient statue, we discover that it is not the Julius II. of Michael Angelo. Buonarotti, however, had not to complain of Leo X.; only Raphael remained the pontiff's favourite. That preference, far from being fatal to art, gave it a new direction, and opened for it a new prospect. It was under Leo X. that the reign of the Florentine school terminated, and the era of that of Rome commenced, which shone by the skilful union of colour and design, but which unhappily too often sacrificed to the pagan naturalness; connected with colouring, perhaps Venice has nothing to compare with the Burning of the City, by Raphael.²

After Raphael, Andrea del Sarto experienced the patronage of Leo; Del Sarto, the painter of so many Madonnas, the feeble reflection of that of the artist of Urbino. Death deprived him of this artist, but permitted him to enjoy during his life the triumph of Andrea Contucci, so well known by the name of Sansovino, a great sculptor, but of a different style from that of Michael Angelo, and who, having studied Raphael with enthu-

¹ "Il papa dimandandolo un giorno quandò finirebbe quella capella, e rispondendo egli quandò potrò: Quandò potrò, egli soggiunse: Tu hai voglia ch'io ti faccia gittar giù di quel palco."—Condivi: *Vita di Micael Agnolo*, ap. Bottari. Roscoe, vol. iv. p. 253.

² Passavant, l. c. tom. i. p. 263.

siasm, conveyed into his bas-reliefs some of the sweetness, mellowness, and angelic harmony of the Umbrian painter. When Vasari saw the works in the chapel of our Lady of Loretto, which Sansovino was commissioned to execute after Bramante's death, he was astonished ; and, enthusiastic admirer as he was of Michael Angelo, he nevertheless confessed that they were the finest efforts of sculpture that had ever proceeded from the hand of man.¹ It must be admitted that Leo X. was fortunate ! if he cast his eyes on an artist often obscure, unknown, lost in the crowd, that artist rose, increased in fame, and, stimulated by the patronage of the pope, accomplished marvels in his profession. At Venice Marc-Antonio was so little known, that he was obliged to deceive the public by marking his works with the name of Albert Durer. Scarcely had he come to Rome, when Raphael presented him to the pope, and Marc-Antonio raised the mere mechanical trade of engraver to the high art of painting, his burin having produced some figures so exquisitely drawn, that they have been supposed to be traced by Raphael himself.

But the earth was as tributary as the arts. Every time that Leo ordered an excavation to be made, some new treasure was turned up. Sometimes it was a medal assigned to Sadoletus, who read its legend instantly ; sometimes a cameo, which was ordered to be set in gold ; sometimes a statue, which was paraded under the pope's windows, and which he saluted with his hand ; sometimes a porphyry vase, which he caused to be placed as a diadem on the front of the Pantheon. Such monarchs were these popes, whom in Saxony they called barbarians ! Julius II. gave to Felix de Fredis, who had discovered the Laocoön near the baths of Titus, and to his children, a part of the receipts from the imposts levied at the gate of St. John Lateran.² Leo X. had the Laocoön carried to the Vatican with great ceremony, and nominated Fredis notary-apostolic.³ The day on which this

¹ "Ma quanto in questa parte appartiene ad Andrea, questi suoi lavori sono i più belli e meglio condotti di scultura che mai fossero stati fatti fino a quel tempo."

² "Introitus et portionem gabellæ portæ S. Johannis Lateranensis."—See Carlo Fea, l. c. p. 22.

³ See Winckelmann, *Histoire de l'Art*; Richardson, on Painting, vol. iii. p. 711.

group of the Laocœn was disinterred, under Julius II., was a holiday at Rome : flowers were showered upon it, and hymns chanted as it was carried in triumph through the streets ; ladies at the windows clapped their hands ; artists lining the streets uncovered themselves at the sight of the *chef-d'œuvre*, and Sadoletus interrupted his commentaries on St. Paul to celebrate the return to the light of this Grecian marble, in an ode which scholars know by heart.¹

Sometimes Leo would celebrate these discoveries in Latin, as when during his cardinalate they disinterred the statue of Lucretia. Then he improvised iambics on the exhumation of the marble. Rome caught with him the poetic fever : hexameters and pentameters dropped in sweet concert upon the discovered statue, which, roused by the sound of the melody, seemed to listen to an idiom which had slept with it during so many ages, and revived with it in all its primitive grace. This devotion to the language of ancient Rome, which Leo X. and Julius II. especially favoured, contributed powerfully to awaken the taste for literature. In studying the great writers of that age, it is easy to see how the language of Dante, founding itself on that of Virgil, purifies itself from its secular stains, and elicits a clearness of sounds which have rendered it the most musical idiom ever spoken by man. That language alone, and unaided, was sooner or later to become a truly aerial music, to awaken indolent geniuses. In the time of the Medicis, it was necessary to be an artist to rise in society. If, as in the case of Bembo and Sadoletus, the Italian muse spoke Greek or Latin, then the doors of the Vatican were open to receive her ; she was taken into the prince's counsels, and became his confidant and secretary. Happy time, when each creation of the sculptor or painter was greeted in the language of Dante, of Homer, and of Virgil especially, and when the sonnet that celebrates the Moses of Michael

¹ "Ecce alto terræ è tumulo, ingentisque ruine
Visceribus iterum reducem longinqua reduxit
Laocœonta dies ; aulis regalibus olim
Qui stetit atque tuos ornabat, Tite, penates,
Divinæ simulacrum artis, nec docta vetustas
Nobilius spectabat opus, nunc alta revisit
Exemptum tenebris redivivæ membra Romæ."

Sadol. Opera : Veronæ, 4to, 1738.

Angelo was considered as fine as the statue itself.¹ When any great event occurred,—such as when the Laocöon, after fifteen centuries, was recovered ; when Raphael recalled on his canvas the Transfiguration of St. John in the desert ; when Michael Angelo commenced the draught of his Fates ; or Leonardo da Vinci the exquisite sketch of a Holy Family : then there rose even in the shop of the workman a murmur of joy and admiration. Before the great nobles, princes, or popes decreed to the artist magnificent rewards, the Virgilian verse was employed in celebrating the triumphs of the painter or the sculptor. For the use of song they employed an idiom unknown to the million ; no glory was durable without the laurel of Virgil, and that laurel became green again whenever any wonder appeared in the world. Raphael, Sadoletus, Bembo, Michael Angelo, composed in Latin. When a poet died, all the illustrious men of Rome, Venice, Florence, and Bologna met in the funeral chamber. The bells tolled, the churches of St. John Lateran, St. Mark, St. Mary, and St. Paul shone with lights, the city was in mourning. When laid in the tomb, a priest from the steps of the altar pronounced an eulogium on the works of the deceased in Latin. Then the tomb was closed, and on the stone which the chisel of Sansovino or Buonarotti had adorned, might be read, as in the church of St. Francis, at Mantua, on the sepulchre of Pomponius, the manly thinker :—

“Mantua clara mihi genitrix fuit, et breve corpus
Quod dederat natura mihi, me turba Peretum
Dixit. Nature scrutatus sum intima cuncta.”

or on the tomb of Beroaldus, the great Latinist :—

“Telsina te genuit, colles rapuere Quirini,
Longum audita quibus musa diserta tua est.
Illa dedit rerum domino placuisse Leoni
Thebanos Latio dum canis ore modos,” etc.

Enter into one of these Italian basilicas erected under the Medicis. There, in tombs of which we admire the workmanship, repose most of the glories of that splendid age to which Leo X. has given his name ; and invariably it is the language of Rome

¹ “Chi è costui, che in dura pietra scolto
Siede gigante,” etc.

—Sonnet by John Baptista Zappi. See Roscoe, Life and Pontificate of Leo X. vol. iv. ch. xxii. p. 245. See also Confirmatory Evidence, No. 15.

which has been used for the monumental inscription. Sometimes it is in that slow measure which goes on foot, as Horace says, and more frequently, in winged words, the language of the poets.

From Marsilus Ficinus, at the time of the foundation of the Platonic academy, under Lorenzo de Medici, to Sadoletus, in the reign of Leo X., there was not a single learned man who did not compose in Latin ; the popes themselves were obliged to do like others ; they accordingly wrote verses, and often, like Leo X., were applauded by the scholars. We may imagine how far this love of lyrics went. Old Niphus, who, long anterior to Spinoza, taught the doctrine of a universal soul, and who perhaps might have run some risk, not on the part of the powers, then so tolerant, but of some professors reasonably offended, if his bishop Barrozzì had not protected him,—Niphus, this man of enthymems and syllogisms,¹ at seventy years of age amused himself by composing elegies !

So, then, long before the Reformation, “which,” according to Bacon,² “revived the cultivation of the languages,” classical antiquity was in Italy the object of enthusiastic favour. In Italy the study of languages was protected by the popes, and honoured by men of learning, some of whom, like Sadoletus or Bembo, attached themselves to the style of Cicero, and ended by learning the secret of it ; others, like Thomæus of Padua, recalled in their dialogues the majesty of Plato.³ We ought not to despise this plastic study, for it enriched the Italian language with a multitude of expressions, phrases, and tropes of rare felicity ; a labour of words which the Latins did not despise, who went themselves to the discovery on the Greek ground, where they

“ Quid ? Nyphus annon melleus
Perplexa suetus inter enthymemata
Et syllogismos frigidos
Narrare suaves, Atticasque fabulas,
Multumque risum spargere !”

Latoni, Ap. Jovium, in Elog.

Nyphus, long time previously, had retracted his errors.

² Of the Advancement of Learning, book i. p. 18. Lord Bacon’s error is easily explained : Italian literature was not known in his time.

³ “ Platonis majestatem, nostris hominibus jäm propè abditam, restituit.”—Epitaph of Thomæus, by Bembo, in the church of St. Francis, at Padua. Erasmus praises him in the *Ciceronianus*.

found archaisms which they incorporated with their native idiom, and of which the origin, being lost in course of time, might have deceived the most acute ear.

We have seen with what munificence Leo treated architecture and painting ; we know the favours which he bestowed upon the pupils of Raphael, among others on Giulio Romano, who worked beside his master, and executed most of those arabesques in the Vatican, the fantastic ornaments of which have been effaced by the duke of Bourbon's soldiers, almost all northmen, and by Time, perhaps less barbarous.

When France, Germany, England, and Spain had no historians, Italy already possessed Poggio Bracciolini, Leonard Aretino, Antonio Cocchi, and Bernard Corio, cold annalists, who contented themselves with removing dust from the tombs, but who could not infuse the health of life into the forms which they exposed. At length Machiavelli and Guicciardini appeared ; Machiavelli, who, in his "History of Florence," has sometimes the numbers, elegant periods, and ornate phraseology of Livy, and at others the learned combination of words and depth of Tacitus ; a troublous and disorderly genius, who, having factiously become involved in the conspiracy of Capponi and Boscoli, would have perished on the scaffold, from which he could only have miraculously escaped, had not Leo taken pity on the historian, and snatched him from the justice of the country. Clement VII., also one of the Medici, accepted the dedication of the "History of Florence," and gave to the Roman printer, Antonio Blado, permission to publish his book of the "Prince." Was not that a noble example of toleration ? And yet Luther has not treated Clement better than Leo.

Guicciardini, who wrote memoirs of the events in which he had been frequently an actor, wielding with equal ease the sword and the pen, was not, any more than Machiavelli, a flatterer of power. His sword, until death had broken it, remained faithful to his masters ; but his pen depicted them sometimes with a severity that bordered on injustice. In 1515, he was appointed to compliment Leo X. on his entry into Florence.¹ The pope was charmed with his "Patavinian" phraseology, with the har-

¹ Manni, Elog. Tosc. tom. ii. fol. p. 306.

monious language and grace of the orator, and next day Guicciardini received the appointment of consistorial advocate. From that day he was attached to the fortunes of the pope, who, after his return from Rome, appointed him governor of Modena and Reggio.¹ He has been ranked with the historians of antiquity, and it is certain that his name will live in posterity. He possesses fire and animation, is dramatic, and describes a battle-field admirably. It is a pity that, in reading him, we perceive the rhetorician of the garden of Ruccellai, where he loved to converse with Pierius Valerianus, Bandello, Machiavelli, and Calcagnini ; and his style has a little of the monotonous exuberance of those fine trees under which he went to seek for inspiration.

Paulus Jovius, who likewise frequented the elysium of Ruccellai, conceived the plan of writing the history of his own times. He commenced the work, and after completing some portions of it, went to Rome, and sought an audience from the pope. The following day he was introduced to the Vatican, where the pope was surrounded with the cardinals. Jovius read his historical work, and Leo bestowed on him the name of the Italian Livy,² which posterity has not confirmed, made him a knight, professor in the Roman gymnasium,³ and granted him a considerable pension from the treasury. At a later period, Adrian VI. made him canon of Como, and Clement VII. gave him apartments in the Vatican, a numerous suite of servants, and finally the bishopric of Nocera. All this was fine, too fine, perhaps, but not for Jovius, who died, it is said, of grief because Paul III. obstinately refused him the *beretta* of a cardinal.

Valerianus, whom we have mentioned, was an encyclopædic genius, a theologian, lawyer, professor of eloquence, archæologist, and rival of Horace, as Arsilli styles him in his poem *De Poetis Urbanis*. Poverty attached him to the service of a Venetian gentleman. John Lascaris and Marc-Antonio Sabellico were his first masters. At twenty years old he left his native country,

¹ "Molti furono i benefici e gli onori che dalla santa sede ottenne il Guicciardini ; ma forse non ne ottenne tutti quelli che a lui pareva di meritare."—Fontanini, *Bibliot.* tom. ii. p. 212.

² Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana* : Firenze, 8vo. 1813, tom. vii. part ii. p. 260.

³ Lettera dell' abate Gaetano Marini . . . nella quale s' illustra il ruolo de' professori dell' Archiginnasio Romano : Roma, 1797, 4to. p. 47.

which was occupied by the imperial troops, and sought a city where he might devote himself to study in peace. Rome suggested itself to him. His first protector was John Francis della Rovero, who lodged the exile in the old mole of Hadrian,¹ and his friend and courtier was Leo X. While this pontiff was excavating the Roman soil, Valerianus, learned in the languages of the East, betook himself to Egypt,—to that mysterious land which nobody then understood, and some obelisks recently discovered were the pages in which the learned endeavoured to read the alphabet of the most ancient people in the world. No doubt that symbolic language remained hid from him, and he was deceived in the meaning of the phonetic or idiographic signs, and those mysterious allegories from which the veil has dropped since the discovery of the triple inscription of Rosetta.² However, whatever may be our opinion of Valerianus's explanations, his great work on hieroglyphics is an excellent evidence of his genius. If he did not make out the graphic elements of the Egyptians, it was because Egypt was then a land unknown to the stranger, and because to construct an alphabet, there was nothing except the granite columns disinterred in the excavations at Rome, for the science of inscriptions was scarcely known. The liberality of Leo X. enabled him afterwards to collect a large library of Arabic and Chaldaic books.

There was another learned man whom Leo X. loaded with kindnesses,—Celio Calcagnini, who was read not only in Homer, but in Isaiah and the Talmud; an ardent admirer of St. Thomas and the Fathers, whose writings he had carefully studied. He had the honour of complimenting Erasmus on his passing through Ferrara, in a style “so pure, so glowing, that the philosopher was mute and scarcely able to answer him.”³ He was one of the opponents of Luther, who treated him as he had

¹ Tiraboschi, l. c. tom. vii. p. 862.

² We know that M. Broussard, in 1799, in excavations made near Rosetta, found a stone on which were cut three series of distinct characters; the one in Greek, the other in that of the country, the third in hieroglyphics. The learned Englishman, Young, was the first to assign a phonetic value to the hieroglyphics; but it was M. Champollion who, subsequently, formed the Egyptian alphabet, and wrote the grammar of hieroglyphics.

³ “Salutavit me summae quidem humanitate, sed oratione tam diserta, tamque fluenti, ut ego prorsus viderer elinguis.”—Erasm. Ep. lib. xxviii. ep. 25.

done Prierias, that is to say, he represented him as a thick-headed and idiotic monk. Erasmus was more just. When he saw Calcagnini's MS. "De Libero Arbitrio," in which Luther's doctrine of predestination is combated with a great power of logic, he was so delighted with it, that he would have had it printed, "for the glory of your name," as he said to the author, "but for a wicked passage, in which you seem to think that I am pleased with these religious dissensions, and remain silent and inactive before this boar which devastates the Lord's vine-yard."¹

"Yes, undoubtedly, my dear Erasmus," replied Calcagnini, "they accuse you of favouring both parties; with one hand holding out bread, with the other concealing a stone; of holding by the same rope, inclining now on one side, now on the other, and always applauded. Such is what the envious say of you. Do you know what more generous souls think? They say that you look with motionless eye on the great conflagration which you could extinguish if so disposed; that you laugh at everything that happens; that you consider the Lutheran tragedy as a real comedy, quiescent while the flames devour both the altar and God. Such is what they lay to your charge. But I have confidence in your zeal, your piety, and sincerity. If, then, my dear Erasmus, in the work which I address to you, you find anything which offends your ear, or which favours the malice of evil tongues, erase, blot, change and correct it, so that no spot may remain."²

In the sixteenth century Italy was indeed a land of promise, which every great scholar desired to see before his death. Then the Alps were crossed by a few obscure individuals who went thither to study the progress of mind, to examine manuscripts recently discovered, to enter under one of the domes recently raised by Arnolfo or Brunelleschi, to imbibe inspiration from the sight of the ancient ruins which every city exhibited, to listen to poets, philosophers, and lawyers. All were stirred by them at the same time,—artists, nobles, sovereign, and people. While Germany was enamoured of the theses of Luther, the people

¹ Erasmi Epistole, lib. xx. ep. 53.

² Calcag. Epist. ad Erasmus. Erasmi Epist. lib. xx. ep. 54.

of Florence had long before, bareheaded and with laurel branches in their hands, escorted in procession a Virgin by Cimabue which had just been discovered ; and at Ferrara and Bologna those professorships were founded wherein the “Divine Comedy” of Dante was explained. At the time when, at Wittemberg, they presumed to print that the popes were barbarians, Leo X. purchased for 500 ducats some inedited fragments of the “Annals of Tacitus,” and founded an academy at Rome, in which some of the most learned men in the world were professors.

Luther, as we have seen, had visited Italy.¹ He had made that pilgrimage, less from motives of duty than from that instinct of curiosity which at that time excited the human mind, and that thirst for the marvellous which was occasioned by the narratives of those who came from that distant country. He went there, therefore, like all who believed in the future of the human race, and who believed that the mind must soon experience a trial, and take part in a struggle that would change the social system ; he went there because public rumour placed there the star that thenceforth was to guide every intellect in the new path. But once in Italy, the monk shut his eyes. He passed without emotion before those great creations of southern genius, the inspiration of the papacy, and of which the sight might have made his heart beat : he was cold in the presence of the wonders of the Catholic worship ; his breast felt no emotion for the old Roman remains that presented themselves in his way. It is painful to see him pass without seeing anything, or wishing to see or retain anything. He brought away with him neither emotions, nor recollections, nor joy of soul, nor inward consolation. He brought back nothing but old wives’ tales and lying anecdotes. Who will believe him, that in 1510, some courtiers heard the celebrant, at the solemn act of consecration, utter this horrible blasphemy : “Thou art bread, and wilt remain bread ; thou art wine, and wine shalt remain ?”² Impiety did not reign

¹ See Chapter III. of this work.

² “Ego Romæ non diù fui. Ibi celebravi ipse, et vidi celebrari aliquot missas, sed ita ut quoties recordor, execror illas. Nam super mensam, inter alia audi vi curtisanos quosdam ridendo gloriari, nonnullos sacerdotes in aræ super panem et vinum haec verba pronuntiare : Panis es et panis manebis ; vinum es et vinum manebia.”—Op. Luth. tom. vi. Jenæ ; apud. Melch. Adam, in Vita, p. 49.

at Rome under Julius II. or Leo X. And if this story rested on a less suspicious authority than that of Luther, we ought not, as some biographers of the Augustinian have done, to look in this sacrilegious mockery for an evidence of the general belief of the time. Pongetti, Paulus Emelius Cesio, Cajetan, Egidius of Viterbo, and Matthew Schinner, were prelates whose faith and learning were admired in Germany.

Erasmus also desired to see Italy, and Rome especially, where he stayed for some time. Luther, by dint of searching, had found in the Sacred College three or four cardinals of literary worth ; but what a different idea we have of these princes of the Church in reading the Batavian's correspondence !

Scarcely had Erasmus recovered from the fatigues of his long journey, when he received a message from Cardinal de Medicis, who subsequently wore the tiara by name of Leo X., inviting him to dinner on the following day. "I shall never forget," says Erasmus in one of his letters, "the grace, the beauty, the elegance of manners, which struck me on my first interview with the cardinal ; his noble and stately countenance, the courtesy with which he received me ; and the inexpressible charm of his conversation. To all these gifts which he had received from nature, he added that with which Politian had inspired him,—an ardent passion for the Muses. In him shone those qualities which Plato requires in a prince, goodness of heart and learning. His predecessors were distinguished by warlike habits ; Leo sought for happiness in peace, and the cultivation of the arts ;—a glory which has cost nobody a sigh or a tear."¹

During his residence at Rome, he seldom passed a week without having an interview with the cardinal ; these meetings invariably were upon literary subjects. Erasmus left the capital of the Christian world charmed with all that he had seen. After which a correspondence commenced between the pope and the philosopher which will ever do honour to them.

"Ah ! that I cannot again," writes Erasmus to Leo, "prostrate at your feet, imprint on them my kisses !² The

¹ Erasmi, lit. v. ep. 2.

² "Familia ex quā vobis, velut ex equo Trojano, tot eximii in omni doctrinæ genere proceres paucis jām annis exsiliérunt, tot Cicerones, tot Marones, tot Platones, tot Hieronymi."—Ep. 174.

noble family to which you belong, like another Trojan horse, has in a few years given us so many Virgils, Platos, and Jeromes. . . . Providence has reserved you for this world ; by you manners and literature have revived.”¹

It seems that Erasmus was dazzled at the sight of Italy. Imagine the Batavian, transported with a brilliant atmosphere of sun and light, entering for the first time a marble palace, traversing vast halls sparkling with mosaics, arabesques, paintings, and sculptures, extensive museums that could scarcely contain all the masterpieces of antiquity which the earth produced daily ; wandering under arches decorated by the hands of Raphael and Perugino ; mingling among cardinals whose vestments glitter with precious stones ; amidst artists, some of whom have pages behind them, and in presence of the beautiful and noble figure of the Medici, the object of the love and homage of all who surrounded him ! But it was mind, and not matter that captivated him.

There is a Roman prelate whose name does not deserve the obscurity in which it has been buried. The Cardinal Raphael of St. George does not appear once in the religious quarrels of the sixteenth century ; he delighted to dream of antiquity under the shade of the fine trees of his country seat on the banks of the Tiber, and threw open the doors of his palace to all the learned. In England, whither he had gone to seek for the “mountains of gold” which his friends had promised him,² Erasmus suddenly remembered Rome and his noble friend. “Indeed,” he writes to the cardinal, “the memory of your city haunts me whenever I recall the sweet liberty, the bright sky, the charming promenades, the golden and honeyed conversations, the rich libraries, the affable nobles whom I have left there, and to whom I have bidden farewell. Now that Leo has restored peace to the world, I burn to revisit my old friends : unhappy that I am,

¹ “Singularis quedam nature tuae bonitas et incredibilis humanitas . . . mihi verò cum olim agerem Romæ domesticæ etiam congressu degustata, tantum addit fiducia, ut nec ipse, infima penè sortis homuncio, dubitarem sublimitatem tuam meis interpellare literis ; atque utinam liceat verò beatissimis istis advolutum pedibus, oscula figere, etc. Hieronymus libentius legetur ab omnibus, si tanto pontificis calculo fuerit comprobatus.”—Erasm. Epist. lib. ii. ep. 1.

² “Sed quid facerem ! Montes aureos, imd plusquam aureos suis litteris policebantur amici.”—Epist. 168: Lugd. Batav. 1703, tom. iii. p. 1.

to have lost in you a Mæcenas, whose pleasure consisted in heaping honours and favours upon me!"

Hear the reply of Cardinal Raphael :—

"Return to this city, where you will find both glory and gold : gold which you ought not to despise, for it is the support of old age, a compensation for the gnawings of envy, the companion of all merit. Return ; all that is brilliant in learning flies to Rome. There we have coronets for men of genius like you, and distinctions for those who wish to rise. Rome and all the literary cities contend for you, as formerly the seven cities did for Homer ; and in that struggle Rome will not succumb—Rome, the country, the glory, the pedestal of everything that fosters learning."¹

Erasmus regretted Italy : he would have wished, had it been for one day only, to have been present at the levees at the Vatican.² There had never been any like those of the Medicis, raised by commerce to the sovereign power ; the bankers of Europe, the protectors of the learned. Those of Leo X. at the Vatican eclipsed all the splendours of the most brilliant courts. Never, also, had higher intellects been brought together in the palace of a prince !—We shall prove it.—Take, first, Ludovico Ariosto, come from Ferrara to Rome to thank the pope for excommunicating all who should print the poet's works without his consent ; a bull directed against the covetousness of some sharpers who had organized a regular confederacy to appropriate and sell every verse composed by him who sang of Orlando.³

¹ Epist. Card. Raph. 1, 18 Jul. 1515.

² "Juvabit omnes fortunas meas ac felicitatis summam uni Leoni acceptas ferre. Est autem, meo quidem animo, nonnulla felicitatis pars debere libenter. Quid id sit, reverendus in Christo pater episcopus Wigorniensis, invictissimi Anglorum regis apud tuam sanctitatem perpetuus orator, coram exponet, et Andreas Ammonius, tue sanctitatis apud Anglos nuntius, literis significabit. Londini V. Id. Aug. MDXVI."

³ We read in Richardson, copying Bayle, who states it on the authority of Protestant writers, that "Leo X. published a bull, in which he threatens excommunication to whoever should dare to criticise the works of the poet Ludovico Ariosto."—Richardson, Treatise on Painting, vol. iii. p. 485. Bayle, art. Leo X. Warton's History of English Poetry, vol. ii. p. 411. The bull of Leo X. may be seen in the edition of Orlando Furioso, Ferrara, 1516, and in Bembo's Collection of Pontifical Letters, book x. ep. 40. We see how little warranted is the charge brought by Protestants against Leo X., who, according to Blondel, was not ashamed to publish a bull in favour of the profane poetry of Ariosto, threatening with excommunication all who should censure it, or prevent the

Leo was versed in the "Furioso," stanzas of which he loved to repeat with that sweet voice of his which touched the heart.¹ On taking his leave, the poet will receive marks of the pontiff's munificence. Then comes the bishop of Fossembrone, Paul of Middelburg, who presents to his Holiness the treatise "De rectâ Paschæ Celebratione," which a century later will be said to have been the work of some learned Benedictine;² next Basilio Lapi, the pupil of Vesputius, desiring to dedicate to him his work, "De Ætatum Computatione et Dierum Anticipatione." Leo is employed in correcting the Calendar, and he has written to the fathers of the Council of Lateran, and to the learned men of Italy, to send him the result of their labours on that reform so greatly desired, which was only accomplished in the pontificate of Gregory XIII. They announce Celio Calcagnini of Florence, who taught, in opposition to the apparent text of the Bible, and prior to Copernicus, the earth's rotation.³ Then comes a deputation of poor Dominican monks, who lay at the feet of the common father of the faithful, their sorrowful complaints of the sufferings to which the conquerors of the new world have subjected the Indians, whom they seize, imprison, and sell for slaves. The pope, in the name of the Gospel and of humanity, condemns the shameful traffic.⁴ In these pontifical receptions all ranks are blended, and the white robe of a Dominican rubs against the purple attire of Castiglione, the most perfect courtier of his time.⁵ Castiglione is the author of the "Libro del Cortigiano," the work of a profound thinker, much less frivolous than its title would seem to imply, and in which, for want of a real theatre, we may view the comic side of Italian society in the sixteenth century. Near that writer you see in gay costume

printer's profit, at the same time while he was thundering anathemas against Luther. See Roscoe, vol. iv. p. 386.

¹ Sermo illius erat suavis et blandus.—Vita Leonis X. ab anonymo conscripta.

² Fabron. in Vitâ Leonis X. 4to. p. 275.

³ "Quod coolum stet, terra autem moveatur."—Tirab. Storia dell. Lett. Ital. tom. vii. p. 427.

⁴ "Requisitus sententiam pontifex judicavit non modò religionem, sed etiam naturam reclamitare servituti."—Fabron. in Vitâ Leonis X. p. 227.

⁵ "Yo vos digo que es muerto uno de los mejores caballeros del mundo!" exclaimed Charles, when he heard of the death of Castiglione.

a deformed little creature, striving to look big, and laughing disdainfully at the sight of the crowds of courtiers who conceal Leo from him ; this is Aretino, who assumes the title of the " Divine, the Scourge of Princes," and who is only yet known as a bitter satirist ; the same who, according to Bandello, attracts to himself the stiletto and club, as the magnet attracts iron, and whose back resembles a nautical chart from the marks of castigation received from the many whom he has insulted. Expelled from Arezzo, his native city, on account of some sonnets, he arrived in Rome almost in rags. Leo made him handsome presents. Among others, he one day gave him a sum of money worthy the acceptance of a prince, not to purchase his silence—he could do without it¹—but because fame had published everywhere the talents of this poet who had made himself known by legends of the saints, and who afterwards was to be driven ignominiously from Rome by Clement VII. If we follow Aretino, after he has kissed the pope's hand, he will descend the stairs of the Vatican to return to Ferrara. He describes himself in a style of sickening hyperbole : " I die of vexation : the great split my skull with their visits ; my stairs are worn by visitors, as the steps of the Capitol by the wheels of the triumphal chariots. No ! Rome in its streets has never witnessed such a mixture of nations as my apartments show ;—Turks, Jews, Indians, French, Germans, Italians ! You may guess that Spaniards are not absent from the general gathering : I do not speak of the people. It is impossible for me to be a moment free from soldiers, scholars, friars, and priests. I am become the oracle of truth ; one comes to tell me what he has suffered from a prince, another of the misconduct of a prelate ; I am everybody's secretary ; do not forget to give me this title on the back of my letters."²

But he stops his letter to reply to Francis I., who has presented him with a gold chain set with tongues, upon which the

¹ In one of his letters, Aretino (vol. iii. p. 86) acknowledges having received from Leo a large sum of money : " Dalla santa memoria di Leone danari in real somma."—Mazzuchelli, *Vita di Pietro Aretino*, p. 19. And, in another, he says of Leo X. and Clement VII. (*Julius de Medicis*) : " Non d' altro lo pagaron, servendo loro, che di crudeltà et injurie."—*Lettore di Aretino*, tom. iii. p. 16.

² Lettere, vol. i. p. 206. Mazzuchelli, l. c. p. 57.

prince has caused this device to be engraved : *Lingua ejus loquitur mendacium*—“ His tongue speaks falsehood.”

“ Truly your generosity is such that you will rival God, if you proceed as quickly as Him : true munificence trots and halts not For three years you have promised me a gold chain, and I began to look for it as the Jews for the Messiah, when it at length comes with this device : *Lingua ejus loquitur mendacium*. Indeed ! Then, when I say that you are to your subjects what God is to his creatures, I lie ; when I proclaim that you unite in yourself the rarest virtues, courage, justice, clemency, magnanimity, I lie ; when I affirm that, to the admiration of the whole world, you know how to conquer yourself, I lie ; when I add that it is not your sceptre but your benefits which weigh upon your subjects, I lie For example, I should lie if I celebrated this collar which you have sent to me,—it cannot be called a gift Truly ! I shall take off all the tongues, and make them rattle in such a manner that the ears of your treasurers shall be deafened : that will teach them to send a monarch’s gifts immediately : but without rancour. I shall ever be the humble poet of your royal munificence.”

Another Aretino is announced, the same whom Ariosto has celebrated as

“ Il gran lume Aretin, l’unico Accolti,¹

the son of Benedetto Accolti, author of a history of the Crusades,² still read in Italy, and brother of Pietro Accolti, who composed that magnificent piece of Latinity, the bull of excommunication against Luther. Bernardo Accolti was a poet whom Rome, enchanted with his verses, called “ the celestial.” When he recited, the shops were closed, and the workmen of every class ran to listen to him. He was accompanied by a guard of Swiss soldiers, which Leo X. gave him as a mark of honour, and the place of assembly was lit with torches. When the name of Accolti is announced by the master of ceremonies at the Vatican, the holy father rises, and says : “ Open the doors, and let the crowd enter.” The people then rush into the pope’s palace. Accolti recites a sonnet in honour of the

¹ Orl. Fur. cant. xlvi. st. 10.

² Benedetto, Vie de Laurent de Médicis, tom. i. p. 110.

Virgin ; their ears and hearts are melted, and they exclaim : " Long live the divine poet ! Long live the celestial Accolti !" ¹

But, mark ! suddenly the crowd of courtiers who press round Accolti is moved, and listens. There is a sound outside ; the stairs of the Vatican echo footsteps ; the pope smiles. Raphael comes, such as Horace Vernet has painted him ; Raphael, greater than Chigi himself, before whom the Swiss guards of the pontifical palace bow, and who is attended by a suite of young pages. He has scarcely entered, when a double file is formed,—one of cardinals and Roman princes, another of theologians and literati, between which the artist gracefully advances. He bends his knee, and kisses the fisherman's ring. It is not six months since the pope, desirous of adorning the walls of the Vatican with tapestries in imitation of those which Florence executes so well, had ordered his painter to design for him subjects suitable to inspire the workman. The work is done. Sanzio brings twelve cartoons, in which are represented the principal scenes in the Acts of the Apostles. Each cartoon is surrounded with a border in *chiaroscuro*, in which the courtly painter has depicted some prominent event in the life of Leo X. At the sight of these marvellous sketches, on which Raphael, to please his patron, has expended his whole imagination and genius, there is a breathless silence ; then suddenly every look is turned from the cartoons to the painter, and the pope exclaims : " Divine !" which is repeated by all present. We learn the history of these wonderful cartoons from Richardson, a competent judge, who esteems them the most perfect of Raphael's works. They passed from the hands of the Flemish workmen into those of Charles I., king of England ; ² on the death of that unfortunate monarch they were exposed for sale, purchased by Cromwell, and then forgotten, like the memory of the royal martyr. After the accession of William III. they were sacrilegiously cut up by some workmen, in order to be more easily copied ; and at length, under an enlightened prince, they

¹ Mazzuch. Scritt. d' Ital. tom. i. p. 66.

² Richardson, Treatise on Painting, vol. iii. p. 459. Bottari, note al Vasari. " Anche in questi arrazzi l'arte ha toccato il più alto segno, nè dopo essi ha veduto il mondo cosa ugualmente bella." — Lanzi, Storia Pittorica, tom. i. p. 401.

have been covered with glass, and exposed to the admiration of artists, who flock from all quarters to see them at London.

To Raphael succeeds a bald-headed man, who lives by labour, not by inspiration, and who, for an instant, is made the rival of him of Urbino, whose genius more than any other he admires. It is Sebastian del Piombo, who comes to present to the pope the sketch of Lazarus, which Michael Angelo has designed, and which Sebastian was to clothe with that colouring of which he derived the secret from the Venetian school. Two men to conquer Raphael,—Michael Angelo and Sebastian del Piombo; the one supplying the design, creating the subject, imagining the action; the other giving it life and colouring. It is said, in the history of painting, that Buonarotti, weary of hearing praises applied to Raphael such as never had been bestowed on any artist, desired, as his palette could not equal that of the young painter, to have recourse to Sebastian del Piombo, who then passed as Raphael's rival in the art of colouring. The Resurrection of Lazarus, the work of two masters, was the challenge given to the favourite of Leo X. Sanzio had the courage to contend with such men: he took his pencil, shut himself up for some weeks, abandoned the Vatican, the pope, and his friends, to devote himself to his work. The time soon came for judging the two compositions; but at the sight of the Transfiguration, Rome uttered a cry of surprise and admiration, and repeated with Mengs: "This is the type of the *beau-ideal*, the paragon of art, the masterpiece of painting, the most sublime effort of human genius!"¹ Sebastian del Piombo admitted that he was outstripped: but what a defeat! For a long time France, to which Cardinal Julius de Medicis had presented Sebastian's work, believed that she possessed the highest effort of painting. Victory had not then given us the masterpiece of Raphael.

Are we right in saying that there was nothing then to be com-

¹ "Il quadro della Transfigurazione è una chiara riprova che Raffaello avea acquistato maggior idea del vero bello; poichè contiene assai più bellezze che tutte le altre sue anteriori." This picture had been intended for the church of Narbonne, by Cardinal de Medicis, who, being unable to make the sacrifice, substituted for it that of the Resurrection of Lazarus. We are ignorant how the work of Sebastian del Piombo passed to England in the collection of M. Angerstein. The Transfiguration, hung in the church of St. Peter-in-Montorio, was ceded to France by the treaty of Tolentino, placed in the Musée Napoléon, and restored to the pope in 1815.

pared with the receptions of Leo X.? Would there at that time have been found in Germany palaces in which poetry, history, painting, sculpture, grammar, eloquence, theology, all the liberal arts, down to music, were represented?

The receptions ended, the pope proceeds to walk in Rome. Before leaving the Vatican, he receives from his chamberlain that large purse of red silk which he always carries at his side, and from which, as he goes along, he incessantly bestows alms on those who appeal to his charity.¹ In passing the Borgo Nuovo, he pauses for an instant before a mansion which he causes to be built for one of his physicians.

On the bridge of St. Angelo, Bianchi presents a petition to him, which the pope, according to his custom, begins to read. Bianchi sought a favour which the pope was forbidden by the canons to grant. "And if I were to give you the benefice, what would it yield you?" says the pope. "Two hundred gold crowns, most holy father." "There they are," says his holiness, tearing the petition.²

Elsewhere they make mention to him of a poet who composed Latin verses equal to Virgil, and who was starving at Rome. "How," says the pope, "can I have neglected him, when I have assisted so many inferior versifiers! Hold: take that for Virgil," and he hands a sum without counting it.

Aware of the pontiff's habits, they lead him to La Sapienza, the Roman Gymnasium. The Gymnasium is the institution of which he is most proud, and he has just right to be so. At the Gymnasium, the pope causes all the professors to be presented to him. For each he has words of encouragement and kindness. One of them falls into bad health, or grows old, but he need not be distressed; for the pope gives him an apartment in the Vatican, books, a garden, and a pension; and the professor, for the first time in his life a courtier, thanks his benefactor in an elegant poem,—a tribute of poetic gratitude with which the pope has always been delighted.

At the university of Wittemberg, Luther had a salary of one

¹ "Purpuream crumenam quotidie aureis nummis sibi repleri jubebat ad incertas exercendi liberalitates occasiones."—Oldoini Add. ad Ciaconii Vit. et Gest. Rom. Pont. : Romæ, 1677, tom. iii. p. 326.

Oldoinus, l. c. tom. iii. p. 327.

hundred florins yearly, which the elector Frederick was not always punctual in paying. At Rome, Parrasio received two hundred gold crowns for ten months' teaching, and a pension of twenty gold crowns monthly, when no longer able to occupy the chair : the pension was revertible to Theodora, daughter of Demetrius Chalcondyles, whom the professor had married.¹

Leo X. returns to the Vatican, but his purse is empty, and he has found means of getting into debt in the course of a mile.

We can imagine the anxiety which Erasmus felt to return to Rome to see Leo. Thomas More had invited him to England. Erasmus set out on horseback, as was his custom, and crossed the Alps. "That long journey over the mountains," writes the philosopher, "excited in my brain a crowd of ideas. As I travelled, I whiled away the long hours of the road by day-dreams and thoughts ; recalling to my memory all that I had seen, and all that I saw, and the remembrance of the friends from whom I had parted, and of those whom I was about to meet : sweet reminiscences of study and pleasure ! Then I conceived the idea of my "Praise of Folly," *Mωρίας Εγκώμιον*, which I dedicated to More, his name suggesting to me the patronage under which my book ought to appear."²

The pope had not forgot his dear Erasmus. His kindness followed him to England, to the court of Henry VIII., which the philosopher desired to visit, and where he met with a very different reception from that which he had at Rome. Scarcely had he disembarked at Dover, when a letter from the holy father awaited him at London. It was addressed to Henry VIII. This brief from the pope was not merely a precious evidence of kindness for Erasmus, but a noble testimony in honour of literature.

¹ Gaetano Marini, l. c. p. 7. See the brief directed to Parrasio by Sadolet. History of Leo X. vol. ii.

² "Superioribus diebus, cum me ex Italia in Anglia reciparem, ne totum hoc tempus, quo equo fuit insidendum, ἀμούσοις et illiteratis fabulis tereretur, malui tecum aliquoties vel de communibus studiis nostris aliquid agitare, vel amicorum, quos hic ut doctissimos, ita suavissimos reliqueram, recordatione frui. Inter hos tu, mi More, vel in primis occurrebas, cuius quidem absens absens memoria non aliter frui solebam, qua, disperream, si quid unquam in vita accidit mellitius. Ergo quoniam omnino aliquid agendum duxi, et id tempus ad seriam commentationem parum videbatur accommodatum, visum est Moris encomium ludere," etc.—Eras. Ep.

"I have always loved learned men and literature: that love was born with me, and has grown with my years, because I have invariably observed that they who cultivate literature are heartily attached to the dogmas of our faith, and that literature is itself the ornament and glory of the Christian Church."¹

Let us conclude this meagre sketch of the pontificate of Leo X. Those who desire to know its wonders will find them described by Paulus Jovius and William Roscoe. Especial honour is due to the English historian, who has shown himself grateful to the memory of the Medici. His book, notwithstanding some defects inseparable from the work of a schismatic, is an elegant homage in honour of the restorer of letters, a noble page in the life of the English biographer. After having narrated at great length the history of this pontiff, whom he exhibits with the *nimbus* wherewith the artists have invested him, Roscoe describes him escaping from the bustle and pomp of the Vatican, the festivities of Rome, from the odour of the incense offered to him throughout Italy, from the joys and the slavery of the popedom, and, without any notice, quietly stealing to his villa Magliana. On his approach, the village bells are rung, the peasantry run out to meet him, strew the road with branches, stop his holiness's litter, and present flowers to him. Leo alights, takes them by the hand, asks them questions, kisses

¹ "Leo X. Pont. dilecto filio Erasm. Rot.—Lætati admodum sumus, ex tuis ad nos litteris Londini datis.—'Nos tum communi studio nostro, et amore erga bonas litteras, tum præcipuâ quâdam opinione virtutis et doctrinæ tue, desideramus admodum tuis ornamenti et commodis patere aliquâ occasione liberalitatem nostram. Dat. Romæ x. Jul. MDXV.'—Ib. lib. ii. ep. 4.

"Leo X. papa regi Anglie Henrico, ejus nominis VIII.

"Charissime in Christo, fili noster, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.—

"Extat quoddam nostrum studium erga homines doctos et ejusmodi litteras, quæ et re sunt ipsæ et appellantur bonæ, ac animi affectio propè singularis innata quidem nobis à pueris, et domesticâ disciplinâ confirmata, sed astate progrediente etiam judicio aucta: tum quodd homines hosce, qui optimas artes et litteras sectantur, minimè malos esse, integerrimâque fide præditos sepe jam experti sumus: tum quodd ab hac scientiâ, et sanctæ Ecclesiæ doctorum eloquentia, sciimus maxima non adjumenta modo, verum etiam ornamenta in Christianam rem publicam profecta fuisse. His causis adducti, diligimus admodum in Domino dilectum filium Erasmus Roteradum, quem inter primos hujus scientiæ atque artis esse judicamus: notum quidem nobis ex domestico congressu antea, cùm in minoribus essemus, sed deinde longe magis ex eis ingenii monumentis, quæ litteris mandavit non notum solum, verum etiam maximè probatum. Is ad nos ex Anglia, ubi nunc commoratur, litteras misit plenissimas offici, hoc etiam nobis gratiore, quodd afferunt secum testimonium regiae tue virtutis," etc.

the white locks of the aged, caresses the children, endows the young women, and pays the debts of the needy ; for it is a maxim of his, that it is the duty of a prince to assuage misery, and to send away with joy in their hearts and countenances all who approach him.

Ere long a small skiff leaves noiselessly the port of Basle. He who embarks in it bids adieu to the ungrateful city which exiles him, in Latin verses which drop from his lips in the fulness of his heart's regret : " *Adieu !*" says he, " Basle, that so long wast kind and hospitable to me ! Farewell ! from this bark which bears me from you. May you be happy in all things, and never have a guest more troublesome than me."¹

He who sang thus was Erasmus, whom the inhabitants of Basle, with Protestant bigotry, drove from the house which he had built for himself.²

The character of Leo X. is before us. Whether, then, was it the pope or Luther who obstructed the peace of the Church ? If Luther, yielding to fatal impulses, had not refused the pope's invitation to Rome, Germany might have preserved religious unity. Does it not seem as if Providence had placed on the throne a pope like Leo,—" a lamb, a Daniel, an Ezekiel,"—whose morals were so pure, that the breath of calumny has not even attempted to tarnish them, in order that the Reformation should have no pretext of justification in the eyes of men ?³ And, notwithstanding, have there not been found individuals,—Hutten for example,—who have echoed Luther, crying " *Antichrist !*" Leo X. *Antichrist !*—what folly ! Providence, who watches over his works, desired, then, that this pope, an angel of mildness, should also be an angel of light, that the Reformers might not

¹ " *Jam Basilea vale, quā non urbs altera, multis
Annis exhibuit gratius hospitium.
Hinc precor omnia lēta tibi, simul illud, Erasmo
Hospes uti ne unquam tristior adveniat.*"

² " *Erasmus, qui hactenus per omnem vitam omnia posthabuit otio litterario,
factus est licitator, emtor, stipulator, cantor, adificator, ac pro musis rem
habet cum fabris, lignariis, ferrariis, lapidariis, vitrariis. Hę curse, mi Rinke,
& quibus meus semper abhorruit genius, me tantum non exanimarunt tēdio.*"
—*Erasmi Epist. Jo. Rinco, lib. xxv. Bas. 1541, p. 953.*

³ " *Quid referam castos vite sine crimine mores ?*"

And. Fulvio.

" *Non extrā libidinem modū, sed extrā famam libidinis.*"—*Math. Herculanus.*

be tempted to accuse him of hating or persecuting the gifts of God ; and yet have they not asserted that, had it not been for Luther, the world would to this hour have groaned in darkness ?

When Luther was disputing upon indulgences, Italy was producing many poems ! And Leo X. was receiving under his protection Sadoletus, Bembo, Machiavelli, Guicciardino, Raphael.

Such was the South : let us look at the North.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE DIET OF WORMS. 1521.

Charles V. leaves Aix-la-Chapelle for Worms.—Character of the prime minister, Monsignor de Crof, whom the prince takes with him.—State of Germany, where the political as well as the religious elements are disturbed.—Preliminary discussions at the diet.—Opposition of several members of the assembly, effected by Luther's appeal to the German nobles.—Twofold character of that pamphlet.—Debates upon the annats.—The new writings of the monk calculated at once to disturb the religious and the national feeling.—New opponents of Luther.—Emser and Murner.—Luther's ability in exciting a double insurrection.—Did he expect to carry with him Charles V. !—Political reasons which prevented the emperor from listening to Luther.—In favouring the monk he ran the risk of losing both the empire and Spain.—Commotions of civil revolution in Spain.—Position which Charles would give to Francis I. in Italy if he embraced Luther's cause.—Polity of Rome.—Leo X., for the sake of the faith and the Italian nation, confederates with Charles V.—He sends Aleandro as nuncio to the diet of Worms.

GERMANY beheld its young emperor, Charles V., crossing the Rhenish provinces to preside at the diet of Worms. She sought to read in the prince's countenance the result of the revolutionary movement into which Luther had precipitated the nation. What part was the prince to take in the quarrel of a monk with Rome ? Would he stifle the voice of this new Huss, who became daily more popular, and gained fresh sympathies among the people and the nobility ? Honours had not changed the emperor of the Romans ; he was still the same youth with an additional crown, but with the same serious habits ; managing

his steed with Spanish grace, but ever pale and taciturn ; bearing his shield proudly, but with firm-set head and sullen countenance. The monarch of Germany at this time, was the imperial prime minister, Monsignor de Croï, to whom the prince appeared to abandon the care and fatigue of business.¹

William Croï, lord of Chièvres, a native of Flanders, had been selected by the Emperor Maximilian I. to superintend the education of young Charles, his grandson ;² he was in every respect a Fleming ; sober, affable, fond of work, and indifferent to literature, which taste and aversion he instilled into his pupil.³ Since Charles had assumed, in 1515, the government of Flanders, both master and pupil rose early, and under Chièvres' eye and direction, Charles attended all the deliberations of his council, read all the despatches from his ambassadors, studied attentively the plans submitted to him, spoke little, but listened with gravity and attention.⁴

The countenance of the minister was impassible like that of his royal pupil ; both saluted the crowd cordially, alike unembarrassed and without pomp ; but the multitude, who were at first transported with joy, soon altered their sentiments, when they saw the emperor and his minister attended by a crowd of nobles, whose dress and manners both showed them to be foreigners. Before the diet of Worms was opened, the nation began to distrust their prince.⁵

Charles opened the diet on 28th January, 1521, the anniversary of the death of Charlemagne. His address was able ; he extolled in eloquent terms the Roman empire, of which he was the elected head, and to which the whole world had formerly been subject. Of that empire, he said, nothing but the shadow remained ; but by God's aid, and that of his powerful nobility,

¹ Relazione di Francesco Corner, orator di la Cesarea Cattolica Mta. 1521. Robertson, History of Charles V. 12mo. vol. i. p. 308 et seq.

² Vita Adriani, apud Analecta Gasp. Burmani de Adriano, cap. x. Barlandus, Chronic. Brabant. p. 25. Hæreus, Annal. Brab. tom. ii. p. 550.

³ "È homo di buon ingegno, parla poco, ascolta e benignamente risponde ; non dimostra esser colericico, ma più presto pacifico."—Relazione di Francesco Corner.

⁴ Mémoires de Du Bellay, 8vo. : Paris, 1753, p. 11. Pet. Martyr, ep. 569—655.

⁵ Robertson, l. c. vol. i. p. 327.

and great alliances, he hoped to restore it to its ancient splendour. This language was calculated to flatter the electors.¹

But Germany had been excited by Luther, who, by throwing off the yoke of religious authority, had suggested to the great vassals ideas of independence ; the political elements were to be disturbed as well as the religious ones. From the commencement of the sittings, the prince found a systematic and well-organized opposition, which opposition was the stronger in that it was rested upon a manifestation of national feeling, and the very letter of the capitulations imposed upon the prince at the time of his election to the empire. Indeed, in the third article of these capitulations,² the emperor had promised to appoint a council of regency for the empire, composed, as formerly, of respectable and intelligent men, both electors and princes. The council, even during the emperor's residence in Germany, was to have the power of negotiating, treating, contracting alliances, and determining disputes in feudal matters ; in other words, the council wished to be a state within a state. Now, neither the emperor nor his ministers appeared disposed to recognise such an extraordinary power.

Under Maximilian, this council was styled the royal council and of the holy empire ; Charles wished it to be called the emperor's council in the holy Roman empire. Under Maximilian it was permanent. Under Charles, its powers were to cease whenever the prince set his foot in Germany. But of how many members was it to consist ? After long debate, it was in the first instance formed of twenty-three persons ; four to be nominated by the prince, two of them in his quality of emperor, and two as sovereign of the realms of Burgundy and Austria ; the other nineteen were to be appointed by the States, namely, one by each elector, and the remaining twelve by the ancient circles.³ But during the course of the discussions, the deputies were made to learn that the nomination of the members of that tribunal was a right essentially attached to the imperial dignity. There, as in other political assemblies, a high and firm voice ended in con-

¹ Oenschalger, Erläuterung der goldenen Bulle. Doc. n. vii. p. 15.

² Ranke, Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation : Berlin, 1842, 8vo. tom. i. p. 464.

³ Schmidt, Hist. des Allemands, l. c. tom. vi. pp. 207, 208.

trolling every will. Had Luther been present at one of the sittings of the diet, he would soon have seen that his cause was lost, if to defend it, it had only those knights who mimicked, but did not represent the sovereignty of the people.

Sharp debates arose between the orders and the prince's councillors on the subject of the annats, which some wished to take from the court of Rome, and others to preserve to it. In all the discussions which took place in the diet, it was evident that Luther's preaching had fructified. The language employed by some of the electors was but a diluted translation of the ideas disseminated in the "Captivity of the Church in Babylon;" the monk had over-excited the national susceptibility. Some members, without desiring to break yet with the ecclesiastical authority, denied it all manner of claim to the political government of Germany; the most effectual means which they then found to weaken the spiritual power of Rome, was to free themselves from all the tributes which they annually paid to the Roman chancery. It was clear that the emperor could not submit to similar exigencies; state reasons forbade him; but these reasons of state were not sufficiently understood by the people, who did not disguise their displeasure with the sovereign, when they saw the contributions of certain towns increased, and those of Nuremberg and Ulm raised to 600 florins annually, when previously they had only been rated at 100; and that of Dantzic, from 70 to 100 florins.¹ Dantzic, Ulm, and Nuremberg renounced Catholicism on the earliest preaching of the Lutheran missionaries, and then discontinued the payment of the annats; their independence of Rome cost them some thousands of florins yearly: the name of the tax was only changed.

Other questions entirely spiritual were agitated. Luther's quarrel had taken possession of the mind. A monk who wore a cassock out at the elbows, had caused to the most powerful emperor in the world greater embarrassments than those which Francis I., his unsuccessful rival at Frankfort, threatened to raise against him in Italy. With the cannon from his arsenal at Ghent, and his lances from Namur, Charles could beat the king of France between sunrise and sunset; but lances and

¹ Ranke, l. c. tom. i. p. 470.

cannon were impotent to subdue the religious revolution, which, like some of the glaciers which he crossed in coming from Spain, acquired daily a quantity of soil.

In going to Worms each of the electors of the empire carried with him a copy of Luther's "Appeal to Cæsar and the German Nation," which had been sent to him by the author. Therefore, when the prince demanded supplies from the orders for his journey to Rome, where he was to be crowned by the pope, the States for the first time stipulated, in granting him the troops which he sought, that the emperors should only nominate the commanders, whom he should be obliged to select from the Germans ; and that the choice of the captains, Germans also, should belong to each company. It is evident that the national spirit which Luther's manifesto had roused, imposed these conditions on the prince, from hatred of that foreign power which the monk had rendered odious to the people. Thus at the diet the religious and political elements assimilated, to exhibit themselves at a later period united in a common struggle against authority, just as in Luther's manifesto. For, at the same time that the monk applied himself to prove, by specious arguments, that Rome had confiscated the political liberties of Germany, he resumed his Leipsic thesis, and carried on his disputation against the divine right of the supremacy. He admitted that in the administration of spiritual matters the pope was superior to the emperor, but only as an ordinary bishop was.¹

Now, since in his "Christian Liberty" he has formally propounded, that whether pope, bishop, or layman, we are all priests and ministers of the divine word, it is clear that of the two powers he makes but one, and that, in his point of view, there is no more divine than human supremacy.

Luther's "Address to Cæsar and the Nation" is, therefore, at once a political and religious manifesto. It was first printed in German towards the end of June, 1519, and thereafter translated into Latin. From the original pamphlet, too profound to be placed in every hand, they had cunningly extracted some cutting pages, which they entitled the "Walls of Separation,"

¹ "Sufficere papam suprà imperatorem esse in rebus spiritualibus, in doctrinâ et sacramentorum dispensatione, quâ tamen ratione quilibet episcopus et pastor superior esset."—Seckendorf, l. c. tom. i. p. 127.

of which the most ordinary comprehension could perceive the sentiment, as well as the mere letter. This atrocious suggestion was intended to excite against Rome the fury of those knights of the highway whom Sickingen led to pillage the monasteries and houses of the clergy.

In this work we no longer see the theologian of Leipsic, jesting after his fashion, making himself merry at the expense of his opponent, and directing the senseless mirth of his audience against the clergy. He has adopted another tone; and his language is grave and solemn. It is that of a distressed spirit, secluded from the world, who happens from his cell to observe the state of Christianity in Germany, and mourns over the evils of his country. The monk's heart swells with grief; but at length his stifled voice bursts forth: "The time for silence is past," he cries, "now is the time to speak. May God aid me! it is his glory that I seek, not mine. Amen."

Then commences the description of what he calls the encroachments of Rome on the German nation; Luther pretends that it has raised three walls to hold captive both princes and people.

First Wall.—Rome says: The civil power is ineffectual against the spiritual authority; but that is false, all Christians are spiritually alike. We have all the same baptism, Gospel, and faith: all are equal. The curate is like the bailiff; if the curate be deposed, he becomes what he was previously, a mere citizen. The indelible character of the priesthood is a chimera. Whence comes the secular power? From God? Then it ought to extend over all: pope, bishop, monk, nun. If a priest is murdered, the whole country is placed under interdict, but if a poor peasant is slain, no notice is taken of it. Whence this difference? From human laws merely.

Second Wall.—The apostle declares that we are all priests (1 Cor. ii.); now, the priest judges, but is not judged; and yet we know as much and more than a wicked pope does of the kingdom of heaven.

Third Wall.—Who convoked the first Council of Nice? The emperor Constantine. When a city is on the point of being surprised, and any one calls "To arms!" do they stop to inquire whether the voice is that of a mechanic or a magistrate? When hell advances, must the pope be the only sentinel?

" May God be our aid, and give us one of those trumpets which blew down the walls of Jericho, to level these walls of straw and paper! Amen."

He then describes Rome and the papal court, " brilliant with the gold which they have plundered from Germany ; the cardinals in their robes adorned with diamonds and precious gems, extorted by means of those rights of pallium, annats, and dispensations, known by the names of *pectoralis reservatio, unio et incorporatio, proprius motus* ; and of trafficking in holy things, like the bankers Fugger of Augsburg."

" Let there be no more celibacy," he continues, " no interdicts or pilgrimages ; no church festivals, which injure soul and body alike ; no more dispensations or indulgences, abstinence from food, private masses, or ecclesiastical censures : let all these be buried ten feet under ground !"

Especially he calls upon them in the name of impoverished Germany, to expel the pope's nuncios, " who come to steal their money, and who grind them by proclaiming the power of the keys."

" Pope of Rome," he adds, " hearken ; you are not the most holy, but the most sinful ; your throne is not seated in heaven, but fastened to the gate of hell. Who has given you the power of exalting yourself above God ? of trampling under-foot his precepts and commandments ?"

Luther concludes his terrible pamphlet by an appeal against Rome.

" Miserable Germans, we have been deceived ; we were born to be masters, but must bend our heads under our tyrants and lapse into bondage ! We possess a name, title, and the insignia of royalty ; but force, power, weight, laws, liberty, all these belong to the popes who have robbed us of them. Theirs is the grain, ours the straw. It is time that we should cease to be content with the semblance of an empire, and that the sceptre should be restored to us, and with the sceptre, our bodies, our souls, and our treasures ; it is time that the glorious Teutonic nation should cease to be the puppet of the Roman pontiff. Because the pope crowns the emperor, it does not follow that the pope should be his superior. Samuel who crowned Saul and David was not above these kings, nor Nathan above

Solomon whom he consecrated. Let the emperor then be a real emperor, and let him not submit to be robbed of his sword or his sceptre.”¹

That Tyrtæan hymn roused the whole nobility. Had the emperor called upon them, they would at that instant have crossed the Alps and marched against Rome, to the war-song of Luther.

Ulrich von Hutten wrote to the monk : “ Brave father ; you will be immortal ! they excommunicate you ; oh happy, thrice happy father ! their hearts prepare to sing ; they fall foul of the spirits of the just, and condemn innocent blood,—but the Lord will remember that iniquity, the Lord will fill up the measure of our hope.”²

Franz von Sickingen promised him, as well as the elector Frederick, his sword, his peasantry, and his wealth, and urged him to persevere for the sake of the country.³

But Erasmus more wisely recommended him moderation before the orders assembled at Worms, where the monk was soon to appear.⁴ So long as Luther was satisfied with tearing the monk’s skin, Erasmus was amused ; but now that the blood of Latomus, of Hochstraet, and of Catharinus began to flow, the philosopher hid himself, for fear lest the comedy should be changed into a tragedy.

The Appeal to the nobility did not pass unanswered : it contained at the same time insults to the Catholic doctrines, and offences against history. Five individuals came forward to defend the truth. Emser, whom we know already, and Thomas

¹ “ Sic nos Germani probè decepti, et cùm domini esse deberemus, tyrannidem injustam passi et mancipia facti sumus ; nomen, titulum, insignia imperii habemus ; opes, vim, potentiam, jus et libertatem pontifices invaserunt ; hi nucleus edunt, nos in putamine hæremus. Justum est ut tandem non nuda simulacra, sed rem ipsam imperatores habeant verumque imperium, utque nobis reddatur libertas corporis, animæ et opum, etc. Cæsari et nobilitati Germania.”—Opera Luth. Alt. tom. i. p. 480 et seq.

² Dr. Martin Luther’s Leben, von Pfizer, p. 147.

³ “ Hutten hätte an Spalatin geschrieben, dass er den Kurfürsten ausforschen solle, ob er ihm und Sickingen im Nothfalle in seinem Lande eine Zuflucht gestatten, und so ihre kriegerischen Pläne begünstigen wolle.”—De Wette, l. c. tom. i. p. 543, note.

⁴ This inedited letter was found at Basle among the papers of Amerbach, one of the heirs of Erasmus. It is at present preserved in the fine collection of autographs belonging to M. Alexandre Martin, of Paris. See Confirmatory Evidence, N.º 16.

Murner, warden of the Franciscan monastery at Strasburg, a monk who might be said to have sprung from the same stock as Rabelais; like the curate of Meudon, caustic and biting, especially at table, where his inexhaustible flow of spirits gave his fellow-guests not a moment of repose; regardless of grammar, still more so of the ears of people which he offended designedly; a poet, sometimes sparkling with coarse gaiety.¹ He had the honour of exercising the pen of Luther, who, not knowing how to silence the Cordelier, contrived to transform him, by the assistance of the pencil of Cranach, into a fabulous animal, which the Protestant newsvendors sold at the fairs of Frankfort or Nuremberg. "Murner, in his quality of poet, amused himself by indulging in prophecy. He had read in the stars, he said, that Luther would be married some day, and have a daughter, whom he, Murner, would keep as his mistress."²

Now, of these two champions of Catholicism, each undertook the defence of the truth according to the nature of his individual character; Emser by reasoning, Murner by ridicule. In his work, the doctor of Leipsic applies himself to show the services which the popedom has constantly rendered to the civilization and liberties of Germany; he proves, from history, that if Germany possesses any spiritual life at all, it is indebted for it to the missionaries whom the Holy See has sent to cultivate the minds of its children.³ The Franciscan in his pamphlet amuses himself by drawing the picture of a Germany created by Luther, and in which, if the doctrines of the monk of Wittemberg were applied, in rubbing against a peasant, one would run the risk of jostling a pope.⁴

Luther at first smiled with contempt, shrugged his shoulders, and, as he invariably did when he felt stung, affected to despise

¹ Trauss. Chr. MSS. de Strasbourg, tom. ii. part ii. p. 75. Wenker, Chr. MSS. tom. ii. part ii. p. 31.

² Um sie ihm abzubuhlen.—Théod. de Bussière, *les Premiers Novateurs à Strasbourg (The Faith of our Fathers)*: Paris, 1844, 8vo. p. 506.

³ Wider das unchristliche Buch Martin Luthers, Augustiners, an den deutschen Adel ausgegangen, Vorlegung Hieronymi Emsers an geheime hochlöbliche deutsche Nation: Leipzig, 1521, 4to.

⁴ An den grossmächtigsten und durchleuchtigsten Adel teutscher Nation, dass sie den christl. Glauben beschirmen wider den Zerstörer des Glaubens Christi, M. Luther, 1520. See Waldau, *Murner's Leben und Schriften*: Nürnberg, 1775.

his opponent ;¹ but he was not long in the same humour, and in a few hours wrote a reply to the “ He-goat Emser, and his worthy backer Murner.”²

He soon quits these adversaries, too obscure, according to him, for his time to be wasted upon, and reverts to that great spiritual majesty which he has resolved to hand over to the ridicule of Germany. One might imagine, after the perusal of his anti-bull, that he has no more gibes to fling at the sentence of the Roman pontiff; that is nothing, however; it seems as if the monk’s heart contained all the gall which Nature had placed on the lips of all the old sectaries. He recurs accordingly to the pope, whom he attacks both in German and in Latin, in his “ Defence of the Articles condemned by Leo X.” As he employs two distinct idioms, so he has two styles of language. In German, his expressions are less bitter, because intended for those people who still go to pray in the church at evening. In Latin, his language is sharp and biting, because it is addressed to those “ Latin stomachs that love spices and pickles.”

We are indebted to Luther himself for our knowledge of the secret of the difference observable in the text of the two pamphlets;³ and he has done right, because we should otherwise have been unable to understand the voluntary counter-meanings by which an author labours to damage his own work.

He continued the same rude warfare which he had declared against the bull and “ the bullets ;” but his present language no longer resembles the former. Previously, at Augsburg, his face flushed when they compared some of his doctrines to those of John Huss. He had indignantly repudiated all community of sentiment with the curate of Bethlehem. Now, at Wittemberg, in his book “ Against Eck’s new Bulls and Juggleries,”⁴ he defends the Bohemian. “ If I did condemn him,” he says,

¹ “ Emser in me scribit magno animo : Murnerum contemno.”—Dr. Martin Luther’s Briefe, von D. Leberecht De Wette, tom. i. p. 645.

² Auf das überchristlich, übergeistlich und überkünstlich Buch Bocks Emser zu Leipzig, Antwort Dr. Martin Luthers, darin auch Murnera, seines Gesellen, gedacht wird. Lieber Bock stoss mich nicht : Wittemberg, 1521.

³ “ Assertio mea Latina ad te missa prius aliquot quaternionibus, nunc tota venit cum supplemento. Tu ne judices eam asperam, vernaculo erit planior et simplicior. Necesse fuit Latinis stomachis aliquid interspargere salamenta.”—Spalatino, 16 Jan. 1521. De Wette, l. o. tom. i. p. 543.

⁴ Von den neuen Eckischen Bullen und Lügen.

"it was because I had read none of his writings ; I know them now, and maintain that they are not Huss's doctrines which you condemned at Constance, but the word of Christ, of Paul, and of Augustine."

In another pamphlet he announces the ruin of the papacy. "Yes," he exclaims, "the ruin. I am not a prophet, it is true, but I know that I have Christ's word for my authority . . . what do I care for their contempt ? There were many asses in the days of Balaam, and God chose to speak only by the prophet's ass."

Catholic Germany was agitated : the clergy would not absolve, unless certain that the penitent would burn the heretic's writings. We shall see how the monk laughs at the advice of the confessors.

"If you are asked in the confessional, Have you any works of Doctor Martin ; have you read them ? you ought mildly to reply : Dear father, I entreat you not question me thus ; I have not come here to be bound, but to be loosed. You will add, if necessary, Dear father, you are a confessor, and not a jailer ; you ought to inquire what troubles my conscience, and not the secrets of my mind ; you will probably end by desiring to know how much money I have in my pocket."¹

Luther's ability must be admitted. It was by the double insurrection of the religious and political sentiments of the country that he sought to impel Germany to the Reformation. Even in his ascetic books, of which at that time he produced many, Rome is constantly represented as the cause of every kind of suffering, to which Germany was a prey. In his shortest discourses, he always dexterously slipped in some sentences which appealed to the iron gauntlets. His smallest notes contain ardent patriotic effusions in favour of his beloved Germany. But the twofold creed of rebellion which he set up, was to injure his cause, and to compromise its success. Whatever has been

¹ Germany at first with difficulty received Luther's views on the subject of confession. The monk writes to Spalatinus, 27 Feb. 1521 : "Apud Misburgenses et Misnenses nihil prodest liber confessuris datus : plaustra librorum meorum exurunt. Ita insanunt sancticuli illi. Rhadinum Emser esse nondum dissenseris, mi Spalatine, sunt et nobis argumenta. Quid autem illi respondeo, amicorum, non meum est consilium : ego eam contempserim beatiam, sed illis omnino visum est stulto respondere."

said, Germany did not desire religious independence, or had any need or wish to break with the centre of Catholic unity. Luther would have had a greater chance of success, if he had urged the nation to a quarrel with the temporal power of Rome, since for a long time Germany had been ripe for that struggle. In the successive diets during Maximilian's reign, the same complaints against the court of Rome were constantly renewed, with greater vigour and bitterness. At one time Maximilian conceived the idea of placing the keys of St. Peter in the talons of his black eagle; he wished to be both pope and emperor; and this design did not provoke a smile in that grave nation of beer-drinkers.

But how could Luther hope for an instant to put his young emperor at the head of the double movement which he preached? The monk was better acquainted with the interior of his monastery than he was with the exterior world. This movement, evidently, could not have been accomplished without civil war. While Germany would have committed suicide, Francis I. would have seized upon Italy, repeated the expedition of Charles VIII., and, master of Naples, threatened Spain, which he would have infallibly snatched from the emperor's rule. Rome abandoned, forsaken, and betrayed by Charles V., would have united herself to the policy of the French crown, and at the expense of a few concessions by the conqueror, would have surrendered to him the duchy of Milan, and perhaps Parma and Piacenza, these two diamonds of St. Peter's crown, as they were called by Julius II. Instead of these two great houses which then contended for the world, one alone, that of Valois, made more formidable by its internal unity, might then have absorbed a part of Europe.

In yielding to Luther's wishes, Charles V. would have lost Spain, which he had left full of revolutionary ferments. In order to resist the factious spirit of the people, Ferdinand the Catholic depended upon the Inquisition. After the death of that prince, the constitution of this tribunal had been severely shaken by the Cortes of Arragon, who, by strength of solicitation, had succeeded in obtaining from the pope a brief for modifying that constitution, which was more political than religious. Now, during the absence of Charles V., the Arragonese opposition would not have remained inactive, and with the royalty of

the prince the Inquisition would have been shattered. One chance of safety remained for the young prince so dispossessed ; this would have been to leave Germany, and place himself at the head of those provinces in Spain which continued faithful to him ; but, then, he would lose the empire, which would become the prey of the great vassals, then so powerful, and with the empire the Low Countries, which were governed by Margaret. So, then, had Luther known otherwise than by the Bible the political necessities of Charles V., he would not have hoped to instigate him to a crusade against Rome ; nor could it have been, moreover, when the young prince came from the tuition of a professor so attached as Adrian of Utrecht was to the apostolic unity, which they would break with the centre of that unity. If he had looked carefully, he might have seen in the library of Charles V. two or three volumes of the *Summa* of St. Thomas. Now, during the religious revolution which is to disturb Germany, one Thomist only will apostatize ; that will be Henry VIII., who will fall not under the assaults of the new doctrine, but of the lusts of the flesh, more powerful than the angel of the schools.

The twofold symbolism of Luther was to find in Rome a natural adversary. Rome kept watch over the two worlds of religion and politics. Long previously, Leo X. had foretold that Italy would be the theatre of conflict of the two great empires of France and Germany. Educated in the school of Julius II., who during his whole life had laboured to save the Italian nation, Leo X. preferred for his ally the prince farthest removed from the states of the Church. Being master of Milan, Francis I. held as tributaries or vassals all the republics that extended from the Alps to the Gulf of Lyons : at Florence, the Medici family might any day be expelled by some lieutenant of the French monarch who ruled at Genoa. The sea which washed Ostia and Civita Vecchia was his ; by Padua he could harass Venice and Ravenna. These fears were not chimerical ; so, on account of his double crown, Leo was constrained to unite himself to Charles V. With this prince as his ally, he would recover Piacenza and Parma, which Francis I. disputed with him. Doubtless an alliance with the emperor exposed the Holy See to some dangers ; but to avert them the pope relied on the constant rivalry of these two princes,

which would absorb all their strength. In the mean time, while engaged in suppressing the religious revolution in Germany, Rome determined to form a political alliance with Charles V. When the interests of the faith were threatened, she selected a theologian to represent authority ; now that she had made her voice be heard by means of a bull, she intrusted with the execution of her supreme sentence a scholar, formerly a corrector of the press. Rome knew her time.¹

CHAPTER XXVI.

ALEANDRO. 1521.

Aleandro.—His masters and studies.—Piorio proposes to him a literary contest.—He accepts it.—Venice is attracted by the disputation.—Aleandro is appointed nuncio in Hungary.—He enters the service of Aldus Manutius.—Venice in the time of the Aldi.—Aleandro makes the acquaintance of Erasmus.—The philosopher's opinion of the Italian.—Aleandro at Paris.—At Liège.—At Rome, under Leo X.—Luther's character of this learned man.—What struck Aleandro in Germany as nuncio.—The students.—How they were excited by Luther.—The stirring of matter, not of mind, which attracted the nuncio's observation.

ALEANDRO was descended from a noble family.² At the age of thirteen, he studied under Benedetto Brugnoli, and after him, under Petronello di Rimini, two celebrated scholars. Paolo Amalteo at that time flourished at Pordenone, and attracted crowds to his lectures : he was the Erasmus of Italy ; he expounded classical literature with an indescribable charm, and caused it to be loved. Aleandro desired to attend his course ; but the student was so devoted to application, that he pined, drooped, and for a while was compelled to relinquish his master's lessons. He was advised to revisit the banks of the Brenta, and breathe his native air. He went to Motta, his birth-place, and next day mingled in the auditory of Dominico Piorio, who taught the *belles-lettres*. At

¹ Robertson, l. c. tom. i. p. 410 et seq. Consult also, Häberlin, Reichsgeschichte, tom. x. ; Bucholz, Ferdinand I. ; Llorente, Hist. de l'Inquisition, tom i. ; Molini, Documenti di Storia Italiana ; Seckendorf, Commentarius de Lutheranismo ; Müller, Staats-Cabinet, tom. viii. ; Pallavacini, tom. i.

² Tiraboschi, Storia della Letteratura Italiana, tom. vii. p. 285 et seq.

the close of the lecture, Aleandro scoffed at the professor, who came forward, attempted to defend himself, - and in the irritation of the moment challenged his countryman to a literary competition. The challenge was cordially accepted, mutual friends chosen, and a day appointed. On that occasion there came from Venice, Ferrara, Padua, and Polisina, as to a festival, lawyers, masters in theology, doctors, and students ; there was a feeling of joy and inexpressible anxiety ; the election of an emperor could not have caused a more lively sensation, or a greater excitement. This was owing to the fact that Aleandro, at twenty, understood Greek, Hebrew, and Chaldee, was a theologian and philosopher, musician, poet, mathematician, and orator.¹ The Brenta was for the time covered with gondolas, in which might be seen, with their long beards and scarlet robes, Venetian professors, who had been summoned to preside over the contest. Motta could not contain all the visitors, many of whom were obliged to lie in the fields. On the day appointed, Piorio ascended the rostrum, and spoke for a long time without interruption, attempting to explain some difficult passages of ancient authors. He was followed by Aleandro, who spoke for two hours. He had scarcely finished, when the old citizens of the Greek and Latin world, the visitors of Rome and Athens, the familiars of Horace and Demosthenes, all these intellects who had left Olympus to descend to the petty town of Motta, rose and exclaimed : "*Fuori Piorio, e viva Aleandro !*"—" Down with Piorio, long live Aleandro !" Aleandro speedily superseded the unlucky professor, who only knew the name of antiquity, but had never understood it. On the news of this victory, Venice sent a courier to Aleandro, and invited him to her walls ; but the pope took him from that city and sent him as nuncio to Hungary. An illness fortunately restored the young ambassador to the Muses, whom he had only left in obedience to the wish of the pontiff. He was then twenty-four years old : it was the age of the revival of letters. Aldus Manutius had finished the printing of that fine edition of Homer's "Iliad" which, after three centuries, is still considered a masterpiece of typography and accuracy. It was to Aleandro

¹ "La lingua Greca, Ebraica, Caldaica, e l' altre Orientali, la theologia, la filosofia, la matematica, la musica, la poesia, l' eloquenza furono il principale oggetto della sua applicazione."—Tiraboschi, l. c. tom. vii. p. 286.

that the learned printer dedicated his work. "To you," he says, "I dedicate this work, who, at scarcely twenty-four years of age, speak with such purity the two languages of the learned world; for whom the Hebrew has no secrets; who have applied so ardently to the Chaldee and Arabic; who will soon have the faculties of five men, for it is long since, like Ennius, you have had three; who speak Hebrew and Greek with such facility, that one might think you educated in the middle of Athens, or in the tents of Israel."¹

Venice was then a splendid city; rich with all the treasures of antiquity brought from Greece, and still more distinguished by the hospitality which she so nobly extended to all who were recommended to her by learning. Near the Rialto, by the side of that canal on which the eye might perceive vessels daily carrying thither some ancient monument or exiled Greek, stood the printing-house of Aldus Manutius, who rendered such great services to literature, that his name is still popular in Venice. Aldus Manutius, who, old and infirm, was dying upon his books, was surrounded by a crowd of learned men, who corrected his edition "with the love of a Levite adorning the altar."² At all times of the day he might be seen in the midst of this literary circle, of which he himself was one of the bright ornaments: among those were Navagero, Demetrius Chalcondyles, Bolzani, Erasmus, Bembo, Aleandro, who could have resuscitated the Greek language, had it been threatened with extinction. He had had Baptista Guarino for professor of Greek and Latin. The presses of the Rialto were a mighty power, Aldus Manutius a sovereign equal at least to Francis I. and Charles V., and his readers captains of greater value than Trivulzio and Freudsberg; for these learned men ruled the destinies of the world, and prepared the work of a civilization which all the kings of the earth alone or their deputies could never have accomplished. The Venetian printing-house was the fire whence proceeded the rays of light which insensibly spread over the various countries of the globe. Nobody then seemed to have understood the importance of

¹ "Tu enim nondum quartum et vigesimum annum agens, et humaniorum studiorum utriusque linguae doctissimus," etc.—Roscoe, *Life and Pontificate of Leo X.* vol. iv. p. 167.

² Giuseppe Lirutti, *Notizie de' Lett. del Friuli*, tom. iv. pp. 456—460.

a mere printer. Julius Scaliger himself, who had no idea of the wonders which a learned workman could effect, wrote to Erasmus: "Have you not by this time gained enough of money by correcting the books of Aldus Manutius to enable you to drink deep draughts of Cyprus wine?" Aleandro, who was two years corrector of the press at Venice, found Erasmus in the house of Andrea d'Asola, father-in-law of Aldus Manutius, engaged on an edition of his "Adages," previously published in Paris, but so horribly disfigured by the unskilfulness of the printer, that the Batavian was ashamed of his work. Aleandro assisted the philologist in the revision of the work,¹ and sometimes even corrected some expressions which were deficient in the perfume of antiquity. We can imagine the gratitude of Erasmus to this young man, who seemed to him like "an angel come from heaven to share with him the torments of what he calls the hell of authors,"—the correction of proofs. If afterwards he quarrelled with Aleandro, it was not the fault of Erasmus, but rather of that Reformation which only came to disturb the consciences of men, and sever the noblest minds; but Erasmus, at least, was never unjust to his old friend. "Praise Aleandro as much as you please," he wrote; "prefer him to Erasmus, I am not more jealous of his intellectual superiority than of the graces of his person. Friend or foe, Aleandro is in my eyes a man of genius; I rejoice at his triumphs; I trust that he will one day lay open to the world the treasures of his learning."² On his return to Holland, Erasmus, wherever he went, spread the name of Aleandro, which also reached the ears of Louis XII. The king invited him to Paris, in 1508, to fill the Greek and Latin chair in the university, with an annual salary of 1,500 gold crowns. Vatable was one of his pupils. In the morning the professor expounded Demosthenes, in the evening Cicero.³

Some months had scarcely elapsed since he took possession of that chair, amidst the applause of the whole capital, when the university conferred upon him the office of rector, contrary to its

¹ De Burigny, *Vie d'Erasme*, 12mo. Paris, 1757, tom. ii. p. 267.

² *Erasmi Epistolæ*, lib. xxi. ep. 4. See, on the subject of the difference between Erasmus and Aleandro, Mazzuchelli, *Scritt. d'Italia*, tom. i. p. 415, note 51.

³ Chevillier, *Origines de l'Imprimerie*, ch. xi.

statutes ; but the plague soon compelled him to leave Paris, where he had taken orders, and become naturalized.¹ We find him traversing France, reviving at Blois and Orleans the study of the Greek and Latin poets, exciting his audience to a love of Demosthenes, opening to youthful students the sources of poetry, exalting Homer and Virgil, and marking his route by an odour of ancient poetry as did the gods of Olympus. Now this happened in 1510, long before Luther had disturbed Germany. What a strange spectacle the Institute of France exhibited forty years ago, when it placed a crown on the brow of Charles Villers, who dared to assert that we Frenchmen were then in darkness, and still should have been so, had not the star of Luther drawn us out !

Princes and universities contended for Aleandro. The bishop of Liége, Everard de la Marck, nominated him at the same time canon of his church and chancellor of his diocese, to which two titles he added another,—that of professor of Greek.² Liége wished to hear him, as Paris and Venice had. The prince-bishop was ambitious, and desired to have a cardinal's hat. Aleandro was sent to obtain it ; but scarcely had he left Liége, when the bishop changed his mind, and wished to recall Aleandro ; but in vain ; Aleandro was at Rome, in the Vatican, in the palace of Leo X., captivated by a single look of the pope, who saw through the merits of the negotiator. Every honour was immediately showered upon the professor. At first he was secretary to Cardinal Julius de Medicis ; then, in 1519, librarian of the Vatican³ when Raphael painted its frescoes, and soon after courtier of the pope, with Vida, Sadoletus, Accolti, and Bembo ! What a splendid appointment, and with what names to be associated ! But Aleandro was not ungrateful : he did not forget the bishop of Liége, who at length received the hat, the object of his ambition, and died some months after, tenderly repeating on his death-bed the name of his young friend.⁴

¹ De Burigny, *Vie d'Erasme*, tom. ii. p. 194.

² Tiraboschi, l. c. tom. vii. p. 286. Giuseppe Lirutti, l. c.

³ Tiraboschi, l. c. tom. vii. p. 287.

⁴ Aleandro has only left a few writings, which are far from supporting the reputation which he enjoyed among his contemporaries, probably because his occupations interfered with his labouring on these works as he might have done had the prince not burdened him with their affairs. He published, at Paris, in 1512, a *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum, Opera Hieronymi Aleandri, indus*

Is not the character of Aleandro fine, and one of which Catholicism may be proud? See how Luther describes him:—

"The tyranny and stupidity of our enemies know no bounds. Scarcely had Aleandro reached Louvain, when he caused my writings to be burnt in the open market-place by the hands of the public executioner. They tried to do the same to them at Antwerp, but without success. Hochstraet has resumed his office of inquisitor, and threatens all who will not worship the beast. The theologians of Louvain wish to expel Dorpius¹ from their synagogue, if he does not retract. As for the rest, all has gone on according to use and wont. The university was assembled, after the ordinary oaths, in the rector's hall, to listen to the nuncios apostolic, who did not appear, but were represented by two ministers bearded like goats, bearing the terrible bull begot at Louvain, which was read in a loud voice; then the university rested for two hours, and declared that the bull was published. Next day the theologians proceeded as if the whole university had explained itself; and although the bull was neither examined nor approved, nor Aleandro acquitted of his mission, they burned some of my books amid the laughter of the bystanders.

" Egmond² preached on the feast of St. Denis a sermon worthy of him, that is to say, foolish and furious, declaiming against Erasmus, who was present, and Luther, who was not; asserting that Luther had erred from a silly love for novelties, although Luther had extracted his doctrine from St. Augustine, St. Bernard, and Gerson; that Erasmus was the abettor of Luther, although he had taken no part in the disputes, and had merely blamed the manner in which they attacked Luther; then he abused the

tria et impendio proborum virorum Ægidii Gourmontii et Bolscii biblioplarum. Roscoe rightly observes, that this is a faulty compilation by six of his pupils, in which he had no more share than revising the latter sheets, and inserting some words omitted in former collections. Jerome Aleandro made an excellent abridgment of Chrysoloras' Greek grammar, entitled, *Opera Hieronymi Aleandri Mottensis tabulæ sane utiles Gracarum musarum adita compendio ingredi volentibus*. His treatise, *De Concilio habendo*, is much esteemed.

¹ See our notes on this learned man in the *Thomas Morus* of Stapleton, translated by Martin, p. 108 et seq., and the fine epitaph on him by Erasmus, Epist. 99, lib. xix. Luther makes Dorpius an ass: Luther has said of him,—

"Theologus ordo luget extinctum decus.
Lovanienis omnis opplorans schola
Sidus non requirit."

² Nicholas Egmond, a ~~black~~ elite, inquisitor in Belgium.

study of languages, even the New Testament itself, amid the sneers of the multitude.

"On the following Sunday, the same comedy was repeated. The orator exhibited the bull to the people: 'You observe,' he said, 'the seal!' as if to show the seal was to legitimate the bull.

"Who would not wonder at this work of madness? You see how the world is disturbed by some simpletons. It is certain that the bull did not pass at Rome without a violent opposition by the Cardinal Della Santa Croce and many other prelates. The bull of Cologne and Louvain is different from that brought by Aleandro. The learned who have read it detect in it marks of fraud, a barber-surgeon's style, and solecisms. No one believes it, except the theologians.

"Shall I now tell you who has concocted this affair? The originator is Cardinal Cajetan, whom nobody has surpassed in pride and wickedness; he is the thurifer, the herald of the farce; after him press Charles Miltitz and Eckius; then, who could believe it! the vain Jerome Aleandro, whom public report, his countenance, language, and opinions accuse of Judaism, and whom the Jews consider a descendant of Abraham. Has he been baptized? That is problematical; but this is certain, that he is not a Pharisee, since he does not believe in the resurrection of the body, and that he lives as if his own were mere matter.¹

"So then it is fated that Christians are to be betrayed by the Jews; witness that Israelite who instigated the pontiff Julius II. to destroy the world; and that Pfefferkorn, who, at Cologne, troubled Christianity.² See then Aleandro, a son of Judas, repudiating his ancestors, and for three drachmas surrendering the Gospel and burning his neighbour's books, when he himself deserves to be burned alive for his sins committed at Padua and Paris.³ . . . A madman requiring restraint, arrogant, full of

¹ "An *verb* baptizatus sit, nescitur, certum est eum non esse Phariseum, quis non credit resurrectionem mortuorum; quoniam vivit perinde atque cum corpore sit totus peritus."—Luth. Oper. Seckendorf, lib. i. p. 125.

² See the previous chapter, entitled Ulrich von Hutten.

³ See the letter from Erasmus to the bishop of Tuy (epist. 12, lib. xvi.): "I esteem the learning of Aleandro, I love his manners; he is a good man; I

gall and avarice, intoxicated with self-conceit and licentiousness. . . . Such is the blackguard¹ Rinaldo, who has been commissioned to execute the bull.

"Let us revert to the source of this racket. How has it arisen? From hatred of learning and caprice. The blockhead Hochstraet first entered the lists, then the coxcomb Egmond, who was speedily succeeded by Latomus,² a witless jabberer; after these come the mendicant orders, who are afraid of dying of hunger or being forced to work, if the pope were to fall, and with him the ease which he has made for them. You know that Octavius, Lepidus, and Antony, conspiring to trample on the liberty of the public, agreed, after uniting their forces, that each should despatch those whom he disliked. In like manner do our theologians act,—each handing to the other the article that suits him no longer. Louvain, for instance, does not condemn that which is held a crime in Luther,—his denial of the divine right in the pope's supremacy; Turnhaut contends for the supremacy, and all agree in praising the bull.

"If theologians are to be permitted to say, without rhyme or reason: This is false, this is heretical, this is offensive; there will be no more innocent books! Hochstraet boasts, in his impudent prefaces, of arguing in such a manner, that, whether I will or not, I must yield; yet that does not prevent him from proceeding by sorceries and executioners. He himself is a monkish executioner.

"What then is to be done? resist the supreme pontiff? At first it will be better to suppose that the pope is ignorant of all this. Let them look to Aleandro, and they will see that he is only a rascally Jew; they will prove the bull to be false. . . . If it does proceed from Rome, then the pope must be made to

should wish him greater prudence; he has, moreover, great gentleness of disposition, and rare erudition."

¹ Note improbitatis ganeo.

² James Latomus (Masson), a theologian of Louvain, who maintained with great talent the Catholic cause. Luther, in his *Tisch-Reden*, says, that the most able of his opponents was Latomus. His argument was, "We must not upset that which was established by the Church."—"Doctor Martinus sagte dass Latomus wäre unter allen seinen Widersachern, die wider ihn geschrieben hätten, der allerbeste; welcher Hauptgrund und Punkt dieser war: Was von der Kirche ist angenommen, das soll man nicht verwerfen."—*Tisch-Reden*, f. 367. In 1549 he published, *De trium Linguarum, et Studii Theologie Ratione*, Dial. 2: Antwerpse, 4to. "Vir doctus," Erasm. Ep. p. 604. "Cujus eruditio non prouersus aspernenda," p. 674, *ibid.*

hear useful and wise counsels. It is very easy to tear Luther from libraries, but not from the heart of Christians. The world has been sufficiently mocked. There are not wanting men who will yield to the evidence of truth, but who will not be scared by empty vapouring. Luther may be crushed, but the truth will remain firm.”¹

We have seen what this Jew Aleandro had done at Padua and Paris for the honour of literature. The foolish accusation of being a Jew, originating from some enemy of the Italian, furnished the nuncio with a fine oratorical appeal to the German diet, in presence of whom we shall soon find him:² “ Almighty God ! there are here many honourable people who can testify of me and my family, and who know that my ancestors were noble, and marquises of Istria ; if my parents have been reduced to poverty, that is the fault of fortune. And even if it were true that I had Jewish blood in my veins, ought that to be for me an anathema ? Christ was a Jew, and his apostles also !”³ Erasmus undertook to defend the reputation of Cajetan, who by his description bears no resemblance to the sketch drawn by Luther ; for he represents him as a noble and generous adversary, who had never recourse to insults or personalities ; a sound and practised logician, and full of energy and genius :⁴ we know him well enough.

In appreciating historical facts, let us not forget that long before Rome had anathematized Luther, the monk’s doctrines, submitted with his consent, in the Leipsic disputation, to the examination of universities of his own choice, and afterwards to the opinion of other colleges, had been solemnly condemned. It is, therefore, no longer the obscure voice of a few theologians which speaks

¹ *Acta Academise Lovaniensis contrà Lutherum*, 1520. *Oper. Luth.* tom. ii. pp. 143, 414, 415.

² *Orat. ap. Seckendorf*, lib. i. p. 149.

³ Seckendorf has erroneously asserted that Aleandro was private secretary to Caesar Borgia, and in the household of Alexander VI. “ Olim famosissimi Caesari illius Borgiae, seu ducis Valentini secretarius fuit, famulus vero dignus et pars auctae Romanae sub Alexandro VI.”—*De Lutheranismo*, lib. i. p. 425. But, as Mazzuchelli has proved, Aleandro did not go to Rome until after the death of that pope.

⁴ “ Nuper exit liber Thomae Cajetani cardinalis, in totum abstinentis a personis, & conviciis omnibus temperans, nudis argumentis et auctorum testimoniis iis rem agens, non minore cura quam ingenio.”—*Ep. Petro Barbirio*, ep. 587.

here in a matter of faith, and says, "This is false ; this is heretical ;" but the conscience of learned and enlightened men whom he has himself chosen as arbiters, and whom he now changes into members of the synagogue of Satan, sophists, theologasters, Epicurus's swine.¹ If the private judgment, extolled by Luther when inspired by it, is so powerful, that in his opinion it represents the voice of the Holy Ghost ; what will it be when interpreted,—not by the pope whose decision he rejects, and who, nevertheless, as a man, has as much right as his opponent to arrogate infallibility to himself,—but by the faculties of Louvain, Paris, and Cologne, whose intellectual sovereignty he has acknowledged ? And what then does he do, in condemning the bull and the sentence of the universities ? Does not he, the monk and the theologian, say, "This is false ; this is heretical !" Hochstraet in white robes, preceded by officials, burns Luther's books after replying to them ; and Luther in a black gown, a monkish executioner like Hochstraet, burns the bull before even he knows—we have it on his own authority—whether it is the production of the pope or of some theologian of Louvain. They burn his books in virtue of the right which he himself has recognised in the civil authorities, to commit to the flames all works infected with error in matters of religion ; they apply to him the rule laid down by himself in his reply to Latomus : "Yes, I approve of the burning of all heretical books."²

What particularly struck Aleandro was, that in Saxony nearly all the students were in favour of Luther. Wherever there was a tumult, they hastened to take part in it ; and for want of sword or cuirass, bringing with them their laughter, their keen raillery, and noisy fooleries, which were equally powerful weapons for preparing a revolution. They came without foresight of danger or future consequences, and saw in a religious reformation only a comic metamorphosis. Thrones, dogmas, morals, civilization, were toys for their amusement. As they had life before

¹ "Universitates vero synagogæ sophistotheologi, Epicurei porci."—Rationis Latomianæ pro incendiariis Lovaniensis scholæ redditæ, Lutheriana confutatio. Op. Luth. Jense, tom. ii. p. 379.

² "Libros erroneos comburendos esse consentio et probo."—Opera Luth. tom. ii. p. 280.

them, every appearance of ancient institutions annoyed and displeased them ; for them, commotion was existence. They were followed by the multitude, who had arms and weapons, if necessary, who transformed tumults into sedition, and proclaimed and extended the rule of revolution, because it was in their eyes a pledge of temporal amelioration, and they looked to nothing but their own interests in such a revolution. It was this mob of students and mechanics who by main force brought the stones for the construction of an edifice, wherein, even on the day of its consecration, they would not enter ; who cemented with their own blood the walls of a temple in which conquerors whom they knew not before would sit ; demigods were they who did so, their voice would calm the multitude, and trace on the lava which they had made to flow, a new path, on which they could plant their foot, and proclaim themselves the moderators of a revolution that had been accomplished for their benefit. As eventually they governed by intellect, and intellects alone make permanent all material or intellectual changes, they pass for the founders of the new work ; and on the morrow of their triumph, the mason is no better than his man.

Aleandro in the course of his journey studied the various causes of the success of the Reformation, while Luther, exciting both students and people, became sometimes its historian,—a historian as burlesque as the actors.

“ That diabolical bull crucifies,” said he, “ crucifies me. Never since the creation of the world has Satan so outraged the Divinity ! That horrid blasphemy drives me mad ; the end of the world, the reign of Antichrist has arrived.¹ Truly the pope would have done better, had he tried leniency instead of violent measures ! At first I burned the bull with fear and trembling ; but now my heart expands, and I am happier than I have ever been, because they are more pestilential than I thought them.² Good news ! the prince writes me from Worms that the nest of papists is not completed. The bull that was posted at Leipsic has been covered with filth and burnt. Let them accuse

¹ Spalatino, 1 November, 1520

² Exuissi libros papæ et bullam, primum trepidus et orans ; sed nunc lætior quam ullo alio totius vite mess facto ; pestilentiores enim sunt quam credebam.”—Staupitio, 24 Jan. 1521. De Wette, l. c. p. 542.

me of pride, avarice, adultery, homicide, anti-papery ; of all the vices in the world, provided they do not accuse me of an impious silence ; provided that the Lord who suffers does not say, ‘I looked to my right, and I saw none who knew me.’ (Psalm cxlii. 6.) This confession should absolve me from all my sins, and I have lifted up my horn in full confidence against the idol of Rome, and the real Antichrist.”¹

In some university cities the students were seen to quit their benches, take paper masks representing the object of Catholic respect, and seated on asses, with their heads crowned with the tiara, and on their right hands the fisherman’s ring, crying, “No Popery.” They were followed by cardinals in scarlet robes. From the neck of the ass the bull was suspended, which they dipped in every sewer they met on their way.

Luther has not a single word condemnatory of these impious mummeries, in which was exposed to the mockery of the populace the image of a pontiff whose virtues he had so often praised. One word from him would have sufficed to put a stop to such scandalous proceedings.

Thus, Aleandro everywhere saw nothing but sensualism in motion. Whenever he found a monk preaching the new doctrines, he was certain, he said, that this monk had broken the vows of chastity. On more than one occasion he had nearly fallen into the hands of highwaymen, who while pillaging the merchants proclaimed the gospel of Wittemberg. Although he travelled in the emperor’s train, he could scarcely find on the road a tavern where they were willing to receive him ; in the inns where he was obliged to remain, he almost invariably found the portrait of Luther on the walls of his bedchamber.²

The new doctrines, wherever they were carried, provoked brutal strife, and, in some parts of Germany, new prophets announced a Jerusalem which in nothing resembled that of Luther. The same opinion which the Italian formed in travelling through Germany, was also that of some of the most enthusiastic dis-

¹ “Spero enim et confessione absolvendum ab omnibus peccatis meis. Unde et cornua erexi in hoc idolum, illum Romanum et verum Antichristum cum fiducia. Non est verbum pacis, sed verbum gladii, verbum Christi.”—9 Feb. 1521, Spalatinus. De Wette, l. c. tom. i. pp. 557, 558.

² Schmidt, History of the Germans, translated by De Laveaux : 8vo. Paris, 1787, vol. vi. p. 257.

ciples at first of the Saxon. It is very remarkable that when Staupitz shall desert his friend, he will assign as a reason, the spectacle which had made so deep an impression on the nuncio.

What invincibly proved to the Venetian that, in the religious warfare, learning had not Luther for its apostle, was that the monk had attacked, with an unheard-of mixture of audacity and brutality, not only the German universities, but that noble Sorbonne, whose opinions in theology were then regarded as a divine oracle. Aleandro knew that Cologne, in its filial enthusiasm, had believed that a river of wisdom descended from the Father of lights on the Parisian Sorbonne, from which flowed through a spiritual canal the holy waters which were to lave the banks of the Rhine.¹ Moreover, Aleandro, this child of the South, this preceptor of the Northman in religion, science, and literature, was by his nature too much concerned in the struggle of Rome with Saxony, not to employ all the resources of his Venetian imagination against this monk, who wished, for the splendours of the Catholic worship, to substitute the colourless symbols of his northern nature. Thus, then, by conviction, position, and temperament, Aleandro presented himself as a threefold adversary to Luther. If then he bears to the diet an impatience censurable perhaps in one representing authority, it must not be forgotten that he was offended in his faith, his conscience, and nationality, by the doctor of Wittemberg. As a Catholic, as a nuncio, and an Italian, he was charged with a triple mission: to avenge the faith, his sovereign, and his country.

¹ "Divine sapientiae fluvius descendens à patre luminum; ab alveo Paris, studii tanquam cisterna conductu capto, per canalia prorumpit Rheni partes uberrando."—Cöllner, Studienstiftungen, p. 451.

CHAPTER XXVII.

LUTHER IS CITED TO WORMS. 1521.

Different parties in the Diet.—Glapion, Charles's confessor, endeavours to reconcile Luther and the pope.—He tries, but in vain, to involve the elector Frederick in the matter.—He visits Sickengea at Eberzburg.—Aleandro at the Diet of Worms.—Sketch of his harangue.—The emperor's letter to Luther.—Attitude of Catholicism since the rupture with the monk.

CHARLES V. could not understand the religious questions that disturbed the Germans; Luther stirred up Germany, and threatened with dissolution that national unity of which the prince would soon have need in his struggle with Francis I. There was the Saxon monk's great crime in the eyes of the emperor. But what measures was he to adopt to repress a movement which already had all the outward appearances of a revolution?

There were three parties in the diet: the Catholic party, which acknowledged Albert, archbishop of Mayence, as spiritual head, and George, duke of Saxony, as secular chief, both minds of energy and firm faith; the Lutheran party, which called rather than admitted as master the elector Frederick, an indecisive, and consequently feeble person; and the political party, of which Glapion was the organ.

The Franciscan Glapion, confessor to Charles V., of a conciliatory disposition, dreamed of a reconciliation between Luther and Rome. In his opinion the bull *Easurge* was not an insurmountable obstacle to all arrangement. Two modes of agreement still presented themselves. Luther, in terms of the bull itself, might go to Rome, there plead his cause before a judge so intelligent as Leo X., and procure his pardon. But it was not probable that the monk would accept that way of submission, which Rome had already so often offered to him. In Luther's pamphlets, Glapion distinguished two sorts of writing: the one, like the "Church's Captivity in Babylon," hostile to the Catholic doctrines, and which all Germany was bound to repel with indignation; the other, partly political, wherein the monk excited against the temporal sway of Rome the complaints which

Germany had long brought forward at each successive diet.¹ It was necessary that Luther should retract the one, and explain the other. "If the monk," said Glapion, "refuses to disavow the 'Church's Captivity in Babylon,' that book will be to Luther a real stumbling-block; he will fall, and in his descent, will draw down his other writings."

Glapion said to Pontanus (Bruck), chancellor to the elector Frederick: "The alarm which I felt when I read the first pages of the 'Captivity' cannot be expressed; they might be said to be lashes which whipped me from head to foot. I found in them neither the ordinary style nor manner of the doctor. If he is indeed the author of it, I can understand his rage when Rome struck him with her thunders.² But," he added mildly, "there is no evil without its remedy."

Now that which gave some hope to Glapion was the letter which Luther had written to the elector, and which Bruck had read to the members of the diet. This was no longer the composition of the author of the "Captivity of the Church in Babylon." Luther in this entreated his highness to procure for him a safe-conduct, in order that he might argue his cause at Worms with grave and learned men, whether lay or ecclesiastic. The words Antichrist and Babylon, which had alarmed Germany, and which appeared in almost every line of his anti-bull, did not occur once in the letter to Frederick.³ He is no longer the same man, because a chain of mountains extended between Leo X. and the monk; while from Worms to Wittemberg it was only two days' journey for a Spanish steed.

Glapion requested the elector of Saxony to select some of his counsellors with whom they might discuss. The emperor replied drily, that he had not come to a diet of theologians. The con-

¹ Consult Schmidt, History of the Germans (vols. vi. vii.), on the disputes between Rome and the empire. Of all the historians, he appears to us to have best described the constitutional government of Rome at the period of the Reformation.

² "Cum librum de Captivitate Babylonica legisse non minus terrefactus atque afflicitus sum, ac si me aliquis à capite ad calcem scuticis flagellasset; neque tamen credo Lutherum librum istum pro suo agnoturum esse, cum nec stylus nec industria in eo quae in prioribus viri scriptis eminent, deprehendatur. Si tamen omnino ejus est, ita et furore percitum ob bullam pontificis fuisse oportuit."—Seckendorf, Comm. de Luth, lib. i. p. 148.

³ An den Kurfürsten Friedrich, 25 Jan. 1521. De Wette, l. a. tom. i. p. 348. In Agricola's Latin edition, vol. i. p. 301.

fessor insisted, and demanded arbiters to whom the question might be submitted ; but Frederick opposed similar resistance to all Glapion's proposals. Wrapped up in his inward repose, in which all his care was not to be disturbed, he even refused an audience which they sought of him, so much was he afraid of any labour of thought or brain. It is easy now to understand why this prince had refused, with more reason than heroism, the crown which the electors had wished to bestow on him : neither his head nor his mind could have sustained such a weight. He might have made an excellent steward of a monastery, but never an emperor. Glapion being grieved, then went to Ebernburg, where Sickengen offered his services to the emperor. On the motion of the confessor, Sickengen entreated Luther to go to Ebernburg.¹ The knight hoped that, in case of condemnation, the monk would find a secure sanctuary in the citadel : he would then be provided with a bugbear to Charles V. In the eyes of that turbulent vassal, Luther was equal to two or three hundred *Landesknechts*.

Frederick, being witness to the instinctive repulse which the doctor had met with at the diet, advised him to recant the propositions condemned by Rome. It was, the prince said to him, the only means of putting a stop to the troubles that threatened Germany.² Luther's reply is perplexed ; he admits that he is subject to the passions of flesh and blood, and that in replying to the insolent pasquinades of his adversaries, he has not always preserved the moderation due to his gown ; but, at the same time, he declares that he is calm amidst the noise of these bulls, of these popish trumpets and great drums, with which they try to alarm him. The letter is delightful ; each sentence is like a nosegay odoriferous of flattery offered to his excellency, whom Luther gravely makes a theologian :³ flattery calculated to turn the head of a prince who had never studied the Sacred Scriptures. But such is Luther : if one is

¹ Seckendorf, Comm. l. c. lib. i. p. 142.

² Opera Luth. tom. i. Germ. Jenæ, p. 482.

³ . . . "Illustrissime princeps, qui sanctis litteris non modo incomparabile studio et favet et inhias, sed ita formatus es ut nulli theologo vel ter maximo non quas negotium facessere, si quæstiones duntaxat movere incipias."—D. Friderico, 3 Mart. 1521. De Wette, l. c. tom. i. p. 566.

for him, he is born a theologian ; if against him, he loses theology, almost like grace, by the slightest opposition to God or his evangelist.

What a singular power was that of the Augustinian, who set in commotion Italy and its men of letters, the pope and his thunders, the emperor and his councillors, the diet and its electors, Cranach and his disciples, Hans Lufft the printer and his workmen, France, the Netherlands, Spain, nearly all the world known at that period ! "I believe," wrote the envoy from Frankfort, "that they would like to crucify the friar ; if that were to happen, I fear that he would rise on the third day."¹ The envoy at that time alluded to the torture of mind and body which Aleandro gave himself in order to triumph over Luther.

The debates in the diet were opened upon the state of the German Church, and the nuncio had demanded the opening speech.

"Emperor, princes, deputies," said he, "never before any assembly did an orator present himself with speech less insidious than mine.² You know that an orator, to flatter his auditory, professes himself full of zeal for their interests, free from all warmth in the question which he is to discuss. It is the kindness, and seldom the judgment, of the audience which renders his triumph certain. I appear before you declaring at the outset that I have the liveliest interest and most earnest anxiety in the cause which I am about to plead. I am not my own master, for it is my duty to prevent any injury to the crown which adorns the brow of the prince whom I represent. However, you will give credit to my arguments only to the extent that your consciences will allow.

"If you listen to the innovators, what is the question at issue in these religious discussions ? At most a few controverted points between Luther and the papacy, and which especially relate to the authority of the Holy See. This is a serious mistake, since of forty articles condemned in the bull, a few only concern the dignity of the Holy See. You see the books which

¹ "Der Mönch macht viel Arbeit ; ein Theil möchte ihn ans Kreuz schlagen, und ich fürchte er wird ihnen schwerlich entrinnen : nur ist zu besorgen, dass er am dritten Tag wieder aufersteht."

² Acta Wormat. Conv. ex Cod. Vaticano.

Luther has printed, published, and circulated in his name both in Latin and German. It is sufficient to open your eyes to be convinced. But perhaps the errors condemned by the bull are of little importance ? You will see. Luther denies that works are necessary to salvation ; he denies the free-will of man in observing the natural and the divine law ; he maintains that in everything he does man sins damably. Think you that the popedom alone is interested in proscribing such doctrines ?—that it is for the pope only to stand up against the contempt which the innovator teaches for the sacraments, and for that heavenly manna which Christ showered from the cross for the salvation of mankind ? What are we to say of that monstrous power of absolution which he bestows on the laity, and on the laity of both sexes ?

" I need not speak of that ridiculous doctrine of Luther which maintains that it is unlawful to resist the Turks, because God visits us by the infidels ; as if it were forbidden us to have recourse to medicines in diseases of the body, because God sends us these maladies as chastisements for our sins. But admire the spirit of Luther, who would prefer to see Germany torn by the hounds of Constantinople, rather than protected by the shepherd of Rome !

" I have spoken of Rome, of that tyrannical Rome which presses so heavily upon Luther. According to him, Rome is the residence of hypocrisy. That supposes Rome to be the asylum of the virtues ; for they do not make spurious gold except in a country where the real metal is at an exorbitant price.

" Luther continues : ' The pope has usurped the supremacy which he arrogates to himself ! ' Usurped ?—and how ? Perhaps with the armies of Alexander, the sword of Cæsar, or the axe of the executioner ? What ! would all those nations who speak a different tongue, who live under other skies, with opposite manners, origin, and interests, have agreed to acknowledge as the vicar of Jesus a poor priest without power, possessing for his patrimony but a small corner of earth ; and would bishops have bowed their mitres and kings their diadems before him, if ancient tradition had not taught them that these homages of faith and obedience were directed to the successor of St. Peter, and that they executed the will of the Son of God ? But let us suppose that Christ abandoned his Church,

that this assembly, struck with infatuation, despoiled the papedom of its supremacy : were that supremacy destroyed, how could the Church be governed ? Every bishop, you say, will be absolute sovereign in his diocese ! Then, instead of one tyranny there would be a thousand, which you would soon wish to destroy ; it would be the episcopate self-partitioned and broken up, anarchy entered into the Lord's temple, the crown tossed to every baron who possessed a castle. You add : The council would rule over the bishops : bishops, bend your heads ! Doubtless a permanent council ? And where, then, would be the pastors ? far from their flocks. And if the council were dissolved, to whom would there be recourse for administering the remedies called for by the diseases of the community ? Who shall convoke the council ? The secular authority, perhaps ! But, then, the temporal power invades the Church. And who shall preside over the council ? And do you not see that every question advanced is pregnant with trouble, revolution, and disturbance ? What a confusion of laws, rites, and doctrines will proceed from such a conventicle, in which every one of the faithful will hold that his own bishop has maintained the integrity of the faith ! You will soon in this polyarchy see the rectors envious of the power of the bishops, the priests of that of the rectors ; then at once will arise that Babylon which Luther insolently places in his modern Rome.

" But you advance this antiquated argument : How did they live in the first ages of the Church, when the power of the pope was far from being so large ? But with a similar line of argument we might demand, in our turn, how man has ceased to feed upon acorns, princes to walk without escorts, or the daughters of kings to wash their clothes ? Who knows not that the body politic resembles the human frame, that the times advance like the age of man, and that youth does not bear with it the habits of infancy ? "

After having shown the ineffectual attempts made by the Holy See to reclaim Luther, Aleandro asked what remained to be done to overcome the obstinacy of the innovator, and what remedies could arrest the heresy ? He could perceive none more efficacious than a proclamation by the emperor against the heresiarch.

"Do you wish the experience¹ and the assurances of wisdom to determine you?—the most renowned universities have condemned the Lutheran doctrines: the exalted rank of individuals?—the prelates of Germany, her bishops, doctors, rectors, and clergy, have denounced them: the potentates of earth?—the emperor has caused the works of the Augustinian monk to be publicly burnt in his states; the barons and nobles of Germany hold his teaching in abomination. But perhaps you are afraid of the reflection of this struggle in foreign kingdoms? The king of France prohibits Luther's books to be introduced into his dominions; and the university of Paris, in a recent discussion, has pronounced with all the weight of its name and learning against the new doctrines. The king of England has not left to any one the duty of defending the integrity of the Catholic faith; he has taken his pen, and you know with what eloquence and logic he has used it! Hungary and Spain have expressed their alarm. Your very neighbours, who have countenanced the error, will applaud the energetic measures which you will adopt, because, if they are content that the fever should come to the house of their enemy, they are afraid lest the pestilence should not fix itself there. But if the wickedness of men, the calamities of the time, and the wrath of God will that, in spite of the great blow which you are about to strike, the accursed plant should still remain, it may live, perhaps, but languishing and feeble, and its buds be nipped in better times. If you do not take the hatchet, I see that this Nebuchadnezzar's tree will extend its branches, blossom, and choke the Lord's vine; heresy will make of Germany what Mahomet's sword has made of Asia."

Aleandro spoke for three hours. His harangue, keen, biting, strewed with fine irony and ingenious ridicule, sometimes with oratorical movements, but in which indications of bad taste might be censured, and a search after studied words too much, made a lively impression on the assembly. As certain metaphors might have misled his auditors as to the mission of Leo's nuncio, Aleandro declared, as he had done in a conference with Frederick of Saxony, that he had not come to seek the blood of the

¹ Pallavicini, *Storia del Concilio di Trento*, cap. xxv. lib. i. pp. 160—174; ex Act. Worm. Arch. Vat.

heresiarch. This generous movement is almost defamed in Luther's narrative as a sentiment of pride. It is certain, however, that if the diet had come to a vote under the impression of Aleandro's speech, Luther might have dreaded some severe measure. But the elector of Saxony interfered, and desired to reply to the pope's nuncio : the diet accordingly was adjourned to the following day.

In his reply, which was but a repetition of what he had previously said to the nuncios, he strongly professed his respect for the decisions of the Roman court, and his aversion to the erroneous doctrines which Luther might have enunciated either in the pulpit or in his writings. But as grave men, such as Erasmus, for example, doubted whether Luther had ever taught such errors,¹ he expressed a desire that the monk, protected by a safe-conduct, should come freely to express his opinions before the diet ; and that if he persisted, then he promised to abandon him. This was an artful refusal to submit to the decisions of the religious authorities. Aleandro replied, that as the pope had spoken, it was no longer a question of controversy, but of obedience. Some members of the assembly concurred with him, and demanded that sentence should be pronounced, and that the authorities should, if necessary, make use of the sword with which they were armed to protect the action of the religious power. They foresaw that the time would come when the sword must be drawn no longer against one individual, but perhaps against an organized revolution. These rigorous counsels were not listened to.

The emperor wished to hear Luther ; some months before, on 28th November, 1520, he had expressed that desire in a letter which he wrote to the elector Frederick.²

But what were to be the questions they should put to Luther ?

¹ Ulenberg, l. c. p. 75.

² "Extant die 28 Novembris, Oppenheimii date, carumque summa est : Se à pontificis nuncio sepe requiritum esse ut libri Lutheri quemadmodum in provinciis Burgundicis, ita et in Germania ad præcavenda plura incommoda comburentur ; meminisse eorum quæ elector rogasset, nempe ut nihil decerneretur contra Lutherum, priusquam audiretur, ne turbis anæ daretur. Cum itaque Caesar hæc libenter præcavere vellet, petit ut elector Lutherum secum ad comitia Wormatiensia quæ instabant adduceretur."—Georgii Spalatini Hist. MSS. ab ann. 1519 ad 1542. Seckendorf, l. c. p. 140, Add. 11.

Charles V.'s letter is in Walch's edition : Halle, tom. xv. p. 2022 ; the reply is in the same volume, p. 2028.

The States partook of the ideas of Glapion : they found a double creed in the monk's writings. They would have wished that he should not be compelled to retract his opinions in regard to the policy of the court of Rome, which many of the members of the diet had embraced. And on this subject they recalled, with exaggeration, the loud complaints which Germany, in the reign of Maximilian I., had made against the encroachments of the spiritual power. As for the monk's outrages on the Catholic faith, they thought that Luther ought frankly to admit and retract them. If he refused to do so, the States were ready to subscribe to all measures which his majesty might adopt to reduce to obedience the Catholic rebellion.

It was on that understanding that the imperial mandate from Charles V. to Luther was written.

" Honourable, dear, and devout Luther," said his majesty, " as we and the States of the holy Roman empire assembled at Worms have come to the determination of requiring from you explanations on the subject of your doctrines and your writings, we send you a safe-conduct for the sake of your personal security. Wherefore immediately set out, for such is our will, that within twenty days from the date of receiving our mandate, you may appear in presence of us and the States. You have neither violence nor ambuscade to fear. We wish you to confide in our word ; we rely on your obedience, and the fulfilment of our wishes." ¹

Are we not justified in dwelling upon the attitude of Catholicism since the day when Luther posted upon the walls of All Saints' Church at Wittemberg his appeal against the authorities ? At Worms, Catholicism remains what it was at Liebenwerda and at Leipsic, patient because it is evangelical. Under the scarlet robe of Cajetan, the ermine of Miltitz, the university degrees of Eck, the purple cassock of Aleandro, the brown stuff of the Franciscan Glapion, the diadem of Charles V., the tiara of Leo X., it offers and seeks peace, careful of heaven and earth, of religious and national unity, of faith and literature, of people and of kings. To Luther, thrice rebellious, it says : " Come to

¹ See the Latin mandate, Confirmatory Evidence, No. 17.

Rome; there is your safe-conduct, there is your means of support on the way."

And Luther says, "No."¹

CHAPTER XXVIII.

LUTHER'S JOURNEY TO WORMS. 1521.

Luther departs for Worms, protected by two safe-conducts.—Inward disposition of the monk.—He had nothing to fear from the emperor, and why.—Luther's arrival at Erfurt, Eisenach, and Frankfort.—Message from Sicken-gen to Luther, who does not accept the knight's proposal to go to Ebernburg.—True motives for this refusal.—Luther arrives at Worms, singing "Ein' feste Burg."—Excitement and appearance of the city.—Luther is called before the Diet.

GASPARD STURM, the imperial herald, left Worms in the beginning of March with two safe-conducts, which Duke George of Saxony ordered him to convey to Luther; one from his majesty, the other from the elector Frederick.² If we study Luther as drawn by Seckendorf, we are constantly under the illusion that this heroic monk seeks martyrdom at all hazards. "If it is to kill me," he says, "that they summon me to Worms, I shall go, but I shall not retract."³ But if this aspiration for the bloody death of Christ's confessors was serious, for what purpose was this double safe-conduct, which he continually demanded?

Luther knew his Tacitus: he had read in the historian that a prince is always merciful for some months after his coronation, the very honeymoon of the people; and at the beginning of his reign he is compelled to display virtues which he does not possess, and assume a mask which he will subsequently lay aside. At twenty years of age, an emperor will not shed the blood even of an

¹ Aleandro's Correspondence, forming several volumes, is in the archives of the Vatican. We have found in it curious documents relating to the literary history of Germany at the beginning of the 16th century.

² Lingke, Dr. Martin Luther's merkwürdige Reisegeschichte: Leipzig, 1769, 4to. p. 81.

³ "Si me ad occidendum deinceps vocare velit, offeram me venturum."—De Wette, l. c. tom. i. p. 574.

obscure Augustinian, still less of a man who excites so much sympathy. So, when instead of leaving the tutelage of Florentius the theologian, Charles should have left, to be emperor, these troops of knights then encamped between Bonn and Coblenz, Luther would have had nothing to fear from the sovereign; still less reason had he to be afraid when he journeyed to Worms preceded by the black eagle, and bearing two safe-conducts in the pocket of his cassock, the one from an emperor, the other from an elector.¹

Now, we may hear him without anxiety. "Ah! I tell you, do not pray for me, but pray for the word of Christ. For myself, I have no fear; I know that the most holy enemy of Christ, the grandmaster, the generalissimo of manslayers comes forth to meet me, at the head of all his forces, to take my blood. Amen. The will of God be done. Christ will inspire me with his spirit. Living, I defy these ministers of Satan; dying, I bear them with me to the grave. . . . They labour for my recantation, well! I shall recant, and say: I have from the first maintained that the pope was the vicar of Christ; I now retract, and say: The pope is the devil's apostle."²

He writes to Spalatinus, who was afraid of another Constance. "Yes, I shall go to Worms, even if there were as many devils there as there are tiles on the roofs of Wittemberg."³

On a former occasion, Luther travelled to Augsburg on foot,⁴ dressed in a borrowed cassock, with a staff in his hand, and obliged to beg the hospitality of the monasteries that he found on the way. Now he leaves Wittemberg⁵ riding in a chariot covered with cloth, which the senate has lent to him,⁶ having

¹ See Godof. Wegneri, prof. theol. in Acad. Regiomontana, *dissertatio hist. theol. de salvo cond.* The safe-conduct from the elector Frederick is in Lingke, pp. 81, 82.

² "Papam prius dixi esse Christi vicarium, nunc revoco, et dico: Papa est Christi adversarius et apostolus diaboli."—A. . . (unknown), 24 March, 1521. De Wette, l. c. tom. i. p. 580.

³ Seckendorf, *Comment.* &c. p. 162.

⁴ See, as to Luther's journey to Worms, Warbeccii *Relat. de Itinere et Adventu Lutheri*, in Seckendorf, lib. i. p. 152, Addit.

⁵ We read in the archives of the exchequer at Wittemberg, on the occasion of this journey:—"VI. Ss. Christianus Goldschmidt für die Fhure yhn Worms sieben Wochen von freyen-Pferden ye ein Tag III. gl. und so ein nawer Wagen yme zubrochen, seynt yme zwei alte Ss. gegeben."

⁶ Seckendorf, *Comment.* l. c. &c. p. 162.

beside him Schurf, doctor of laws, Justus Jonas and Amsdorf, theologians, and Peter Suaven, of Stolpen, in Pomerania, who were to be his counsellors and advocates. Sturm preceded him on horseback, attired as herald-at-arms. Apprised of his journey long before, the people went forth to meet him. Some of the spectators uncovered themselves as a mark of respect, others drew nigh to shake his hand. At every step on the road taken by the *cortège*, in the villages and hamlets, on the doors of the churches and townhalls, the decrees of the emperor or the bulls of Leo X. were posted. Sturm was afraid to proceed, and at intervals looked anxiously at Luther. "Forward!" repeated the monk, tossing his head, "I shall go, although between Wittemberg and Worms they should have lit a fire, the flames of which reach the heavens!"¹

On the 2nd of April, Luther arrived at Leipsic, where the wine of honour was offered to him, according to the ancient custom;² on the 3rd, at Naumburg, where he dined at the table of the burgomaster Grässler, with the herald at arms;³ on the 4th at Weimar, where Duke John of Saxony sent him money necessary to defray his journey.

John Crotus, rector,⁴ Helius Eobanus Hessus,⁵ professor of rhetoric, and Justus Jonas, came to meet the doctor two miles from Erfurt, with nearly forty horsemen. At the sight of the Augustinian monastery, where a few years previously he had assumed the monk's gown, Luther felt his heart oppressed. It was there that on opening a small Bible his eyes fell upon the

¹ "Und wenn sie gleich ein Feuer machen, das zwischen Wittemberg und Worms an den Himmel reichte."—Effner, l. c. tom. i. p. 65.

² Lingke, l. c. p. 85.

³ Mart. Schamelius, in Numburgo Litterato, p. 150.

⁴ Morschmann, Erford Litt. Cont. pp. 218, 222.

⁵ Eobanus Hessus composed four elegies on this subject: the two first entitled, *De Ingressu Lutheri in Urbem Ephurdiam*; the third, *De Concione Lutheri ad Populum Ephurdensem, honoribusque eidem exhibitis*; the fourth, *Ad Mart. Ephurdia abeuntem*. See *Operum Farragineas duas*: Halle, 1539, 8vo.

In the second elegy, *De Ingressu Lutheri*, the poet thus expresses himself:—

"Pone sequebantur quos miserat impiger Albis
Insignis meritis et pietate viri,
Hos inter, qui nos prevenerat ibat Jonas,
Ille deus nostri primaque fama chorū."

history of Anna and of Samuel ; it was near there that his friend Alexis had been struck by lightning ; near there he loved, in the evening, to hear the peasants sing their carols ; there was the little cell which he occupied, the garden of which he admired the flowers, the room in which he had lived, the work-table on which all his treasures—a Bible and a Plautus—were laid, and for recreation his small flute from Eisenach. He went down to the monastery,¹ and was received by the prior John Langus and by Bartholomew Arnoldi of Usingen. It was the 6th of April, the evening of the first Sunday of Easter. Night fell : a small wooden cross raised over the grave of a friar whom he had known, and who had gently fallen asleep in the Lord, caught his eye and disturbed his soul. He pointed it out to Doctor Jonas : “ See there, father ; he reposes there, and I ! . . . ” And he lifted his eyes to heaven. Before retiring to rest, he sat down upon that stone, and remained there in meditation nearly an hour ; Amsdorf was obliged to remind him that the bell of the monastery had tolled the hour for sleep. He begged and obtained from the superior permission to preach next morning. This was formally disobeying the orders of the emperor. Sturm winked at it. Luther, who on the way had seduced him to the Reformation, justified this infringement of the sovereign’s message, by saying, that it was better to obey God than men ; which was to infer that the prince was not the organ of the Lord.

In the morning, the small church of Erfurt was filled before the hour of service. The people wished to hear the preaching of that monk who for three years had made so great a commotion, and who from his cell disturbed kingdoms. In the middle of the preacher’s discourse, suddenly a portion of the outer wall fell down with a crash ; consternation spread among the hearers, who fled tumultuously, and broke the windows to escape from what they imagined to be imminent death. Luther remained in the pulpit unmoved. He made a signal understood by the crowd, who paused to gather his last words : “ Ah ! do you not perceive,” said the preacher, smiling, “ the finger of the devil, who wishes to prevent you from hearing the word of God, which I announce to you ? Remain, Christ is with us.” “ And

¹ Selneoceri, *Oratio de Vita Lutheri*, à Mayero edita, p. 105.

immediately," says Daniel Gretser, "the multitude stopped, and drew nigh the pulpit to listen to the sacred word."¹

At that time Erfurt reckoned a large number of religious and clergy, whom the monk, adds the same historian, lashed severely.

Some weeks had scarcely elapsed after Luther's departure, when the populace furiously attacked the residence of the canons, destroying everything that fell into their hands, books, images, pictures, furniture, beds, the feathers of which they scattered to the winds, falling back like a heavy snow in the streets, and obscuring the light of the day. "An unlucky presage," says a Catholic historian, "of the riots which Luther was soon to excite."²

For a moment, at Eisenach, his much-loved home, where he once more looked with tearful eyes on the window of the kind Cotta, Luther was on the point of halting, the pains in his stomach were so severe. They became easier, and he was able to continue his journey. At Frankfort-on-the-Maine, which he reached on the 14th of April, he blessed two students whom William Ness introduced to him.

On his way, he received from a priest at Naumburg Savonarola's portrait, with a letter, in which he was urged to persevere for the glory of God. Luther affectionately kissed the portrait of the Italian reformer.³ The *cortège* proceeded slowly. It was from Frankfort that his friends at Wittemberg received news of him for the first time. The letter was addressed to Spalatinus. "We get on, my dear friend," he said, "in spite of all the plagues which Satan has sent to retard my journey; for from Weimar to this place I have suffered continually, and still do, as I never did before. But Christ lives, and I shall go to Worms to brave the gates of hell, and the powers that reign in the air."⁴

¹ Daniel Gretserus, in *Vita Lutheri*, fol. 11. Eoban. lib. iii. ep. f. 82, ad Georg. Opercum. Crotus has had drawn upon the register of the University of Erfurt the arms of the principal reformers.

² Luth. Opera, Altenb. tom. i. p. 714. Ulenberg, l. c. p. 88.

³ Luther all his life had a great veneration for Savonarola, whom he considered as a martyr, whom the Lord had armed with the sword of the faith. See Luther's Werke : Halle, tom. xiv. p. 424 ; and the Tisch-Reden, *passim*.

⁴ Dr. Martin Luther's Leben, von Pfizer, p. 207. Achill. Aug. von Lersner,

Not far from Oppenheim, the Dominican, Martin Bucer, met Luther. He came in the name of Franz von Sickingen, he said, to conduct the monk to the castle of Ebernburg. "Master," said Bucer to him, "take care; they will burn you at Worms, as they burnt John Huss at Constance." But Sturm, turning to Luther, to whom he showed the emperor's order of which he was bearer, said to him, "Master, it is to Worms that I must lead you." "Amen," replied Luther, "they shall burn me, but they shall not burn the truth. To Worms then, whither the emperor calls me!"¹ The speech would be finer if we could tremble for Luther; but illusion is impossible.

If Luther had followed Bucer, it is not certain that he would have reached Ebernburg safe and sound, for the roads were at that time infested by horsemen, who pillaged the merchants and slew all who resisted them. These heroes of the highway, nearly all of them members of the nobility, were not satisfied with robbing travellers, they had adopted the custom of cutting off their right hands.² On the other hand, Sickingen had been recently elected chief of an association of knights, who constituted themselves supreme judges, *Sehnrichter* and *Männer*, in all feudal questions,³ a manifest invasion of the rights of the sovereign. The monk knew all that much better than Bucer. Even at Ebernburg, if he had been able to reach the fortress, Luther would only have been a sort of dramatic hero, of whom Sickingen would have made use to alarm the emperor.

On the 14th they stopped before Oppenheim to take a little rest. It would have been easy for Luther to have escaped, for Sturm allowed him complete liberty. His comrades, whose hearts beat with fears, advised him to fly.

"Fly!" repeated Luther; "oh, no; I shall go, I shall enter the city in the name of Jesus Christ."

At Pfiffingheim, a short distance from Worms, Luther required to rest. In a neighbouring field a peasant was planting

Frankfurter Chronik, tom. i. p. 18. D. Jöcker's Gelehrt. Lex. tom. iii. p. 866. Dan. Gerdes, Hist. Ref. tom. ii. p. 56. Menckenii Scr. rer. Ger. tom. ii. fol. 636.

¹ "Huss antwortete, ist verbrannt worden, aber nicht die Wahrheit mit ihm. Ich will hinein."—Müller's Staats-Cabinet, tom. viii. p. 296.

² Müllner's Nürnberger Annalen. 1521, 1522, and 1523.

³ Gunkler, Codex Dipl. Rheno-Mosellanus, tom. v. p. 202.

an elm. "Give it to me," he said, "I shall put it into the ground; may my doctrines grow like its branches!" That tree has grown, and under its shade come to rest the enthusiastic friends of Luther; but what has become of the doctrines of the master? In 1811, lightning struck the elm and spoiled it of its verdant crown: Protestantism has shown itself more pitiless than the fire of heaven: the symbolical tree of Luther it has destroyed to the roots.

On the 16th Luther descried Worms: at the sight of the old steeples of the city, he rose up in the chariot and began to sing this hymn, of which he had, it is said, composed the words and the music at Oppenheim,¹ two days before; it is the *Mar-sellaise* of the Reformation.

"A safe stronghold our God is still,²
 A trusty shield and weapon;
 He'll keep us clear from all the ill
 That hath us now o'er taken.
 The ancient Prince of Hell
 Hath risen with purpose fell;
 Strong mail of craft and power
 He weareth in this hour,—
 On earth is not his fellow.
 "With force of arms we nothing can,
 Full soon were we down-ridden;
 But for us fights the proper Man,
 Whom God himself hath bidden.
 Ask ye, Who is this same?
 Christ Jesus is his name,
 The Lord Zebaoth's Son;
 He and no other one
 Shall conquer in the battle.
 "And were this world all devils o'er,
 And watching to devour us,
 We lay it not to heart so sore,
 Nor can they overpower us.
 And let the Prince of Ill
 Look grim as e'er he will,

¹ Bachius, in Comment. in Psal. xlvi. p. 550. Junker, Im Ehrenged. Dr. Luther's, p. 58.

Bachius and many German writers think that the hymn, *Ein' feste Burg*, was composed by Luther near Oppenheim; others maintain that it was not written by Luther until 1529, and they found their opinion, in rejecting the former version, upon the circumstance of its not being contained in the edition of Lieder, which was published at Erfurt in 1525.

² *Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott.* See the hymn at the end of the volume, Confirmatory Evidence, No. 18.

He harms us not a whit,
 For why ? His doom is writ,
 A word shall quickly slay him.
 "God's word, for all their craft and force,
 One moment will not linger,
 But, spite of hell, shall have its course,—
 'Tis written by His finger.
 And though they take our life,
 Goods, honour, children, wife,
 Yet is their profit small ;
 These things shall vanish all,
 The City of God remaineth."¹

Leffler, the duke of Bavaria's fool, waited for the doctor at the gate of Worms, holding in one hand a cross, and in the other a lighted taper, which he had taken from the altar of a church. Scarcely had he perceived the monk at a distance, when he turned back, exclaiming, "*Ecce advenit quem exspectamus in tenebris!*" Luther's partisans smiled, and said, "Children and fools speak truth."²

An eyewitness, Veit von Warbeck, thus narrates, in a letter to the elector John, the doctor's entry into Worms :³—

"To-day, the 16th of April, Luther arrived at Worms, accompanied by a friar of his order (John Pezenss),⁴ Amsdorff, and Suaven, a noble Dane. Before the chariot went the imperial herald, in full state, with the eagle in his hand. Justus Jonas and his servant followed the carriage. A great number of men preceded the monk ; Bernard von Hirschfeld, John Schott, Albert von Lindenau, mounted on horseback, and many more. At ten o'clock he entered the city amidst many thousands of its inhabitants, who escorted him to his lodging, beside the Swan, whither have come many Saxon counsellors ; Frederick Thunau, Philip von Alitsch, and field-marshall Ulrich von Pappenheim."⁵

In the evening he was visited by Duke William of Brunswick, Count William of Henneberg, and the Landgrave Philip of Hesse.

The landgrave came to consult him. " My dear master," he

¹ [This translation is from the pen of Mr. Carlyle.—Tr.]

² Trausch, Chron. MSS. of Strasburg, tom. ii. part ii. p. 60.

³ Seckendorf, l. c. p. 347. Luther's Werke : Halle, tom. xv. p. 2182.

⁴ Schlegelii, Vita Spalatini, p. 46. Spal. Annal. p. 46.

⁵ Luther's Werke : Halle, tom. xv. p. 2184.

asked Luther, "how will it fare with you?" "My very kind master, I hope it will be well, by God's help," replied Luther. "They tell me, doctor," returned the prince, "that you teach that a woman may leave a husband who is too old for one who is younger." Luther laughed at this question, which was put in terms that somewhat savoured of the guard-house, and replied to the landgrave: "My very kind master, that is not the case; they have deceived your highness; I never taught such a thing." Philip gave him his hand smiling, and said: "Indeed, you are right; may God protect you!"¹ Luther will not always hold the same language.

Luther spent nearly the whole night at the window of his abode, sometimes gazing on the heavens with a look of confidence, at others playing some tune upon the flute, which he had brought to amuse him on his journey.²

The next day, the noble master of horse, marshal of the empire, Ulrich von Pappenheim, waited upon Luther, preceded by Sturm the herald, and ordered him, in the emperor's name, to appear at four in the afternoon before his majesty, the princes, electors, generals, and heads of the orders of the empire. The monk replied, "The will of God be done; I shall obey." It was then about eight o'clock in the morning; Luther fell on his knees and prayed. Mathesius has preserved the monk's long aspiration, of which the following are some portions:—

"Oh God, my God, come to my aid, and defend my cause against the wisdom of the world. Hear me, thou only canst hear my prayer! It is thy cause, my God, and not mine; it is not for me, but for thee, to protect me against the princes of the earth. It is thy cause, the cause of justice and of eternity. God of all ages, come to my aid, for man cannot assist me. What is flesh is flesh; all that is of man halts and fails. O my God, hast thou no ears, dost thou not hear me, art thou dead? No, thou canst not die: O my God, help me, in the name of thy beloved Son Jesus Christ, my strength and my

¹ "Ich höre, Herr Doktor, ihr lehret wenn ein Mann alt wird, und seiner Frau nicht mehr Ehepflicht leisten kann, dass denn die Frau mag einen andern Mann nehmen."—Luther's Werke: Halle, tom. xv. p. 2279. This is the doctor's own account.

² Effner, l. c. tom. i. p. 67.

support, my citadel and my rampart. Where art thou, my God, where art thou? Come, come, I am ready to yield up my life like a lamb. It is the cause of justice, it is thine, and I desire not to be separated from thee. The world cannot prevail, and though it should become the prey of a more numerous legion of devils; although the work of thy hands should fail, and the earth open its depths under my feet; my soul is with thee, it dwells with thee in eternity. Amen: my God, help me. Amen.”¹

CHAPTER XXIX.

LUTHER AT WORMS. 1521.

Aspect of the assembly at Worms.—Effect produced by Luther's appearance on the members of the Diet.—Luther interrogated by the official, John von Eck.—Luther requests delay to answer the questions of the imperial orator.—He appears next day.—His reply to the questions of the preceding one.—The orders deliberate.—John von Eck resumes his interrogatories.—Luther refuses to recant.—The sitting rises.—Two days after, the secretary of the Diet reads his Majesty's rescript to the assembly.—Sympathies excited by Luther.

ON the 17th of April, at the hour mentioned, Ulrich von Pappenheim returned, preceded by Sturm. In order that the crowd, gathered in the streets, and especially round the emperor's palace, might not annoy the monk, they took care to convey him through the private gates, making him cross the gardens. They had much difficulty in repressing, by means of the halberdiers, the masses of people who poured forth through every outlet to see the doctor: the roofs of the houses were covered with spectators.²

When Luther entered the lobby of the hall, old George Frundsberg, who commanded the body-guard of Charles V., approached, and, laying his hand on his shoulder, said in a

¹ Consult, in regard to Luther's journey to Worms, *Geschichtskalender Dr. Luther's*; Walthern, *ergänzte Nachr.*; Keil, *Lebensumstände Dr. Luther's*; Frick, *Historie des Lutherthums*; D. Cyprian, *Hilar. Evang.*

² Gust. Pfizer, l. c. pp. 210, 211. Myonii *Historia Reformationis*, p. 39. Lingke, l. c. p. 96.

whisper: "On the word of a knight, monk, you are about to take a bold march ; neither I nor any other officer have ever done the like, in the business we have had to do, and some of it has been pretty hot, by God ! If you are sure of yourself and of your cause, forward, in God's name!"¹

"Forward!" said Luther, lifting his head and looking steadily at Frundsberg.

Charles V. was on his throne. He wore the Spanish costume,—a capuchin of ermine, a bonnet ornamented with ostrich feathers, tight-fitting trowsers, large and wide shoes, a thick plaited ruff, and a collar of fine pearls, from which was suspended the order of the Golden Fleece. At the foot of the throne the two nuncios were seated, on large chairs covered with crimson velvet ; Cardinal Caraccioli, in a red cassock, and Aleandro, in a purple robe ; both with peaked beards, as they were formerly worn at the court of Julius II. On the right of the emperor were seated the two ecclesiastical electors ; the archbishop of Mayence ; Albert, cardinal of the holy Roman Church ; and the archbishop of Trèves, Richard von Greiffenklau. On the left were the four secular electors in velvet robes, trimmed with ermine ; beside Charles was John von Eck, official of the archbishop of Trèves, and imperial orator, turning over pamphlets of various sizes, collected on a small table. The Franciscan Glapion, confessor of Charles V., was conspicuous by his shaven head and cord, which reached the ground. In the foreground were three heralds ; the first held the hand of justice, the second the imperial sword, the third the golden crown surmounted by the Latin cross. Here and there, confusedly mingled, might be seen knights of all the courts of Germany, their bodies confined in steel cuirasses ; monks of different orders, and of robes of various colours ; Spaniards of the prince's suite, nearly all in surcoats of yellow silk ; bare heads and heads covered with iron helmets ; lawyers, with the book of the imperial constitutions in their hands ; and bishops, who showed each other the anti-bull ; citizens and theologians.

¹ "Mönchlein, Mönchlein, du gehest ietz in einen Gang, dergleichen ich und mascher Oberster, auch in unser aller ernstesten Schlachtordnung nicht gethan haben. Bist du auf rechter Meinung, und deiner Sache gewiss, so fahre in Gottes Namen fort."—In breviario Vitæ Lutheri, tom. Altenb. annex. ex Cyr. Spannenbergi Speculo Nobilitatis, fol. 54, &c.

The weather was magnificent. Through the large windows of the hall the sun shed upon the assembly beams of dazzling light. When the approach of Luther was heard, there ensued one of those deep silences in which the heart alone, by its hurried pulsations, gives sign of life. Attention was diverted from the emperor to the monk. On the appearance of Luther, every one rose, regardless of the sovereign's presence. There was then a confused noise, which seemed to disturb the monk, who passed his hand across his brow, as if to drive off a shadow.

At that instant some restless spectators drew near to Luther, and whispered: "Courage, brother! Fear not those who can kill the body only, but rather Him who can destroy body and soul in eternal hell." A knight said loudly: "Do not think what you ought to say, the Lord will inspire you." Luther turned round, and his eye sparkling with sudden fire, showed that he had heard him.¹

Then John von Eck,—not the theologian of Ingolstadt, our brilliant hero of Leipsic, but the lawyer, the official of the archbishop of Trèves,—rose, and thus began to interrogate Luther, first in the Latin and then in the German language.²

"Martin Luther, his sacred and invincible majesty, by advice of the Orders of the empire, summons you hither, in order that you may answer the two questions which I am about to put to you. Do you admit that you are the author of these writings published in your name? and are you willing to retract any of the doctrines taught therein?"

Luther was about to reply, when the lawyer, Jerome Schurf,³ Luther's assistant, desired that the titles of the works should be read.⁴

The official took them up one by one, reading the different

¹ Kleines Lesebuch zur Veredelung, &c.: Giessen, 1836. Seckendorf, l. c. tom. i. p. 156.

² Melanthon, Vita Lutheri. Cochlaeus, l. c. p. 56. Selneccer, l. c. p. 22.

³ Jerome Schurf was born in 1488, at St. Gall, in Switzerland. In 1501 he was called to Wittemberg by Staupitz and the elector Frederick. He professed Aristotle's logic in the university of that city. He received, besides subsistence, thirty florins per annum; they substituted for the subsistence ten florins,—a sum insufficient for his maintenance. From his ten florins as professor, Schurf was obliged to take three to live. See Adam, De Veteris Germ. Juriscons. p. 97 et seq.

⁴ Intitulentur libri.—Seckendorf, l. c. p. 153.

titles : "Commentaries on the Psalms ;"—"Good Works ;"—"Exegesis on the Lord's Prayer ;"—"Book of the Captivity of the Church in Babylon :" all proceeding from the Wittemberg press.

Luther, who made a sign with his head as each title was read, rose from his seat when the list was exhausted.

"His majesty," said he, "asks me two questions : the first, if I acknowledge as mine the books which bear my name ; and the second, if I will retract the doctrines which I have therein propounded.

"I cannot refuse to acknowledge as my works the books of which the titles have been read ; I shall never deny that I have written them. As to the question, whether I consent or not to retract the doctrines which they contain,—a question of belief in which my eternal salvation and the free expression of the divine word are concerned,—that word which knows no master, neither on the earth nor in the heavens, and which we ought all—such as we are—to adore, it would be rash and dangerous for me to answer it on the spur of the moment, before having meditated in silence, for fear of incurring the sentence of Jesus Christ : 'He who shall deny me before men, him shall I deny before my Father in heaven.' I therefore entreat his sacred majesty to grant me the necessary time to reply, after thorough investigation, and without the fear of blaspheming God's word, and perilling the salvation of my soul."

At these words there was a slight movement of surprise among the bystanders, some of whom believed that the monk was inspired. The Spaniards smiled, the nuncios whispered, the Catholic theologians shook their heads. Maimbourg is right in saying that this reply did not breathe the prophetic genius of which Luther boasted when he wrote to Linck : "I feel that God the Holy Ghost possesses and impels me ;"¹ for it necessarily implied the possibility of a recantation of the dogmas which he had promulgated. So the emperor, seeing Luther hesitate, said with an expression of contempt : "This man will not make me a heretic."²

¹ Wenc. Lincko, 19 Aug. 1520. De Wette, l. c. tom. i. p. 479.

² Pallavicini, lib. ii. cap. xxvi. Roscoe admits that Luther was not like himself on that occasion ; he adds, it is true, that Luther never pretended to

The chiefs of the Orders deliberated for a short while, and the official rose again.

"Martin Luther," he said, "although you were long since aware of the message of his imperial majesty, and of the object of your appearance before the diet, and that the request which you make might be refused, nevertheless, the marked clemency of the sovereign deigns to grant you a day to prepare your reply. You will therefore appear here to-morrow at the same hour, on condition that you give your replies *vivā voce*, and not in writing."

Luther returned next day, at the same hour as on that preceding ; but he was obliged to wait in the middle of a great crowd of people until the Orders opened the sitting, for they were then in consultation. It was nearly six o'clock ; the hall was lighted with torches.

The doctor was introduced. The official then addressed him as follows :—

"Martin Luther, yesterday you admitted the works printed in your name. Do you or do you not retract them ? This is the question which we put to you, and which you declined to answer, on the pretence that it was a question of faith which we propounded to you, and before replying to which you required to reflect, although such a theologian as you must be fully aware that a Christian should always be ready to answer upon his belief. Explain yourself, then. Do you wish to defend all your works, or to disavow any of them ?"

Luther replied this time with much more assurance, doubtless encouraged by the numerous marks of sympathy which he had received from various members of the diet.

"Most serene emperor,¹ illustrious princes, very good lords, I stand before you at the time appointed, beseeching your majesty and your highnesses to hear me, as I hope with justice and kindness. If in my replies I forget to give you the titles which are due to you,—if I offend against the ceremonial of courts, forgive me, for I have not been brought up in palaces ; I am but a poor monk, the child of my cloister, and I assure you that I

be inspired (vol. iv. p. 35). The biographer of Leo X., in writing these lines, had not the reformer's correspondence with Spalatinus before him.

¹ *Acta Rev. Patris Martini Lutheri coram Cœs. majestate.*

have never preached or written anything except in the simplicity of my heart, and for the glory of God, and the honour of the Gospel.

" Most serene emperor, princes of the empire, to the two questions put to me yesterday, if I acknowledged to be mine the books published in my name, and if I persisted in defending them, I say that I do persist ; and I shall persist in this reply to the hour of my death. Yes, these are my books, the books which I have published or which have been published in my name. I acknowledge them, I admit and shall ever admit them to be mine, provided that malice, trickery, or unseasonable prudence do not effect any alteration in them. I acknowledge that what my hand has written has been matured by my reflection.

" Before replying to the second question, I entreat your majesty and the Orders of the empire to consider that my books do not all treat of the same matter. There are some of them didactic, intended for the edification of the faithful, for the advancement of piety, and the improvement of morals, which the bull, acknowledging the innocence of similar treatises, has not in the slightest condemned. If I were to disown them, what should I be doing ? I should be denouncing an instruction admitted by all Christians, thus setting myself up against the universal voice of the faithful.

" There is another sort of writings in which I attack the papacy and the opinions of the papists, as monstrosities, as the ruin of sound doctrines, and the damnation of body and soul. Ah ! I cannot deny it, and no one more than I, so loudly do the voice and testimony of conscience speak. The decretals of the popes have thrown disorder into Christianity, have entrapped, imprisoned, tortured the faith of the faithful, and devoured as a prey this noble Germany, which has never ceased to protest against false doctrines contrary to the Gospel and to the judgment of the fathers. If I were to deny these writings, I should lend fresh force and audacity to the tyranny of Rome,—I should take away from the torrent of impiety an embankment by which it would overflow the Christian world. My recantation would only serve to extend and increase the kingdom of iniquity ; especially when it should be known that it was by orders of his

majesty and the very serene princes my lords that I made this recantation.

" Finally, there is another series of works published in my name ; I allude to those polemical books suggested and written against some of my adversaries, supporters of the tyranny of Rome. I shall readily admit that I have shown myself more violent in them than is becoming a man of my calling ; I do not act the saint here, I do not dispute upon my conduct, but rather upon Christ's doctrines. I cannot, moreover, consent to disavow these writings, because Rome would avail itself of my admission to extend her kingdom and oppress souls.

" Being a man, and not God, I cannot protect my books with any other patronage than that with which Christ protected his doctrines. When interrogated before Annas as to what he taught, and his face was buffeted by a servant : ' If I have spoken evil,' said he, ' show me how.' If the Lord Jesus, who knew that he was without sin, did not repel the testimony which the vilest lips gave of his divine word, ought not I, the scum of the earth, who am only able to sin, to solicit an examination of my doctrines ?

" In the name of the living God, then, I entreat your sacred majesty, you illustrious Orders, every human creature, to come and bear witness against me, and convince me of error, with the Prophets and the Gospel in hand. I am ready to disown my errors, if they convince me of falsehood, and to throw my books in the fire.

" Of this be assured, I have weighed the dangers, the troubles, the afflictions, the animosities which my doctrines will bring to the world. I am delighted to see that the word of God is about to produce discords and dissensions ; it is the portion and destiny of the divine word, for the Lord has said : ' I am come, not to bring peace but the sword ; I am come to separate the son from the father.'

" Do not forget that God is wonderful and terrible in his counsels. Tremble lest, if you disdain the divine word, that word may produce a deluge of evils, and the kingdom of this noble youth, upon whom after God all our hopes rest, be soon disturbed.

" I might here, by examples drawn from the sacred books,

point out to you Pharaoh, the king of Egypt, and the kings of Israel, losing themselves in the desire to reign by peace and what they termed wisdom. For God confounds the hypocrite in his hypocrisy, and overturns the mountains before they know their fall. Fear is the work of God.

"Not that I seek here to give counsel to such mighty and powerful minds ; I owe this testimony of love to my native Germany. I conclude by commanding myself to your sacred majesty and your highnesses, and I humbly implore you not to permit my adversaries to make me an object of hatred here. I have done."

Then the official rose and said, that Luther had not answered the question ; that it was not a question of discussing opinions already condemned by the councils ; that he demanded a simple and conclusive answer, whether he would or would not retract ?

Luther resumed still more boldly :—

"Since your sacred majesty and your highnesses demand a simple reply, I shall give it. It shall neither be involved nor polished ; and it is this : unless I shall be convicted of error by the testimony of the Scriptures or evident reason (for I do not believe in the sole authority of the pope and the councils, which so often have erred or have contradicted themselves, and I acknowledge no master but the Bible and the word of God), I neither can nor will retract, for I must not go against my conscience.¹

"Such is my profession of faith ; expect nothing else from me. God help me. Amen."²

The Orders retired to deliberate ; then the official thus resumed :—

"Martin Luther, you speak in a tone unbecoming a man like you ; and you have not answered the question. Doubtless you have composed various works, of which some cannot be

¹ "Dabo illud neque cornutum neque dentatum in hunc modum : Nisi con-victus fuero testimonii Scripturarum aut ratione evidenti (nam neque pape neque concilii solis credo, cum constet eos errasse sepius, et sibi ipsi contra-dixisse) vincitur sum scripturis à me adductis, captaque est conscientia in verbis Dei ; revocare neque possum neque volo quidquam, cum contra con-scientiam agere neque tutum sit neque integrum."—Luth. Oper. edit. Jenæ Lat. tom. ii. p. 438.

² Hier stehe ich, ich kann nicht anders : Gott helfe mir, Amen.

the objects of censure. If you had disowned the books which contain your errors, his majesty, of his infinite goodness, would not have permitted those to be prosecuted in which nothing but pure doctrine is taught. You have revived dogmas condemned by the Council of Constance, and you demand to be convinced by the Scriptures. But if every person had liberty to dispute points established for so many centuries by the Church and the councils, there would be no more doctrines or dogmas, nothing more certain or settled, no more opinions necessary to be held under penalty of eternal condemnation. For you, who to-day reject the authority of the Council of Constance, would to-morrow proscribe all the councils, then the fathers and the doctors ; then there would be no more authority than that individual word which you invoke as evidence, and we do also. Therefore it is that his majesty demands a simple and precise answer, in the affirmative or negative. Do you wish to defend as Catholic all your doctrines, or is there anything in them which you are ready to disown ?”

Here Luther requested that his majesty would not suffer him to belie his conscience, fettered by the Holy Scriptures. They had demanded a categorical reply : he had given it. He could only repeat what he had already declared,—that if they could not prove to him by irresistible arguments that he had erred, he would not draw back a foot ; that what the councils laid down was not an article of faith ; that they had erred, and had contradicted themselves ; that their testimony accordingly was not convincing ; and that he could not disown what was written in the inspired books.

The official replied that he could not demonstrate that the councils had erred.

The doctor engaged to prove this.

As it was late, the diet adjourned the sitting. As he withdrew, *the man of God*¹ was followed by the murmurs and gibes of some Spaniards, who amused themselves by tearing to pieces the doctor's books which they had carried off from the book-seller's stall.

Luther had spoken for upwards of two hours, repeating in

¹ Melancthon, *Vita Lutheri*.

Latin what he had in the first instance spoken in German. His face streamed with perspiration, his countenance was changed, he required rest.¹ On his return to his lodging, he found a can of Eimbeck beer, which had been sent to him. He swallowed a draught of it.² Then setting down the vessel, he inquired, "To whom am I indebted for this treat?" "To Duke Erich of Brunswick," replied Amsdorff. "Ah!" said Luther, "since Duke Erich has thought of me to-day, may God one day think of him."

Two days after, the prince electors, the great officers, and the Orders of the empire being again assembled, a message from the emperor was announced. All the Orders rose as a mark of respect, and the secretary of the diet read in a loud voice the imperial rescript, which was couched in the following terms :—

"Our ancestors, the kings of Spain, the archdukes of Austria, the dukes of Burgundy, protectors and defenders of the Catholic faith, have defended its integrity with their blood and their swords, at the same time while they watched that the obedience which was due to the decrees of the Church should be rendered to them. We shall not lose sight of these excellent examples, we shall walk in the footsteps of our forefathers, and we shall protect with all our might that faith which we have received as an inheritance. And since there is a friar who has dared to attack at once both the dogmas of the Church and the head of Catholicity, defending obstinately the errors into which he has fallen, and refusing to recant, we have determined to oppose the progress of these disorders, even at the risk of our blood, our means, our dignities, and the fortunes of the empire; in order that Germany shall not sully herself with the crime of perjury. We will not any longer hear Martin Luther, with whose inflexible obstinacy the princes are fully acquainted; and we order that he shall withdraw and return home, under the safe-conduct which

¹ "Incalescens et sudans à vapore circumstantium."—Lutheri Relatio, Islebae, p. 734.

² Effner says on this subject: "With a similar can, one could at present make a numerous company jolly:" Mit einer solchen Kanne Eimbecker Bier könnte man in unsern Zeiten eine ganze Gesellschaft lustig machen (I. c. tom. i. p. 71, note).

we have given to him, conditionally that he does not on his way preach or excite disorders.”¹

In the meanwhile, Luther was visited by a great number of princes, counts, barons, knights, nobles, prelates, and laymen.² The imperial palace was besieged by a multitude unwearied in contemplating the Augustinian monk.

“The doctor’s little room cannot hold all the visitors,” writes Spalatinus; “I have seen Philip the landgrave of Hesse, Duke William of Brunswick, Count William of Henneberg.” The elector Frederick, alarmed lest Luther should contradict himself before the diet, was so astonished by the courage of his *protégé*, that he summoned Spalatinus to his bedchamber in the evening, and said, shaking him by the hand, “How well this Father Martin spoke, both in German and in Latin!”

Now it happened that some one had posted on the walls of the palace a manuscript placard, on which was written:—“To you, papists, and you, archbishop of Mayence, war to the death has been sworn by four hundred knights, bound by an oath, because you have sought to oppress the just man of the Lord. Beware, we shall soon be eight thousand.—Bundschuch.” “This was,” said Luther, “a piece of mischief devised by my enemies to furnish the emperor with a plausible pretext for withdrawing the safe-conduct which he had granted to me, to the great annoyance of the pope’s legates. Bundschuch! is the rallying-word which will soon be re-echoed by the peasantry.”³

There were in the emperor’s council some princes who wished the doctor to be arrested and prosecuted; Duke George nobly defended the monk’s cause: “What has been promised,” said he, “must be performed; it would be an indelible stain on the

¹ There is only an unfaithful copy of this rescript in Luther’s works: the emperor is there made to employ language which is not in the forms of the protocols of the empire. Charles V. in it excommunicates Luther and his adherents. See Confirmatory Evidence, No. 19.

² Contarenus ad Tiepolum, 25 Apr.

“Habet infensissimos inimicos et maximos fautores: res agitur tantâ contentione quantum nemo crederet”—Letter of Tonstall from the diet of Worms, Fiddes, Life of Wolsey, p. 242. “The Germans everywhere are so devoted to Luther, that rather than he shall be oppressed by the pope’s authority, a hundred thousand of the people will sacrifice their lives.”

³ See, in the second volume, the chapter entitled, The Peasants’ War.

rest of us nobles, were we to break our word ; our ancestors would cover their faces with shame." "Right," said the emperor to him, shaking his hand, "right, noble duke ; if ever good faith is banished from the earth, she must take refuge in the courts of princes."¹

CHAPTER XXX.

CONFERENCE BETWEEN LUTHER AND THE ARCHBISHOP OF TREVES. 1521.

The emperor consents to prorogate Luther's safe-conduct, with the view of endeavouring to reclaim the monk.—First reunion in the archbishop's palace.—Vehus speaks in name of those present.—Luther refuses to recant.—The archbishop detains Luther; fresh conference between the latter and John von Eck.—The monk's refractoriness.—Second reunion.—Useless efforts of the archbishop.—All means of conciliation being exhausted, the official of the archbishop of Trèves sends for Luther, to whom he reads the emperor's sentence.—The doctor leaves Worms on the 26th April.—Aspect of the drama of Worms.—Different opinions as to the part played there by Luther.—Elenchus or summary of his symbolism at the Diet.—Examination of the debates in the religious point of view.—It was individual will, and not free inquiry, which Luther wished to triumph.—How Charles V. was to judge the symbolism of the Saxon.—As a Catholic and as emperor he was bound to reject it.—Edict against Luther.

THE sympathies which Luther excited, especially among the Teutonic knights, disquieted the emperor.² Prepared to cross

¹ "Wenn Treu und Glauben nirgends mehr gelitten würden, so sollten sie doch an fürtlichen Höfen ihre Zuflucht finden."—These are the words of John the Good.

Luther has given different accounts of his appearing at Worms : 1st. That contained in the Latin edition of Jena, in folio, p. 236, et seq., and in the German one, Altenb. fol. 713, et seq. ; 2nd. That which he addressed to Lucas Cranach, fol. 731, and that to Hoyer, count of Mansfeld, p. 732. We have derived our narrative from these sources.

We have been assisted also by Gaspard Ulenberg, who applied himself particularly to relate all the attempts at reconciliation uselessly endeavoured by the archbishop of Trèves. There may likewise be consulted, as to Luther's journey and appearance at Worms, Cochleai Acta, &c. p. 55 et seq. ; Melancth. in Vita Lutheri ; Pallavicini, Storia del Concilio di Trento ; Roscoe, Life and Pontificate of Leo X. vol. iv. ; Maimbourg, Histoire du Luthéranisme, 4to. ; Sleidan, History of the Reformation, vol. i. book iii.

² Raumer, Neuere Geschichte der Deutschen, tom. i. p. 262 et seq. Ad. Menzel, Neuere Geschichte der Deutschen, tom. i. p. 96.

the Alps, he was afraid to leave in Germany an instrument of civil discords. The thought of measuring his strength with the hero of Marignan was far from alarming him, but a struggle with the monk of Wittemberg disturbed his sleep. He consented that they should try to overcome the obstinacy of Luther.

The archbishop of Trèves, Richard von Grifenklau, then entreated the doctor to come to meet him: Luther did so, preceded by the imperial commissioner, and accompanied by his friends, who had followed him from Saxony and Thuringia. He was introduced into the prelate's apartment, where were assembled Joachim, chief elector of Brandenburg, George, duke of Saxony, George, count of Wertheim, the bishop of Augsburg, John Boeck of Strasburg, and Doctor Peutinger. Jerome Vehus, chancellor of Baden,¹ addressed Luther in the name of the company, declaring that they had not summoned him for polemical discussion, but from the pure spirit of charity and goodwill.

Then Vehus commenced a long harangue on the obedience which was due to the Church and her decisions, to the councils and their decrees. He contended that the Church, like every other power, had its constitutions, which could be modified by the wants of the nations to whom they applied, by the difference of manners, place, and times; and that in them were the apparent contradictions which Luther pointed out in the internal government of the Church. These contradictions, in the main, only proved the religious care with which she regulated her spiritual administration, and no ways affected the integrity of the Catholic tenets. These tenets were yesterday what they would be to-morrow, and to the consummation of the world. He called attention to the disturbances which the Lutheran novelties were exciting everywhere. "Look," he said, "at the book of 'Christian Liberty'; what does it teach? To throw off every kind of control, to erect disobedience into an axiom. It is no longer the time when each child of the Christian family had but one heart and one mind; then the precept was one like the society; the rule was

¹ "Eruditionis et eloquentiae nomine etiam Lutheru laudatus."—Seckendorf, l. c. p. 155.

There exists a printed letter from Vehus, dated 28 March, 1522, addressed to Duke George, in which this statesman, while admitting the necessity for certain reforms to be introduced into the church of Germany, solicits the prince to be severe against the Lutherans.

one like the precept. It had been necessary to modify it when time had itself modified society, without, however, the Catholic tenets ever having received injury. I am well aware, Martin," he continued, "that many of your works exhale a sweet perfume of piety ; but the general spirit of your writings must be judged as is a tree, not by its flowers, but by its fruit. Here are counsels of peace addressed to you by the Orders of the empire. They have been appointed by God to watch over the safety of a state, the peace of which your doctrines compromise. To resist them is to resist God. Doubtless, it is infinitely better to obey God than men ; but do you then imagine that we are deaf to his word, and that we have not meditated upon it?"¹

"Thanks," said Luther, "for all your words of peace and charity." He then began to reply to what Vehus had said touching the authority of the councils ; and contended that the Council of Constance had erred in condemning the proposition of John Huss, that the Church of Christ is only the society of the elect.² "No recantation," he continued, in a strong and animated voice ; "my life and my blood, rather than one word of disavowal ; for it is infinitely better to obey God than man. It is not granted to me to prevent the occurrence of scandal, and that Christ should not be a stumbling-block. If the sheep of the Good Shepherd were nourished with the marrow of the Gospel, the faith would live, and our spiritual masters would be worthy and faithful. I know well that we must obey our rulers, even when they are not according to God's heart ; so I am ready to yield to them, provided that they do not fetter the word of the Lord."

Luther was about to retire ; they detained him, and Vehus recommenced his arguments and entreaties, urging him to submit his writings to the judgment of the princes and orders of the empire.

The doctor replied : "I do not wish it to be thought that I shun the judgment of the emperor and the Orders ; but God's word, upon which I rest myself, is to my eyes so clear, that I could not recant, although they could oppose to me a word

¹ Ulenberg, Historia de Vita, etc. Lutheri. Pallavicini, &c.

² "Tantum una est sancta, universalis Ecclesia quae est numerus praedicatorum."

more luminous. St. Paul has said, ‘If an angel comes from heaven with a new gospel, let him be anathema ;’ do not do violence to my conscience, which is enchain'd in the bonds of the Scriptures.”

“ But,” said Joachim, “ have you not said that you would yield if you were convinced by the text of Scripture itself ?”—“ Or by reasons of complete evidence,” said Luther. “ But then you admit a reason superior to the word of God ?” the chancellor quietly demurred. Luther remained silent.

They parted. The archbishop of Trèves detained the monk and took him to another room, whither Jerome Schurf and Nicholas Amsdorff followed him ; there they found John Eck and Cochlæus, dean of the church of the Holy Virgin at Frankfort. Eck spoke :—

“ Martin,” said he, “ there is not a single heresy which has rent the Church that has not been hatched from the interpretation of the Scriptures : the Bible is the arsenal whence each innovator has drawn his deceitful arguments ; it was with texts of the Bible that Pelagius and Arius supported their doctrines. Arius, for example, found the denial of the eternity of the Word, the eternity which you admit, in this verse of the New Testament : *Joseph non cognovit conjugem suam donec partitur primogenitum*—‘ Joseph did not know his wife until she had brought forth her firstborn :’ and he said, like you, that that word fettered him. When the fathers of the Council of Constance condemned the proposition of John Huss, that ‘ the Church of Jesus Christ is only the communion of the elect,’ they condemned an error ; for the Church, like a good mother, embraces all who bear the name of Christian, all who are called to enjoy celestial happiness.” Luther resisted and renewed his arguments. Cochlæus took him by the hands, entreating him to restore peace to the Church. The monk was inflexible.

In the evening, the archbishop of Trèves announced to Luther that, by the emperor’s orders, his safe-conduct was prolonged for two days ; he gave him notice of a fresh conference on the morrow.

Peutinger and the chancellor of Baden came to see Luther, taking up the conversation where it broke off the preceding evening, and endeavouring to induce the monk to submit his writings to the emperor’s judgment.

"Yes," replied Luther, "I am ready, provided that they come to me with the Scriptures in hand ; but not otherwise ! God has said by the royal prophet : ' Trust not in princes, in the sons of men, for in them there is no safety ; ' and by Jeremiah : ' Cursed be he who puts his confidence in man.' " As they urged him more closely : " Everything to the judgment of men," said he, " except the word of God." They left him, intimating that they would return in the evening, when they hoped to find him in other dispositions.

They deceived themselves. " You consent, at least," said the envoys to Luther, " to submit your doctrines to the decision of a future council, as you wrote recently ? " " Well ! yes," said Luther ; " but on the condition that they will extract from my books the articles upon which the council is to pronounce, and that its sentence shall be drawn from the sacred books."

" Then, if that course is tried, you pledge yourself to silence until the council has decided ? "

" Doubtless," said Luther.

Straightway the delegates went to the archbishop of Trèves, and said to him : " Luther has promised to refer the matter to the decision of the council, and to dogmatize no more until his cause has been determined."

The archbishop, delighted, sent for Luther, and asked him if what he had been informed was true ; Luther undeceived him.

" But it seems, dear doctor,"¹ said the prelate, " that you cannot repel a way of conciliation which you yourself indicate in your recent appeal to the future council ? Are you not then come to declare your readiness to submit your writings to the judgment of the emperor and the Orders ? "

" Oh ! " replied Luther, " submit myself to the judgment of those who have condemned my books ? Never."

" But then, tell me, my dear doctor, the means of preventing the troubles which menace the Church ; what remedies must be used ? "

" There are none better than those of which Gamaliel speaks, according to the testimony of St. Luke : ' If the work is of

¹ Spal. MSS. Seckendorf, l. c. p. 157.

man, it will perish ; if it comes from God, it will live.' The emperor and the Orders can write to the pope these few words : ' If Luther's work is not an inspiration from above, in three years it will be no more spoken of.' "¹

The archbishop persisted. " Let us see," said he, " if they extract from your books the articles to be submitted to the decision of the council ? "

" Provided that they be not those," said Luther, " which the Council of Constance has already condemned."

" Perhaps," said the prelate.

" Ah ! then, no, no ! I will not, for I am certain that the decrees of the council have condemned the truth ; I had rather lose my head than abandon the word of God."

" Well, then," said the archbishop with a sigh, " since you persist, God will judge you."

Shortly after this, the official of Trèves sent for Luther, and in presence of the high-chancellor read to him the imperial sentence.

" Luther," he added, " since you have refused to listen to the advice of his majesty and the Orders of the empire, and confess your errors, it is now for the emperor to act. By his orders, then, twenty days are allowed you to return to Wittemberg, free, and under the protection of the prince's word, provided that on your journey you excite no disturbance by your conversation or preaching." "²

Sturm inclined the emperor's mace as a mark of respect.

Luther bowed his head, and said, " Let it be done as the Lord wills, blessed be the name of God." He added some words of acknowledgment and thanks to the emperor, his ministers, and the Orders of the empire, for whom, he said, with his hand upon his heart, he was ready to sacrifice life, honour, and reputation, all except the word of God.

But wherefore these protestations of gratitude, when Luther was sure " that if they did not spill his blood, it was not because

¹ " Ist meine Sache nicht aus Gott, so wird sie über zwei oder drei Jahr nicht währen ; ist sie aber aus Gott, so wird man sie nicht dämpfen können." — Seckendorf, l. c. lib. i. p. 157.

² Acta reverendi patris Dr. Martini Lutheri Augustiniani coram Cæsareâ majestate, principibus, electoribus et imperiis ordinibus, in comitiis principum Vuromatiae.—Opera Luth. tom. ii. p. 164 et seq.

they wanted the inclination to murder, and that homicide was in all their hearts?"¹

On the 26th of April, after an entertainment given to him by his friends, the doctor retraced his steps to Wittemberg.

Thus terminated the drama of Worms, one of the most remarkable in the life of the Reformer, and which we have described from Luther's own notes, without in any way altering that simplicity of language which is not deficient in charms, and that fidelity of details which give to his narrative some resemblance to the Parables. It is only to be regretted that Luther, or the person who has used the pen in his name, so soon dismisses this archbishop of Trèves, one of the finest characters whom we shall meet with in this history, and whose benevolence and charity have been acknowledged by the monk himself.² The sessions of Worms have been judged of very differently in a scenic point of view. We know that they have inspired Werner with one of the finest acts of his tragedy, in which history is treated too poetically, and in which, to place the figure of his hero in relief, the painter has subdued all the others, even that of the prelate. M. Heine has glorified the appearance of "his father" at Worms. The Catholic himself, if he forgets for an instant the sectarian to consider only the man, loves to contemplate that black gown, in the presence of those lords and barons caparisoned in iron, and armed with helm and spear; and he is moved by the voice of "that young friar," who comes to defy all the powers of the earth. That emperor, on whom the interests of Germany rest, and whom a monk abruptly stops; those two lawyers, Amsdorff and Jonas, who press with such affection beside their master, ready to defend him with their arms and their tongues; that people, in whose eyes the Augustinian is the greatest novelty of the age; that old Frundsberg, who speaks to the pilgrim as to a soldier; that archbishop's head grown white in the service of God, amidst those arms of steel which glitter

¹ "Jetzt ists abermals zu Worms an mir verdampft; und ob sie mein Blut nicht vergossen haben, hats doch nicht gefehlt an ihrem vollen, ganzen Willen, und morden mich noch ohn Unterlass in ihrem Herzen."—An Hartmuth von Kronberg.

² Spalatinus praises this archbishop: "Ut virum rerum mundi valde peritum, qui magna cum humanitate Lutherum tractaverit."—Spal. MSS. Seckendorf, l. c. p. 157.

in the sun ; that Vehus, eloquent by his powerful logic ; those warm spirits of the South, opposed to the Teutonic race, impasseable in their immobility : all form a magnificent spectacle. At each word of the monk the mind shrinks and is alarmed, in thinking that the emperor is listening to him, and would not require even a word to crush the rebellious friar. Honour to the crowned youth, whose age would have excused his warmth, and who might have found such ready instruments to obey his anger ! He sought them not. He was generous, and kept his word. One is distressed that Luther has so soon forgotten the gratitude which he owed to Charles V., whose speedy punishment he prophesied. " You see Charles attacked on all sides ; I am not astonished at it. I predict endless misfortunes to him ; he will bear the punishment of the impiety of others. Unhappy youth, who has yielded to evil counsels, and rejected the truth, shown to him at Worms !" ¹ We know how this prophecy was fulfilled. Some time after, Charles made Francis I. prisoner at Pavia, and the bishop of that city receiving the conqueror at the gate of the cathedral, said to him : " God has sent you to chastise your enemies, and deliver Italy." ²

Luther's adversaries, without denying the majesty of the picture presented by the diet of Worms, discover that the Saxon did not play the game there that he had previously assigned to himself. They expected language more vehement, a fiercer bearing before his judges, and tongues of fire to have descended on the head of the apostle. Luther, instead of looking to heaven, seeks painfully for, and leaves till the morrow, those replies with which the Holy Ghost should have inspired him. Apologists and adversaries might find in the Reformer's writings wherewith to justify their enthusiasm or explain their fallacy. Shortly before his death, while recalling to his memory the events of his life, Luther said to the bystanders, " In truth, it was God who gave me at Worms my boldness of heart ; I do not believe that I could now exhibit similar courage." ³ And some months after

¹ " Carolum impeti bellis nihil mirum ; nihilque unquam habebit prosperum. . . . Infelix juvenis quod veritatem Wormatise malis consultoribus in faciendo repudiarit."—Spalatinus, 15 Jul. De Wette, l. c. tom. ii. p. 30.

² Pallavicini, Storia del Concilio di Trento.

³ " Ita Deus impavidum reddere potest hominem ; nescio an nunc tam fortis essem."—Seckendorf, l. c. tom. i. p. 152.

his appearance at the diet, ashamed of his weakness, he wrote to Spalatinus : "I feel troubled and vexed that I have listened to your pusillanimous counsels, and those of my friends. I have stifled the inspiration of God, instead of showing another Elias to these idols ; they will see it otherwise if I again appear before them."¹ And when Wittemberg became suddenly the theatre of popular outbreaks, and his disciples failed in their faith in the new evangelist, that is to say, a few months after the closing of the States, Luther saw in that scandal the finger of God smiting the people as a punishment, because his messenger had not confessed before their tyrant the word of God with a faith more ardent.² Truly that Northman should not have had such an aversion to the men of the South, of whom he possessed all the fire and instability.

Hutten blamed Luther's obsequious ceremony towards the emperor, as unworthy of a man who was prepared for martyrdom. He exclaimed in his rage :—

" Away with useless words : shot, sword, and cannon, are required to overcome these wicked demons."³

Luther himself was subsequently astonished that his tongue could bend to name the emperor Most clement Master, when he knew well the hatred which that prince bore to him.⁴

While passing through Worms, we desired to visit the hall in which the diet was held :⁵ it no longer exists.

We need not be astonished that time has so quickly shattered the stone on which Luther rested his foot, since the greater portion of the dogmas which he maintained, and in case of

¹ "Et ego timeo validè et vixor conscientiā quodd tuo et amicorum consilio cedens, Wormatiae remisi spiritum, et idolis illis non exhibuerim Eliam quemdam. Alia audirent si denud sisterer coram eis."—Spalatino, 9 Sept. 1521. De Wette, l. c. tom. ii. p. 50.

² "Wohlan, ich denke, ob nicht soliches auch geschehe zur Strafe etlicher meiner furnehmsten Gönnern, und mir . . . mir aber darumb, dass ich zu Worms guten Freunden zu Dienst, auf dass ich nicht zu steifinnig gesehen würde, meinen Geist dämpfet, und nicht härter und strenger meine Bekenntniss für den Tyrannen thät."—An Hartmann von Kronberg.

³ "Opus esse video gladiis et arcubus, sagittis et bombardis ut obsistatur cacodemonum insanie."

⁴ "Nam ego fucos mirè odi et satis multūm eis concessi hactenūs, aliquandō et παρόησαν præstare oportet . . ."—Spalatino, 12 Mart. 1522.

⁵ In the Lutheran Church of the Trinity, at Worms, is a picture by Seakats, representing Luther at the Diet. The portraits are purely imaginative.

necessity, if we are to believe it, would have sealed with his blood, are at this day considered as vanities by those whom he brought to his belief. Who is there among his disciples who would shed, not one drop of blood, but a little ink in honour of those maxims which the Saxon was at the pains of formulating, soon after his departure from Worms, in an *elenchus* which comprises the Wittemberg creed at that period ?

THE COLLECTORS OR PAPIST DOCTORS.

The baptized Christian cannot lose the kingdom of heaven, however he may be stained with sin, provided he believes.

LUTHER.

For faith wipes off all the sins of the world.

THE COLLECTORS.

Neither the Church nor the angels can impose articles of faith on the Christian.

LUTHER.

That is the doctrine of St. Paul, Col. 2.

THE COLLECTORS.

There is no state which can be happily ruled by kings.

LUTHER.

That is taught by experience.

THE COLLECTORS.

Every man can confess and absolve.

LUTHER.

It is written in St. Matthew : "What you shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and what you loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." These words are addressed to all Christians.

THE COLLECTORS.

Sin is in its own nature always the same : it is not aggravated because of its being committed with a mother, a sister, or a daughter.

LUTHER.

Christ has said so.

THE COLLECTORS.

Every man may confess, dedicate a church, and confer orders.

LUTHER.

Trash which should be abandoned to the inferiors : it is for the bishop to preach the Gospel.

THE COLLECTORS.

Were St. Peter himself enthroned at Rome, I should not acknowledge him as pope.

LUTHER.

The popedom is a mere jugglery.

THE COLLECTORS.

Free-will is a chimera, nonsense ! It is necessity which impels and directs us.

LUTHER.

Man can only work iniquity,—I have proved it.

THE COLLECTORS.

The pope is a heretic, a schismatic, an idolater : hail, Satan !

LUTHER.

That is true.¹

Such is the dogmatic skeleton upon which Luther breathed in order to give it life and motion ! Such is what ten years of anxious study, by night and by day, at the cost of his sleep and his health, taught him,—that man is a mere automaton, impelled by blind necessity ; that faith renders him impeccable ; that there are no degrees in crime ; that the pope is Satan in flesh and bone. Such is what he found in the Bible, what the word of God teaches, what every Christian ought to believe, what he is ready to defend at the peril of his life : such is his gospel. Alone in the presence of his judges, he is great because he does not reveal to us the sad mysteries of his creed ; but scarcely

¹ "Dr. Martini Lutheri responsio extemporaria ad Articulos quos magistri nostri, ex Babylonia et assertionibus ejus excoepserunt, quos venienti Wor-matiam ad imperiale illuc conventum obiecserunt, tanquam haereticos, nunquam tamen ex Scripturis tales probatos."—Opera Lutheri, tom. ii. p. 172. Wittembergæ. Excedebat Hæredes Petri Leitz.

has he left Worms, when the sympathy which he excites vanishes immediately, because, the diet being closed, he is no longer but a fatalist, whose voice, if it could be heard, would cast the soul into despair, degrade to the level of the beast, and shake society to its foundation. In the river of blood which Luther will cause to flow in Germany, we shall see what truth will float to console human nature.

And is it known in whose name Luther comes ?

" I hold my doctrines from Heaven ; they cannot be charged with falsehood, and at the day of the general judgment I shall testify before Christ that what I taught proceeded not from myself, but from the spirit of the Lord."¹ If Luther has spoken the truth, we weep for his poor disciples ! There is not one of those who accompanied him to Worms, neither Amsdorff, nor Justus Jonas, nor Schurf, who will see God's face, because not one of them adopted his creed. Let us choose : either he was mistaken, or they were ill read in the book to which he constantly appealed.

Let us epitomize after M. Delalot the debates at Worms.

In man there is a twofold individuality,—the one religious, the other social, each subject to laws which regulate its relations with God and its equals. In every hierarchy there is accordingly dependence or servitude ; dependence on the being who creates it, dependence on the society in which it exists. To erect into a dogma the supremacy of private judgment is a real heresy. When Jesus came to regenerate the world, he worked, according to the remark of M. de Villers, a real reformation ; upon the ruins of the old society he founded a new one, which increased like every other family. It was necessary to modify its forms. Thence is the power which the legislator was to transmit to the future Church. This theory of M. de Villers, as we see it, reproduces that which we heard at Worms. The chancellor of Baden established that the Church requires a constitution, like every other power. Thence, and by a consequence which flows from the principle laid down by M. de Villers, the necessity of laws which regulate the manifestation of religious sentiments, or of conscience, and consequently of a teaching one and invariable ;

¹ *Adversus Ecclesiasticum ordinem episcoporum.*

and the power given to the Church to establish rules of faith, which oblige every being who belongs to it, under pain, if he disobeys, of being cut off from the communion of the children of God. When, therefore, Luther proclaimed that the dogmatic teaching of the Church might be subjected to examination, he effaced with one word the Catholic creed, destroyed the bond of union, and changed the very essence of the spiritual power. For examination is doubt, which corrects, admits, or rejects, according to its caprice ; is disorder introduced into the Christian family ; is anarchy erected into a principle ; it is the tyranny of the many, or the despotism of one alone, who wills that the common faith should bow before his own. How can we ever be assured of the authenticity of the divine word ? By criticism ? But criticism is of the individual will. By inward opinion ? But inward opinion will never prove that St. Peter or St. Matthew has written this or that work. Gospel truth, whether it be acknowledged or not by criticism or conscience, remains not less eternally the truth ; and truth, not because the learning of the wise or the faith of the ignorant find it based upon the Bible, but because the tribunal established by God proclaims it to be the doctrine of Jesus Christ. Once admit appeal to examination or to private judgment, and the bundle is broken, the tree is struck at its roots, and there is no longer a Church. Besides, the principle which permits men to rebel against religious, must allow them to rebel against political, authority : thus M. de Villers is of opinion that Luther's novelties tended to destroy all monarchy both divine and human.

There is therefore necessity for an infallible and imperishable authority to watch over the safety of the work which Jesus Christ effected for men. Impressed with this great truth, Leibnitz wrote to Fabricius : " Since God is order, it follows that there is of right divine in his Church a spiritual magistrate. Now such an authority is lawful."

" But," says Luther, " open for me the book of the law, that I may read therein that authority to recognise it ; and the false doctrines with which you reproach me, that I may retract them." The book is opened : Luther repels the sign. Let them give us a word of the Bible, shining with such brilliancy, that it may cause doubt to flow back from the heart, as the sun dispels dark-

ness. Luther replies : “ The divinity of Jesus Christ is written in the New Testament in characters which all the world can read.” Now, three centuries after Luther, a disciple of the Reformation, a doctor of theology, an evangelical minister, has published in Geneva a book against the divinity of Jesus Christ. And do not imagine that to maintain his blasphemy he employs the old argument of Arius, to which Dr. Eck lately referred us : he has many more in his book, and all drawn from the New Testament.¹ Has not Dr. Paulus, professor at Heidelberg, taught publicly that Jesus Christ is a mere man ? Does not Dr. Hade, in a manual for the use of students, endeavour to show how Jesus became the Saviour of men by the free-will of his spirit, and by the circumstances of the time in which he lived ? And among the majority of the Silesian ministers, is the divinity of Jesus Christ invoked otherwise than in the figurative style ?²

There is another article of the Lutheran creed broadly advanced in one of the books submitted to the Diet of Worms, and which the monk would not retract, because he had read it like the rest in God’s Bible. It is that in fighting against the Turks we war against the Lord.³ Who will say that that sentiment came from Heaven ? “ If my heart is a human work,” repeated Luther, “ it will perish ; if it is a divine work, it is eternal ;” an argument which, according to the remark of a Protestant, saddens the heart ; for Catholicism, which he came to overthrow, was standing at Worms, and after three centuries still lives.⁴ And who is it that would thus prove the success of a fact to the injury of a principle which would be momentarily abandoned ? The laws of logic do not stoop to ciphers.

At Worms, Luther made a farther step into error. We have seen that at Leipsic he formally acknowledged the authority of

¹ See the work of M. Chenevière, minister of the holy gospel at Geneva. M. Chenevière maintains that the divinity of Jesus Christ, as Catholics understand it, prevents a great number of people from embracing Christianity. M. Malan has answered the Genevese theologian, who has also written a formal treatise against the dogma of the Holy Trinity.

² See the first chapters of *The Reformation against the Reformation*, by Höninghaus : Paris, 1848, 8vo.

³ “ Præliari adversus Turcas est repugnare Deo. Assertio articulorum per bullam Leonis X. damnatorum.”—Op. Luth. tom. ii. p. 3.

⁴ Menzel, *Neuere Geschichte der Deutschen*, tom. i.

a sovereign pontiff, except that he denied the divine origin of that authority. Here, in defending the proposition of John Huss, condemned by the Council of Constance, that the Church is only the society of the saints, he effaces one of the marks of the Church—its visibility. At first, how is he to assure himself of that celestial light with which he endows the child of Christ's Church? Since, if Jesus Christ has only founded an invisible Church, why should he have given it a visible representative? Accordingly, there is an end of the papacy. Thus we are brought back to his celebrated axiom, that we are all priests, bishops, and popes. These were doctrines which Vehus could no more comprehend than he could admit. And by a glaring contradiction, which besides did not escape a logician like the jurist, Luther, in seeking to impose his doctrines as Bible oracles, constituted a visible Church, of which he was evidently the visible priest. What painfully impresses the mind of any one who pays attention to the debates at Worms, is, that the monk, while extolling his ostentatious liberty of free examination, sports with his judges, since in setting himself forward as the apostle of truth, for so long a time concealed, he compels them either to deny his apostolate, or reject the truth which he brings. We clearly perceive that, in virtue of his Bible inspiration, he sweeps away the papacy; but whom is he to substitute for the pope of Rome? —an Augustinian monk, who holds a professorship at Wittemberg worth 100 florins per annum. Now he who could write, “I have not received my gospel from men, but from Heaven; I am the Lord’s evangelist; I am therefore the apostle of Jesus Christ, and I desire to call myself so henceforth,”¹ is no longer a simple monk, but a representative of the eternal word. But wheresoever the eternal word shall shine, reason must bow in the dust. Thus it is individualism which Luther would have to triumph at Worms, on the ruins of secular authority,—coarse individualism, which consecrates itself the preacher of a Church of which the blessed solely constitute a part.

The emperor, even although he should not have had a theo-

¹ Epist. Lutheri Friderico. Calvin, in reply to Sadoletus, said also:—
“Ministerium meum quod Dei vocazione fundatum ac fuisse sanctum non dubito” (Opus, p. 106). “Ministerium meum quod quidem ut à Christo esse novi” (Ibid. p. 107).

logian for a master, must now have understood Luther's creed. Nothing could be clearer than the monk's programme : there was to be no papacy, no episcopacy, no priesthood, no confession, vows, or celibacy ; in place of the seven sacraments of the Church, there were only two which he would retain, but which perhaps he might abolish next day ; no more moral liberty, but the slavery of self ; a melancholy and dead faith, which repels works as defilement ; an impeccable soul, when she has said, "I believe." The youth who communicated at the four great solemnities of the Church must needs repel such foolish theories. The prince, who every evening received a report of the state of opinion in each of his kingdoms, must needs be startled by the seeds of the revolution which Luther caused to germinate in Saxony. A priest named Munzer translated this passage of the "Captivity of the Church in Babylon," — *We have no master under heaven*,¹ by exciting his parishioners against the magistrates of his department. A canon of Kemberg, Bernard von Feldkirch, married in obedience to the voice of the monk, who in his appeal to the nation proscribed the celibacy of the clergy.² The emperor could no longer hesitate.

It was necessary to smite Luther before the diet départed from Worms. Those of the electors who favoured the monk, the elector Palatine, and Frederick the elector of Saxony, had already left.³

The elector of Saxony had hastened to leave Worms, because he did not wish to sanction with his signature the rigorous measures which the emperor, in conformity with the imperial constitutions, was obliged to take against all obstinate heretics. Whilst that prince expressed to the nuncios his undivided attachment to the Holy See, he secretly favoured Luther ; and in a letter to his brother John, he wrote that the monk had for enemies Annas and Caiaphas, Herod and Pilate.⁴ In Germany they still give him the name of the Wise, which he deserved, if it be wisdom to

¹ "Christianis nihil nullo jure posse imponi legum, sive ab hominibus, sive ab angelis, liberi enim sumus ab omnibus."—*De Captivit. Babylon.* p. 288.

² This marriage took place towards the end of April, 1521. *Epist. Lutheri Melanchthoni, 26 Maii.* De Wette, l. c. tom. ii. p. 9.

³ Ranke, l. c. tom. i. p. 500.

⁴ "Credas velim quod non solum Annas et Caiphas, sed et Pilatus et Herodes Lutheru adversantur."—Seckendorf, l. c. tom. i. p. 158.

disguise his faith, to be afraid of the daylight, and on the slightest danger to take shelter in a philosophic repose.

On the 25th of May, Charles V., in presence of the electors of the empire, the nuncios from his holiness, and a great number of members of the States, announced that he had caused to be drawn up by Aleandro an edict against the Augustinian monk, in the form of the ancient imperial decrees. He caused it to be read to those present, and then took the opinion of the electors. Joachim, the elector of Brandenburg, answered, in the name of the States, that they approved of it both in letter and in spirit. Aleandro instantly drew up the *procès-verbal* of the presenting of the imperial edict. Some hours after, the nuncio had caused two copies of it to be made, one in German, and the other in Latin, which he presented next day for the emperor's signature.¹

The edict is severe : the emperor, under pain of treason, forbids any one to harbour Luther after the 15th of May, the day on which his safe-conduct expires, but orders them to seize his person, and keep him until justice shall dispose of the prisoner. He orders all the books of the heresiarch to be burned in Germany and Belgium, whether written in Latin or in German ; and aid and assistance to be lent to the apostolic commissioners who shall require it for executing the decrees of the Holy See. He threatens with severe penalties the booksellers and printers who shall publish or sell any of the monk's writings, or circulate caricatures against the sovereign pontiff, the Church of Rome, the prelates, princes, or universities. He prescribes that wherever a copy of these representations or libels shall be found, it shall be publicly torn and committed to the flames, and the authors be punished according to the laws. And in order that thenceforth similar attempts against religion, the Holy See, the Church, and the dignitaries may not be renewed, he commands that no work treating of religious matters shall appear until it has been submitted to the censorship of the ordinary or of the theological faculty of the nearest local university.²

¹ Caspar Riffel, *Christliche Kirchengeschichte der neuesten Zeit*, tom. i.

² The edict is in Luther's Works, Walch's edition, vol. xv. p. 2266. See Confirmatory Evidence, No. 20, where we give its principal clauses.

" You have the end of the tragedy," wrote the Spaniard, Alphonso Valderas, to his friend Peter Martyr, of Anghiera,—" the end, according to some people, but in my opinion the commencement, for the Germans are very much enraged against the Holy See."¹ The Spaniard was right: on the very next day, after Luther's books had, in terms of the edict, been publicly burnt at Worms, the bookseller of the city boldly offered them for sale from door to door, and even at the emperor's palace.

Charles prepared to quit Germany, for he was stifled in that theological atmosphere, in which for three months a monk had kept him prisoner. He required the free air of a battle-field, and Francis I. waited for him in Italy. At the moment when the prince was praying in the choir of the cathedral of Worms, of which the great rose-window has served as a pattern for all other Gothic churches, a public herald announced, by sound of trumpet, that Ferdinand Cortez had given his gracious emperor a new crown, a new world—Mexico.

Luther, on his way to Wartburg, dreamt of the means of giving to Germany a new gospel.²

¹ "Habes hujus tragedie, ut quidam volunt, finem, et ut egomet mihi persuadeo non finem, sed initium, nam video Germanorum animos graviter in sedem Romanam concitatos."—Ep. P. Martyris, ep. 722.

² After the Diet of Worms, three medals were struck in honour of Luther.

On the first, Luther is represented as an Augustinian, with this legend round his head : " Martinus Lutherus, Ecclesiae Wittenbergensis doctor." On the reverse : " Ob servatam et restitutam rempublicam vindicatamque Christianam, anno MDXX. FF."

On the second, the monk with the legend, "D. Martinus Lutherus. Beatus venter qui te portavit." On the reverse, these lines :—

"Cæsaris ante pedes, proceres stetit ante potentes,
Accola quâ Rheni Vangio litus adit.

A. 1521."

On the third, in silver, Luther as a monk with this poetical exergue :—

"Hæresibus si dignus erit Lutherus in ulla,
Et Christus dignus criminis bujus erit.

1521."

On the reverse, Christ holding the cross, at his right foot the chalice, at the left a serpent crushed; on each side, "Ego sum via et veritas, nemo venit ad Patrem, nisi per me."

See Vita D. Martini Lutheri, historia nummis CXLV atque iconibus aliquot rarissimis illustrata, studio Chris. Juncker: Francofurti, 12mo. 1699, p. 49 et seq.

CHAPTER XXXI.

LUTHER AT WARTBURG. 1521.

The elector causes Luther to be carried off, on his way to Wittemberg, and conveyed to the castle of Wartburg.—Luther falls sick.—The monk's occupations in that airy abode.—For a while he is quiet, and appears to forget the past.—He soon returns to his ordinary excitement.—At Wartburg, Luther labours to establish his work.—He desires to destroy celibacy, and wherefore!—He writes against the sacrifice of the Mass.—His doctrine compared with the Catholic.—He writes pamphlets to Spalatinus, who dares not at first publish them.—Anger of Luther, who appeals from him to open force for the triumph of his creed.—The pamphlets appear.—His book against the idol of Halle.—His letter to the archbishop of Mayence.—The cardinal's reply.

A MAN of strife and action, asserting that he was called by God to found a new Gospel by the sword, if necessary, Luther was not made to preserve vain respects with the emperor. His adversaries, when he left Worms, had reckoned upon his infringing the prince's orders. They were right. If Frederick, the elector of Saxony, had not silently watched over the proceedings of his *protégé*, Luther would have compromised him, by delivering the divine word which he accused himself of having left too long captive. An imprudence might have been fatal to him. It was necessary, therefore, to bind his tongue by removing him from the temptations of his apostolate. Having left Worms on the 26th April, Luther reached Oppenheim on the same day,¹ and on the following Frankfort, where he lodged with Wolfgang Prenter, who had entertained him so kindly on his former journey. On the following day he set out for Friedberg, stopped for a few minutes at Grunberg, a small town of Hesse, and arrived on the 30th at Hirschfeld. The abbot Crato Milius received him into his monastery, admitted him to his table, and lent him his bed.² Day had scarcely broken when he knocked at the Augustinian's door to request him to preach the word of God. Luther

¹ Luther's Werke : Halle, tom. xv. p. 2319.

² Ach. Aug. von Lerner, Frankf. Chron. tom. ii. p. 18. Mycon. in Hist. Reform. p. 41. Richter, in Geneal. Luth. p. 200.

accordingly ascended the pulpit, in spite of the express orders of the emperor. "After all," he said, "it is of more importance to obey God than men." At Eisenach, notwithstanding the appearance of the curate, a notary, and two witnesses, who came to verify officially the monk's contravention of the imperial mandate,¹ Luther spoke, and inveighed against the papacy. All this is admitted by the official report, and by the doctor's correspondence.

He had set out escorted by men devoted to him, among others, by the Captain Prelops,² his brother James, and Amsdorff, and protected by a safe-conduct from the landgrave of Hesse.³ As they approached the castle of Altenstein, two masked horsemen, Hans von Berlepsch and Burcard von Hund, suddenly appeared at the entrance of a forest, seized upon the horse's reins, and pretended to carry off the monk. This was a farce arranged by the elector, with Luther's consent.⁴ James leapt from the carriage and fled, Amsdorff disappeared in the forest. A horse was in waiting, as also a horseman's cloak and a false beard, to disguise the fugitive. They travelled for some hours through the forest, and at night, about eleven o'clock, they knocked at the gate of the castle of Wartburg.⁵ In this castle, perched like "a bird's nest" on the summit of an isolated mountain, Luther had no cause to fear the observation of his enemies. Amsdorff admirably performed the part assigned to him by the elector, and preserved silence. His other fellow-travellers believed for the time that their father had fallen into an ambush; they prayed to God for him, and circulated at Wittemberg reports of his death. They had already reported that he had only escaped poison by the miraculous protection of Providence. At the table of the archbishop of Trèves, he had made, according to his wont, the sign of the cross before drinking, and his glass broke.

¹ Pfizer, *Luther's Leben*.

² Chytr. in Chron. Sax. Selnecoer, Hist. Luth. Mathes. Conc. 1 de Luther. Cochlaeus, Act. Spalatino, 14 Maii, 1522.

³ See Confirmatory Evidence, No. 21.

⁴ Spalatinus' MSS. Cyprian's Urkunden, tom. i. p. 514.

⁵ "Quasi Variburgum, à Varo dictum."—Serarius, lib. iii. Rerum Moguntinarum, not. 29, ad Vitam S. Bonifacii. "Wartbergh, id est Montis Specula."—Dodiconis comitis diploma. Christoph. Cellarius de Pathmo Lutheri in arce Wartburg prope Isenacum, dissertatio. Schlegelius, in *Vita Spalatini*, p. 45.

The scene has been embodied in paintings and engravings. Luther has confirmed the account ; only he speaks of a bishop without otherwise designating him, says nothing of the sign of the cross, and thinks that the breaking of the glass arose from pouring too cold water into it.¹

Wartburg is an old fortress, such as are found on the banks of the Rhine, half-ruined at the present day, and situated on the top of a mountain, whence the eye ranges over all the valleys of Thuringia, that golden country (*goldene Au*) which the count of Mansfeld preferred to the promised land. There are not in all Germany ruins more poetical, and which cause the heart of a student to beat so forcibly. It was under the shadow of these mediæval remains that, in 1817, the youth of the Rhenish universities assembled to evoke the memory of the father of the Reformation, and form themselves into a society under the name of *Burschenschaft*, to work out at the same time the emancipation of thought, and the acquisition of those liberties which the princes had promised them, when Napoleon's eagle threatened the independence of Germany. When the eagle took flight, the princes forgot their promise.

It was in "this Patmos, in this region of birds, who sing upon the trees, and praise the Lord by day and by night," that Luther lay concealed until the death of Leo X.

It would seem that the view of the mountains which inclose Wartburg like a bluish circle, broken at intervals to admit a view of the plains of Thuringia in the horizon ; that the fresh and balmy air of these heights ; the song of the birds, which saluted Luther as he awoke ; his isolation from every human being ; that unaccustomed repose which he could taste at leisure, without the fear of being aroused by the shock of human passions ; it would seem, we say, that all these circumstances had changed the prisoner's character. For a while his mind appears mollified ; the sweet air of the mountains has swept across his brain and refreshed it ; his language, so disorderly, is softened. He is no longer the excited sectary who wished that his tongue was a sword, but the novice whom we have known at Eisleben,

¹ "Invitatus ad oenam ab episcopo, nescio an Trevirensi, cum bibiturus vitrum ori admoveret, id tamen prius ex more suo cruce digitis efformata signaret, subito inferior vitri pars rupta est effuso veneno."—Ratzebergius.

and who finds himself again in that hermitage, alone with God and that wild nature, which, when a child, he loved with so fervent a passion. One would say that a miracle has been wrought, and that the angel of charity, St. Elizabeth, who dwelt on the mountain, has descended to visit the Saxon.¹ One is pleased to contemplate him at Wartburg, conversing with those friends whose memory enlivened his solitude ; transporting himself in thought to that town of Wittemberg whose destiny engaged him so tenderly ; concerned about all that he has left there dear to his heart, and especially about his beloved disciple Philip Melancthon, in whom he has placed all his joy and all his hope, and whose learning he extols with a tenderness too paternal. Such is the charm of these inmost overflowings which are associated with his pains, his tears, and which suffer with his torments. Scarcely has he entered into the castle, when frightful pains in the stomach confine him to his bed ! He is obliged to abandon his studies and interrupt his literary labours. At that time he is engaged upon a colossal work, which would daunt any other but himself—the translation of the Bible into the German language ; a task of which the accomplishment has invested his reputation as a scholar with so bright a halo. He has, to beguile his sufferings, the sun, which visits him betimes ; the song of some nightingales that rest upon his window, and salute him as a friend ; the flute which he summons to his aid in his deep anguish, and which leaves him no more than the Bible ; the little flower which he gathers in the forest, and which he places between two leaves of his favourite book ; and his keeper's dog, that barks at the door while he works. We fancy that we dream : and we would that this dream would last longer, for we cling to that wondrous being. There is in the letters which he writes from his "Patmos," a mass of internal paintings, which captivate by the finish of the details, almost like a picture by Karel du Jardin. Listen, and say, while forgiving his sectarian comparisons, if he is ignorant of the charms of narrative.

"I have hunted two whole days,² I wished to be acquainted with that pleasure of heroes, $\gamma\lambda\upsilon\kappa\nu\pi\kappa\rho\nu$; I have caught two

¹ See l'Histoire de Sainte Elisabeth de Hongrie, by M. Montalembert, pp. 384—387.

² G. Spalatino, 15 Aug. 1521. De Wette, l. c. tom. ii. p. 43.

hares and two poor little partridges. It is a fine occupation for a man who has nothing to do. I theologize, however, in the midst of springes and dogs, and I find a mystery of grief in the midst of this tumultuous joy. Is there not in it the image of the devil going also to the chase of poor little beasts, assisted by snares and trained dogs,—I mean with his bishops and clergy? And see, the image and the mystery become clearer: I had preserved alive a little hare, which I had concealed in a sleeve of my gown, and which I was about to set free when the dogs came, and broke its thigh, and then killed it without mercy. Such are the pope and the devil, destroying the souls which I would save. But I am satiated with hunting; there is a sweeter kind in which I should prefer to pierce with arrow and darts bears, wolves, foxes, and the whole herd of the wicked."

Occasionally the keeper gave notice to some of his acquaintances, who went by night to the castle, rose early, and, along with the family, in one of the rooms of the castle, listened in timid silence to the preaching of the prisoner. That preaching, uttered in those solitudes, has not been lost; it has been preserved, for the monk retained the memory of it, and it has been carefully collected. It may be read in the complete works of the writer: it is calm and prudent; the fantastic figure of the pope is never seen in it, nor the red robe of the cardinal, the violet of the bishop, nor the cowl of the monk. The orator is afraid lest the wind which roars so violently over these mountains should carry to the ears of the princes of Saxony, the ravings of the priest.¹

There were pleasures which he did not taste without alloy, and which Duke Frederick had procured to make the tedium of exile more endurable for him; for he knew well how much the remembrance of Wittemberg weighed upon that ardent soul. His table was well supplied, provided daily with game and good Rhenish wine, which Luther always loved; the keeper of the castle was assiduous and kind, and over-anxious for his prisoner, who feared to be for a moment chargeable to this worthy man. "I believe that it is the prince who pays," said he, "for I would not remain an hour here, if I knew that I

¹ Joh. Mich. Roch's Erzählung von Wartburg, p. 171.

lived at the expense of my host. If it is the prince's bread, let it be ; for if one must consume the fortune of any one, it ought to be the fortune of princes ; since prince and rogue are terms nearly synonymous.¹ However, ascertain the truth, and let me know."

It is probable that Spalatinus did not show this letter to Duke Frederick, whom Luther treated with greater politeness at Worms. We have seen him, however, with flattering words for the princes whose assistance he seeks, whom he abandons as soon as he has no need of them, and who then are no more in his eyes than "great fools, great rascals, the jailers and executioners of God."

Thus violently torn from that combative existence which he led at Wittemberg, Luther, who had nothing at Wartburg to engage his active powers, soon falls into a sickly dreaminess, increased by suffering in his stomach. Then he has visions : the future appears to him in a bloody form ; he sees the wrath of God spreading over Germany, and smiting even infancy ;² hell which rejoices in its heart, opens its mouth, and Satan making merry at the prospect of his future harvest. To bewail this great disaster, he clasps his hands and begs of God two fountains of tears ; he cries to Jonas : "There is time for it; clothe yourself with the raiment of the saints, that is to say, the Holy Scriptures ; be another Aaron : with the censer of prayer in your hand, come and arrest these conflagrations lit by Rome, and which threaten to consume the world."³ Suddenly prayer, his only consolation, abandons him, and in the midst of that solitude so calm, he experiences, like a being abandoned to worldly pleasures, the assaults of the flesh.

"Ah ! it is all over," he says in sorrow, "I can no longer pray or sigh ; the flesh burns me, that indomitable flesh which boils in me instead of the spirit. Idleness, sleep, effeminacy, lust, every passion assails me ; it is doubtless because you have ceased to intercede for me, that God has thus withdrawn. . . .

¹ "Principem esse, et non aliquā parte latronem esse, aut non, aut vix possibile est, eoque majorem, quo major princeps fuerit."—Spalatino, 15 Aug., 1521. De Wette, l. c. tom. ii. p. 43.

² Melanchthoni, 24 Maii. De Wette, l. c. tom. ii. p. 9.

³ Justo Jonæ, 8 and 20 June, 1521.

For eight days I have neither written nor prayed, partly because of the temptations of the flesh.”¹

One would say that from his elevated abode he beholds the future: “Yes, God,” he repeats, “is about to visit Germany, and He will treat her as she deserves for the contempt which she has shown for the Gospel; for she has sinned.”² And some lines farther on, but deliberately, he says to Melancthon: “Sin, and sin boldly, but let your faith be greater than your sin. . . . It is sufficient that we have known the Lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world; sin cannot destroy in us the kingdom of the Lamb, even if we should fornicate and murder a million times daily.”³

Luther is here a true prophet! What a future for Germany, if similar doctrines can be spread in it! John of Leyden will easily find these lines in the reformer’s works, when he leads the orgies in Munster; then he also will say: “He who believes can no longer sin!” This theory of the quietude of conscience in sin is not born under Spanish skies, as has been often said, but at the foot of a mountain nearly always enveloped in mists and frost, and it is Luther who is its father and apostle.

We see that he returns here to his evil nature. His physical tortures were intolerable, the disputation had burned up his bowels.⁴ For a while his courage fails him, the malady is severe, and he must sink if the prayers of Melancthon, whom he invokes as his good angel in this world, do not disarm the wrath of Heaven.⁵ But soon he bears up against his evils, and he raises his eyes to heaven; a look, not of love, but of wrath. “Who will change,” he cries, “my eyes into fountains, to weep over the fall of those souls who are drawn into hell by the king

¹ “Carnis mess indomites uror magnis ignibus: summa, qui fervore spiritu debo, ferveo carne, libidine, pigritia, otio, somnolentia.”—Melanchthoni, 13 Julii. De Wette, l. c. tom. ii. p. 22.

² Melanchthon. 1 Aug.

³ “Sufficit quod agnovimus per divitias gloriae Dei Agnum qui tollit peccatum mundi: ab hoc non avellet nos peccatum, etiam si millies millies uno die fornicemur aut occidamus.”—Melanchth. 1 Aug. De Wette, l. c. tom. ii. p. 37.

⁴ “Dominus percussit me in posteriora gravi dolore; tam dura sunt excrementsa ut multa vi usque ad sudorem extrudere cogar: et quod diutius differo, magis durescunt; heri quarto die excrevi semel.”

⁵ D. Justo Jonæ, 20 Junii.

of sin and perdition (the pope); it is in the midst of the Church that this great prodigy of iniquity has established his seat; it is there where he sets himself forth as God; there where prelates fawn upon him, and sophists flatter him."

Although he has so much need of pity, he is inexorable to all who will not listen to his voice and follow his counsels. Unhappy genius, so well formed to love and to be loved, and which has only the power to hate! He has come as the messenger of grace and love, and his happiness consists in destroying the images of him who gave his blood for sinful man. The very stone sealed over the grave of his brethren cannot resist Luther; he opens that stone, and amuses himself by throwing gall and wormwood upon the remains disfigured by the worm of the tomb. He transforms the Catholic princes into Roboam and Benhadad;¹ Emser into a goat, the decretals into pests of hell, the doctors of the Sorbonne into asses; and when, panting with fury, he falls exhausted, he stoops to collect every kind of filth with which he besmears the heads of his adversaries.²

Now would you wish to know who the prince is whom he makes a Roboam? It is Duke George, who perhaps saved him at Worms from an unguarded motion of imperial wrath. The Benhadad, is Joachim, elector of Brandenburg, who spoke to him so kindly in the apartment of the archbishop of Trèves, and whom he thanked, be it remembered, in presence of the whole diet, as well as the other princes, for his generous kindness.

The confinement of Luther at Wartburg was a great blessing for the Reformation. Germany, Upper Saxony especially, with its imagination fond of the marvellous, clung to this mysterious prisoner of an unknown world, hovering between heaven and earth, in the bosom of clouds, where, invisible to all observation, he defied the sword of Charles V. and the thunders of Rome,

¹ "Cavete à Roboam Dreidensi, et Benhadad Damasceno" (Nicolao Amsdorff, 12 Maii). "Non ludus in Emseranum caprum astis indicat autores suos primarios" (Melanchthoni, 26 Maii). "Decretales Antichristi pestilentissimas" (Justo Jone, 20 Junii). "In asinos Parisienses, apologiam cum illorum insaniei statui vernacula dari adjectis adnotationibus" (Melanchthoni, 18 Julii, 1521).

² "Emsero non respondebo . . . nisi si dignior sit, quam ut cum stercore committatur."—Ph. Melanchthoni, 18 Julii.

and, calm in the place of his rest, made his voice be heard by all nations, as if by winged messengers.

This aerial solitude was likewise a blessing for Luther, since therein he could in quiet collect the materials for his work. In the whole of the reformer's life you will not find a period in which his mind was more seriously occupied. It is in Wartburg that he nourishes all the germs of his future creed; of these the first which he wishes to spring is the suppression of the celibacy of the clergy. He has perceived the necessity for the marriage of priests as the foundation of his new Church. The priest who leads a life of chastity cannot be one of his; he will all his life remain constant to his faith; but let him break his vows, he is Luther's, and for ever. The married priest has no longer a will of his own; he is a double entity, man and wife, whose common destiny is chained for ever to that of the monk. Single, the apostate priest might repent, but in his domestic establishment, he could not see his wife or children, whom he would desire to quit, weep, without weeping himself; the night will often destroy the good resolution of the morning. Moreover, Luther has not told us of these terrible assaults of the flesh which attack him in his solitude, except to enable us to foresee, that instead of combating them by prayer, he will soon seek to quell them in the arms of a wife.

It is curious to observe how in Saxony science lent itself to demand the abolition of celibacy. Carlstadt, the professor of theology, whom we left at Leipsic, maintained from the Bible, that to command the chastity of the priesthood, was to expose the priest *semen immolare Moloch*.¹

To be just, Luther, to whom Spalatin had sent Carlstadt's dialogue containing this ridiculous interpretation, had the courage to laugh heartily at it, in spite of the agonies which incessantly tortured him. "I fully believe," he says to his friend, "that Carlstadt with his singular explanation makes us the laughing-

¹ Von Gelübden, Unterrichtung Andreas Bodenstein von Carlstadt. Dr., Auslegung der 30 Cap. Numeri, welches von Gelübden redet. Das Büchlein beschleusst durch biblisch Rechte, oder heil. Schrift, dass Pfaffen, Mönch und Nonnen mit gutem Gewissen und göttlichem Willen sich mögen und sollen vermählen, und in ehelichen Stand begeben, unersuchte römische dispensation oder Nachgebung, die auch gar unnöthig ist, und gibt Rath dass obgemeldete Personen ihr gleissnerisch Leben, zusamt Kappen und Kugeln abwerfen, und in ein recht christlich Leben treten: Wittemberg, 1521.

stock of the papists.¹ How comes it that he does not know that *semen dare Moloch* signifies nothing but to sacrifice their children to Moloch?"

And he soon adds: "Good God! our Wittembergers will end by giving a wife to every monk, but they shall not to me;"² we shall see how he will keep his word.

What especially annoyed Luther was not the foolish interpretation of his professor of theology, but in reality the initiative which Carlstadt had taken in that religious question; so the archdeacon, whom he admitted at Leipsic to be a man of genius, becomes now only a man of learning, who loses himself in obscurity.³

In his turn he sought, not in the Old Testament, but in St. Paul. Now, as the apostle, according to Luther, has said that the marriage of the clergy was prohibited by the devil, and that the apostle's voice is that of the Divine Majesty,⁴ he concludes that Bernard of Feldkirch, who had just married, has combated heroically against the devil.

—He is not afraid; he firmly trusts, he says, that the Lord will mix some sweet seasoning with the lettuce of the good priest: "I pity," he adds, "those poor girls and young men who are tormented in the flesh at night."⁵

Soon the picture of a happy household presents itself to the eye of the hermit; he muses on it, he dreams of it at night. "Kiss," says he to Gerbell, "and re-kiss your wife; let her love and be beloved! You are fortunate in having overcome, by an honourable mar-

¹ "Metuo ne sibi et nobis fabulam excitet."—Spal. 15 Aug. 1521. De Wette, tom. ii. p. 43.

² "Bone Deus! Nostri Wittembergenses etiam monachis dabunt uxores. At mihi non obrudent uxorem."—Spalatino, 6 Aug. 1521. De Wette, l. c. tom. ii. p. 40.

³ "Utinam Carlstadii scripta plus lucis haberent."—6 Aug. 1521. De Wette, l. c. p. 40.

⁴ "Ceterum cum de sacerdotibus Paulus liberrimè definiat à dæmonibus esse prohibitum eorum matrimonium, et vox Pauli sit vox majestatis divinæ, confitendum idem esse non dubito."—Melanchth. 1 Aug. 1521. De Wette, l. c. tom. i. p. 34.

⁵ "Cameracensis novus maritus mihi mirabilis qui nihil metuat: regat eum Dominus et misceat ei oblectamenta lactucis suis."—Melanchth. 26 Maii, 1521. De Wette, l. c. tom. ii. p. 9.

⁶ "Adeo me miseret miserabilium hominum pollutionibus et uredinibus vexatorum juvenum et puellarum."—Melanchth. 1 Aug. 1521. De Wette, tom. ii. p. 34.

riage, that celibacy in which one is a prey to devouring fires, to unclean ideas. That unhappy state of a single person, male or female, reveals to me each hour of the day so many horrors, that nothing sounds in my ear so bad as the name of monk, or nun, or priest ; a married life is a paradise, even where all else is wanting.”¹

Placed under the ban of the empire by the civil power, and interdicted by the spiritual, Luther could no longer discharge the functions of a priest. Until his appearance at Worms, he had daily said mass ; after that he was prohibited from ascending the altar. We have reason to be astonished that he celebrated the holy sacrifice, after having inveighed in his “ Captivity of the Church in Babylon ” against the abuse of private masses. The mass was an entirely Catholic institution, therefore Luther must seek to abolish it. So he laboured, at Wartburg, to pervert the signification of the sacrament of the altar.

The sacrifice of the mass is based upon the belief of the real presence of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist ; of this sacrifice the principal forms are to be found in the second and third centuries. The Eucharist is the Incarnation continued. “ In the Incarnation,” says Grotius, “ it is the Divinity which first shines forth ; in the Eucharist, it is the humanity. By the Incarnation, God is debased to our nothingness ; by the Eucharist our nothingness is exalted unto God. The eucharistic sacrifice is accordingly one of propitiation, wherein Jesus Christ offers himself to his Father, both as victim and sacrificer. Thus, the real presence is the foundation of the Catholic doctrine on the Mass : deny that Jesus Christ is present upon our altars, and the Eucharist is nothing more than the commemoration of the sacrifice of the cross, a picture, an image, a remembrance.”²

Leibnitz, who frequently speaks like a Catholic, has said : “ I do not see what the mass wants to be a sacrifice. There, doubt-

¹ “ Conjugem tuam resalutabis quam opto tibi amantem et amatam. Felix tu qui istum impurum istum celibatum et vel uredine perpetua vel immundis fluxibus damnabilem honorabili conjugio superasti. Tanta monstra mihi iste adolescentium et puellarum celibatus miserrimus quotidie manifestat, ut nihil jam auribus meis sonet odiosius monialis, monachi, sacerdotis nomine ; et paradisum arbitror conjugium vel summa inopia laborana.”—Gerbellio, 19 Maii, 1521. De Wette, l. c. tom. ii. p. 90.

² Möhler’s Symbolism, translated by Robertson, i. 340.

less, no new merit is added to the merit of Christ's death ; the merit is in the application of the sacrifice which has accomplished all, and of which the fruit is the divine grace granted to all those who worthily partake of it.”¹

How could Luther say, for it is his great objection to the Mass, that it annihilates the sacrifice of Golgotha ? But, on the contrary, does not the Mass in presenting to us perpetually the Saviour's immolation, glorify the blood of Calvary ? How can it efface the memory of it, since every hour of the day it shows us this divine blood ? Is it not the same sacrificer, the same victim who offers himself on the holy mountain, and who still daily immolates himself upon our altars ? Strange contradiction in a theologian like Luther, who accuses us of concealing the sacred blood, when our priests repeat at the same hour at all the altars of the Catholic world : “ We offer unto thee, O Lord, the chalice of salvation, beseeching thy clemency, that it may ascend before thy divine Majesty, as a sweet odour, for our salvation, and for that of the whole world. Accept, O holy Father,² Almighty and eternal God, this unspotted host, which I, thy unworthy servant, offer unto thee, my living and true God, for my innumerable sins, offences, and negligences, and for all here present ; as also for all faithful Christians, both living and dead ; that it may avail both me and them unto life everlasting.”

¹ Hoenninghaus, *La Réforme contre la Réforme* : Paris, 1845, 8vo. tom. i. p. 207.

² “ Suscipe, sancte Pater omnipotens aterne Deus, hanc immaculatam hostiam quam ego indignus famulus tuus, offero tibi Deo meo vivo et vero, pro innumerabilibus peccatis et offenditibus et negligentias meis, et pro omnibus circumstantibus, sed et pro omnibus fidelibus Christianis, vivis atque defunctis, ut mihi et illis proficiat ad salutem in vitam eternam.” See, in Renaudot, vol. ii. p. 80, the liturgy of St. James, used by the Jacobites of Syria ; in Mabillon, *De Liturgia Gall. Par.* 1729, p. 210, the liturgy of the Goths ; ibid. p. 310, that of the French ; in Renaudot, *Liturg. Orient. Coll.* tom. i. p. 145, the liturgy of St. Mark, employed in the Church of Alexandria ; in Goar, *Euchologium sive Rituale Græcorum*, Paris, 1647, p. 70, the liturgy of St. Chrysostom ; ibid. the liturgy of St. Basil, p. 162. Everywhere, since the second century, the mass has been regarded as a sacrifice, and the blood of the Redeemer invoked for the salvation of souls. The most ancient monument in which it has been attempted to deny that the mass is a sacrifice, is a fragment of the Panoplia of Niceas, quoted by M. Tafel, in the *Annes Commenses Suppléments* : Tübingen, 1832, tom. iv. pp. 18—23. He has traced it to Soterichos Panteugonos, who lived in the twelfth century. But Soterichos was condemned by the Greek bishops, and retracted his error. This recantation was printed in the *Tübinger Quartalschrift*, thanks to the care of Möhler. See *Symbolism*, vol. i. p. 338, note (Robertson's translation).

But who then conceals this blood ? Is it the Christian who proclaims it in his hymns, his proses, on the walls of his cathedrals, on the canvass of his paintings, on the marble of his statues ; or the Christian who, wherever he finds a drop of it, wipes it up with the best part of his robe, in order that no farther trace of it may remain ? Catholic stone, glass, gold, brass, wood, everywhere speak of this saving blood, and Luther wishes to gag every mouth ! It is a faith without visibility of which he takes upon himself to be the herald ; it is death that must announce life !

There is another inexplicable contradiction : Luther, in order to triumph over the Mass, desires to attack by brutal force that sacrament of love, and to save what he calls the blood of his God, by shedding, if need be, that of man. We know well that the part of St. Peter smiting Malchus is not that which Protestant Germany pretends its apostle played ; but if he did not take the sword, he advised it to be drawn.

When from his "nest of Wartburg" Luther sent to his friend Spalatinus several of his pamphlets, upon the idolatry of the Mass, the impurity of celibacy, the galley of Mayence (the archbishop), the impiety of ecclesiastical vows ; his confidant, through fear or shame, durst not print them. In vain the monk prayed, entreated, threatened him ; Spalatinus did not reply.

The prisoner then wrote to his friend :—

" I have sent to you my books on the Mass, on Vows, on the tyrant of Mayence. . . . Have they been intercepted on the way, or has the messenger lost them ? If I knew that you had received them, and kept them captive, nothing in the world would more annoy me. . . . If you have them, let there be an end to that prudence of which I suspect you ; I wish them to be published, at Wittemberg or elsewhere. If I know that you keep them back, I shall be furious, and you will only draw down upon yourself greater indignation. Dead papers may be extinguished, but not the Spirit.¹

¹ "Quod si scirem ad te pervenisse et apud te captiva esse, non esset quod me hoc tempore magis gravaret, cum in eis hoc egerim quod maturari maxime debuit. Tu itaque, si habes ea penes te, fac ut modestiae et prudentiae tuae, quia mihi suspectus es, modum ponas. Edi volo que scripsi, si non Wittemberge, certè alibi. Quod si exemplaria vel amissa sunt, vel tu ea retinueris, exacerbabitur mihi spiritus, ut multò vehementiora deinceps in eam rem nihil-

" You must not tell me that the elector will never permit me to attack the Mayencian, and the public peace to be disturbed : I would sooner lose you and the prince, and every creature. If I have resisted the pope, the creator of the Mayencian, wherefore should I yield to his creature ?

" A pretty thing truly ! You do not wish the public peace to be disturbed, and you suffer the eternal peace of God to be compromised by all these sacrilegious abominations ! No, Spalatinus, no, my prince, that is not right ! Let us resist with all our force this devouring wolf, for the sake of Christ's lambs." ¹

The language is explicit : if it required a commentary, we should find it in that formula of which Luther perverts the true meaning, and which he introduces into all the books which he publishes : " I am not come," says the Lord, " to bring peace, but a sword." A few months longer, and the monk will himself apply his theory of brutal force.

Spalatinus, who dreaded Luther's anger, hastened to deliver to the printer those manuscripts at which he could not look undismayed, and Frederick voluntarily shut his eyes. Then appeared a succession of various pamphlets full of insolence against the Catholic dogmas.² The most pungent of all is unquestionably that entitled, " The Idol of Halle."³

This was the occasion of the libel. Albert of Mayence, a learned theologian, had not been convinced by Luther's theses that indulgences were superstitious practices, as the monk maintained they were, and he had continued to cause them to be preached in his diocese. Very recently at Halle, a preacher had ascended the pulpit by the cardinal's orders to distribute pardons. This

minus moliar. Neque enim spiritum etiam extinguet, qui mortuas chartas extinxerit."—Spalatino, in fine Novemb. De Wette, l. c. tom. ii. p. 109.

¹ " Salutem. Ingratiore litteras vix legi quām has tuas novissimas ; ita ut non solum distulerim, sed et statuerim vobis nihil respondere. Primum, non feram quod sis, non passurum principem scribi in Moguntinum, nec quod publicam pacem perturbare possit ; potius et principem ipsum perdam, et omnem creaturam. Si enim creatori ejus papae restiti, cur cedam ejus creature ?

" Pulchrè verò non turbandam pacem publicam arbitraria, et turbandam pacem aeternam Dei per impias illius et sacrilegas perditionis operations patieris ! Non sic, Spalatine, non sic, princeps ; sed pro ovibus Christi resistendum est summi viribus lupo isti gravissimo, ad exemplum aliorum."—Spalatino, 11 Nov. De Wette, tom. ii. p. 94.

² Vom Missbrauch der Meessen,—de Abroganda Missa. Modus Confitendi.

³ Vom Abgott zu Halle.

time the produce of the sale was not destined to the completion of St. Peter's basilica, but rather for the extermination of those troops of Mussulmen who threatened Hungary. The Turk was making way in Europe, and in order to drive him back, Albert of Mayence demanded both the money and the prayers of the poor. The Turk was merciless ; he razed churches and monasteries, pulled down the cross, glutted his brutality on young women consecrated to God, killed the clergy, and made his horses drink out of the holy-water vats of our churches. The priest of Halle accordingly said : " Give us the means of expelling this savage enemy of the Christian name." Now, it was this holy and patriotic language which excited Luther's rage. A German maintained, that to fight against the Turk, was to fight against the Lord. Luther has signed with his hand that axiom of the slave.

He accordingly wrote to the archbishop, a first, second, and third admonition : " You seek," said he to his grace, " to reinstate at Halle the idol which kills soul and body, which robs the poor Christian of his soul and his money !

" My God still lives, and he knows well how to grapple with a cardinal of Mayence, although the cardinal should have four Cæsars on his side. And Luther also is not dead ; he will rely upon that God who has humbled the pope, and he will wrestle a fall with the archbishop of Mayence, of which the result is not doubtful . . . You have due notice given to you ; if your grace will not overturn these idolatrous practices, that shall be my task, as a man of faith and eternity ; I shall treat you as I treat the pope, and I shall show to the world the difference that there is between a wolf and a bishop. Let your grace consider yourself advised, and conduct yourself accordingly. If I am contemned, another will come who will slight the contempt, according to the words of Isaías.¹

" I declare that if in fourteen days I do not receive a distinct answer from you, I shall publish my little volume on the idol of Halle ; so much the worse if your people keep back my letter and prevent it from reaching you ; it is the duty of a bishop to have good and faithful servants."

¹ An Albrecht, Erzbischof von Mains, 1 Dec. See De Wette, tom. ii. p. 112 et seq.

And the archbishop replied to Luther in his own hand :—

“ Dear doctor, I have received your letter dated the Sunday after the Feast of St. Catherine, and have read it with friendly feelings. What you say astonishes me ; as the abuses which you point out have long since been rectified.

“ Henceforward I shall conduct myself, by God’s aid, as a good prince and priest. I acknowledge that I have great need of the assistance and grace of God, poor, weak sinner that I am, who sin daily. I know that without the grace of God, I, who am but dung, can do no good.

“ Such is my reply, for I feel inclined to show you how much I love you. I submit willingly to a brotherly reprimand, and I hope that the Lord will grant me grace to live in the practice of his holy commandments. Halle, 21st October.—ALBERT (*with my own hand*).¹

Let this letter fall into Hutten’s hands, and Hutten, we are convinced of it, will be disarmed. In all the world there is only one monk, and he precisely the one who is at that moment placed nearest heaven, who is capable of resisting such tender expressions. The volume with which Luther threatened the archbishop appeared, and prior to the period which he had himself fixed ; every line, every word of it is an insult to the pious prelate. We can imagine that he might have bespattered the person of Emser, Hochstraet, Latomus, or Eck, “ adversaries who more than once themselves,” said Luther, “ have willingly offended against the precepts of Christian charity,”—any one, in short, but that of the archbishop of Mayence !

In 1836 we visited Wartburg ; the keeper of the castle was passionately fond of Luther ; he narrated to us with a charming confidence the visit of the chevalier George, in a dark night, to that nest where he, “ the swan predicted by John Huss,” had taken refuge, to escape from the talons of the imperial eagle. He opened the windows of the keep and pointed out to us the beautiful valley of Hell, tenanted, as in Luther’s time, by

¹ M. Michelet, Mémoires de Luther, tom. i. p. 25.

“ Se litteras ejus benevolè et in optimam partem accepisse ; sperare etiam causas propter quas Lutherus scriperit jam cessasse ; agnovit se peccatorem esse, immò inutile et fetidum storcus, nec recusare Christianam et fraternam admonitionem, si que propter Christum optimè velle.”—Seckendorf, l. c. tom. i. p. 177.

melodious birds, fresh with verdure, brilliant with sunshine and roses ; and the large oak where, resting his head, the knight listened to the strains of the nightingale, or repeated himself those canticles which, at Magdeburg, scarcely touched the heart of the rich, and which then had the power of putting to flight the powers of hell. For the keeper was a believer in the apparitions which had tormented Luther ; and he told us how the devil, one night, shook the bag of nuts which had been sent as a present to the doctor, who angrily cried out in his loud voice : "Get about your business !" But the devil persisted ; he changed himself into a fly ; the fly buzzed about the ears of the monk, who at length seized his ink-bottle and threw it at the insect's wings.¹ "See," added he, "the ink-stain, which time has been unable to efface." On another occasion, when he was meditating on abolishing the Mass, the devil came beside him and disputed with him. And the keeper began to tell us a story to which we were not tempted to listen, for he whom he termed his father had formerly narrated it more dramatically.

You shall hear it.

CHAPTER XXXII.

LUTHER'S CONFERENCE WITH THE DEVIL. 1521.

Satan appears to Luther.—Examination of the monk's narrative.—Singular line of argument adopted by the tempter against the Mass.—In this legend the devil shows himself an equally bad theologian and historian.—Luther perverts the character of Satan.—Protestant theologians have never questioned the truth of the doctor's narrative.—Must we consider it, with Claude, a species of myth ?—Controversy created by this apparition, at first denied and since admitted.—Luther's design in this Satanic legend.—Another apparition at Wartburg, but more genuine.

"I HAPPENED once to awake suddenly at midnight, and Satan² began thus to debate with me. 'Listen,' he said to me,

¹ See, in the second volume, the chapter entitled, *The Tisch-Reden* (Table-Talk).

² Narrative of the Devil's Conference with Luther, by Luther himself. We use, with scarcely any difference, the translation of the Abbé Cordemoy. See Confirmatory Evidence, No. 22, Luther's Latin version.

'learned doctor. You know that during fifteen years you have said private Masses nearly every day. What would it be if such private Masses were a horrible idolatry? What would it be, if the body and blood of Jesus Christ had not been there, and that you had adored and made others adore bread and wine only?' I replied to him: 'I have been ordained priest, I have received unction and consecration from the hands of the bishop, and I have done all that by command of my superiors, and by the obedience which I owe to them. Wherefore should I not have consecrated, since I have pronounced seriously the words of Jesus Christ, and have said these Masses with great solemnity, as you know?' 'All that is true,' he said to me; 'the Turks and Pagans also do everything in their temples by obedience, and they perform all their ceremonies in them solemnly. The priests of Jeroboam also did everything with zeal and with their whole heart against the true priests who were at Jerusalem. What would it be if your ordination and consecration were as false as the priests of the Turks and Samaritans are false, and their worship false and impious?'

"In the first place, you know,' he said to me, 'that at that time you had neither knowledge of Jesus Christ nor true faith, and that in regard to faith, you were no better than a Turk, for the Turk and all the devils believe the history of Jesus Christ, that he was crucified, dead, &c.; but the Turk, and we other reprobate spirits, have no confidence in his mercy, and do not believe him to be our mediator and Saviour; on the contrary, we dread him as a severe judge. Such was your faith; you had no other when you received unction from the bishop, and all those who gave or who received that unction had these sentiments of Jesus Christ; they had no others of him. Therefore it is that in withdrawing from Jesus Christ as a cruel yoke, you had recourse to the Virgin Mary and the Saints, and considered them as mediators between you and Jesus Christ. Thus it is that Jesus Christ has been deprived of his glory. This is what no other Papist can deny. You have, therefore, received unction and the tonsure, and have sacrificed at the Mass like Pagans, and not as Christians. How, then, can you have consecrated at the Mass or celebrated it truly, since there was wanting to it a

person who had the power of consecration, which is, according to your own doctrine, an essential defect ?

“ Secondly. You have been consecrated priest, and you have abused the Mass contrary to its institution, and the thoughts and intention of Jesus Christ, who instituted it : for Jesus Christ has willed that the sacrament should be distributed among the faithful who communicate, and that it should be given to the Church to be eaten and drunk. Indeed, the true priest is appointed minister of the Church, to preach the word of God, and to give the sacraments as is imported by the words of Jesus Christ upon the Supper, and those of St. Paul in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, in speaking of the Lord’s Supper. Whence it is that the ancients have called it ‘ communion,’ because that, according to the institution of Jesus Christ, the priest ought not to consume the sacrament alone, but the other Christians, who are his brothers, ought to consume it with him. And you, during fifteen whole years, have always applied to yourself alone the sacrament when you said Mass, and have not made others participate in it. You have even been forbidden to give them the whole sacrament. What priesthood, what unction is that ?—what Mass, and what consecration ? What sort of priest are you, who have been ordained not for the Church, but for yourself ? It is certain that Jesus Christ has neither known nor acknowledged that sacrament and unction.

“ Thirdly. The meaning and design of Jesus Christ, as his words demonstrate, is that, in taking the sacrament, we should proclaim and acknowledge his death. ‘ Do this,’ said he, ‘ in memory of me ;’ and, as St. Paul, ‘ until he comes.’ But you, who say private Masses, have not even once preached or confessed Jesus Christ in all your Masses ; you have only taken the sacrament and mumbled between your teeth, as if you were whistling, the words of the Supper for yourself alone. Is that the institution of Jesus Christ ? Is it by actions such as these that you will prove that you are a priest of Jesus Christ ? Does that constitute the Christian priest ? Is it for that you have been ordained ?

“ Fourthly. It is clear that the meaning, the design, and the institution of Jesus Christ are that other Christians should partake also of the sacrament ; but you have received unction, not to distribute to them this sacrament, but to sacrifice. And,

contrary to the institution of Jesus Christ, you have treated the Mass as a sacrifice ; for this is signified clearly by the words of the bishop who gives the unction ; when, according to the accustomed ceremony, putting the chalice into the hands of the person who is to receive the unction, he says to him : ‘ Receive the power of celebrating and of sacrificing for the living and the dead.’ What is this wicked and perverse unction and ordination ? Jesus Christ has instituted the Supper as a meat and drink for the whole Church, and to be given by the priest to all those who communicate with him, and you have made it a propitiatory sacrifice before God. Oh, surpassing all abominations !

“ Fifthly. The meaning and design of Jesus Christ is, as I have said, that the sacrament should be distributed to the Church and the communicants, to elevate and strengthen their faith in warring with the various temptations which proceed from the devil and sin, as well as to renew and set forth the benefits of Jesus Christ ; but you have looked upon it as a thing peculiar to yourself, which you can do without others, and which you can give to them either gratuitously or for money. Can you deny all this ? Have you, then, been made a priest in this manner, that is to say, without Jesus Christ, without faith ? For you have received ordination and unction contrary to the intention and institution of Jesus Christ, not for the purpose of giving the sacrament to others, but of sacrificing for the living and the dead ; you have not been ordained to be a minister of the Church, &c. Farther, as you have never given the sacrament to others, you have not preached Jesus Christ at Mass, and consequently you have done none of the things which Jesus Christ has instituted. Have you, then, wholly received unction and ordination against Jesus Christ and his institution, to do everything against him ? And if you have been consecrated and ordained by the bishops against Jesus Christ, it is beyond doubt that your ordination and consecration is impious, false, and anti-Christian. I maintain, therefore, that you have not consecrated at Mass, and that you have offered and caused to be adored by others bread and wine only.

“ You see now that there is wanting in your Mass, first, a person who can consecrate, that is to say, a Christian man ; that there is wanting, in the second place, a person for whom to consecrate, and to whom the sacrament should be given,

that is to say, the Church, the rest of the faithful, and the people.

" " But you who are an impious person, and know not Jesus Christ, stand up there alone, and imagine that Jesus Christ has instituted the sacrament for yourself only, and that you have only to speak to consecrate in the Mass the body and the blood of Jesus Christ, albeit you are not a member of Jesus Christ, but his enemy. There is wanting in it, thirdly, the end, the design, the fruit, and the use for which Jesus Christ has instituted this sacrament ; for Jesus Christ has instituted it in favour of the Church to be eaten and drunk, to strengthen the faith of the faithful, to preach and reveal in the Mass the benefits of Jesus Christ. Now, all the rest of the Church, who do not even know that you say Mass, learn nothing by you, and receive nothing from you ; but you alone, in your corner, mute and saying nothing, eat alone, drink alone, and ignorant as you are of the words of Jesus Christ, an unworthy and faithless monk, communicate no one with you, and according to the custom among you all, sell for money as a good thing what you do.

" " If, then, you are not a person capable of consecration, and that you ought not to do it,—if there is no one at your Mass to receive the sacrament,—if you overturn, change, and altogether upset the institution of Jesus Christ ; in short, if you have only received unction thus to do everything against Jesus Christ and his institution, what is your unction and that which you do afterwards, saying Mass and consecrating, but a blasphemy and a temptation of God ? so that you are not truly a priest, and consequently there is no real body of Jesus Christ. I shall give you a parallel case. Should any one baptize when there is no one whom to baptize ?—as if a bishop, according to the ridiculous custom introduced among the Papists, baptized a bell or handbell, which neither ought nor can receive baptism,—tell me, would that be a true baptism ? You must perforce admit that it would not ; for who can baptize that which is not, or which cannot receive baptism ? What would be this baptism, if I pronounced in the air these words : ' I baptize thee in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,' and that I scattered about water ? Who is there who would there receive remission of his sins, or the Holy Ghost ? Would it be the air, or the bell ? It is evident that there is

there no baptism, although the words of baptism are pronounced, or water sprinkled, because there is wanting a person who can receive the baptism. What will you say, then, if the same thing happened to you in your Mass, that you pronounced the words, that you imagined you received the sacrament, and that, nevertheless, you received only bread and wine ? for the Church, which is the person who receives, is not present there, and you who are a sinner, an unbeliever, are no more capable of receiving the sacrament than a bell is of receiving baptism ; therefore it is that you have nothing at all as regards the sacrament.

“ ‘ Perhaps you will say to me here : ‘ Although I do not give the sacrament to the rest who are in the Church, I do not neglect to take and give it to myself ; and there are many among the rest who, all incredulous as they are, receive the sacrament or baptism, and nevertheless receive a true baptism and sacrament. Wherefore should there not be a true sacrament in a Mass ? ’ But that is not the same thing ; because in baptism, even when it is given in urgent necessity, there are at least two persons, the one who baptizes, and the one to be baptized, and frequently many other persons of the Church. Moreover, the function of him who baptizes is such, that he communicates something to the other persons of the Church as to its members, and that he takes from them nothing to apply to himself alone, as you do in the Mass. And all the other things which are done in the act of baptism are according to the commands of the institution of Jesus Christ, but the Mass is contrary to the institution of Jesus Christ.

“ ‘ In the second place, why do you not teach that one may baptize oneself ? Wherefore do you disapprove of such baptism ? Wherefore will you reject the confirmation, if a person confirms himself, as they confirm among you ? Wherefore is the consecration of none avail, if a person consecrates himself priest ? Wherefore should it be no unction, if one, being *in extremis*, should give it to himself, as they give it among you ? Wherefore should it be no marriage, if any one should marry himself, or violate a girl, and say that that act ought to be a marriage, in spite of that girl,—for these are your seven sacraments ? If, then, nobody can make any of your sacraments, or exercise them by himself, wherefore would you make this sacrament for yourself

alone? It is quite true that Jesus Christ is himself taken in the sacrament; and every priest, in giving him to the rest, takes him also for himself. But he does not consecrate him for himself only, he takes him jointly with the rest and the Church, and all that is done according to the commands of Jesus Christ. When I speak here of consecration, I ask if any one can consecrate and make the sacrament for himself alone? because I know very well that after consecration every priest can use it like the rest, for it is the communion and the table of the Lord which is common to all; as when I asked if any one could anoint or name himself, I knew very well that having been named, and having received unction, he could thereafter exercise his vocation. And, finally, when I asked whether, if any one had violated a girl, it was sufficient that he who had dishonoured her should call that connection marriage? I also knew well that when the girl at first consents to a marriage, the connection which follows such consent is a marriage.'

"In this trouble and battle with the devil, I sought to repel the adversary with the weapons to which I had been used in the papacy, and I opposed to him the intention and the faith of the Church, showing to him that it was in the faith and the intention of the Church that I had celebrated these private Masses. 'It may be,' said I to him, 'that I did not believe as I ought to have believed, and that I am deceived in my mind; the Church, however, has believed in that as it should be believed, and is not deceived.' But Satan, attacking me with more force and vehemence than at first: 'Now,' said he, 'show me where it is written that a wicked unbeliever can stand at the altar of Jesus Christ, consecrate and make the sacrament in the faith of the Church; where has God ordained or commanded it? How will you prove that the Church communicates to you its intention for saying your private Mass, if you have not the word of God for you, and that it is men who have taught you without that word? All that doctrine is false. Such is your audacity! You do these things in darkness. You abuse the name of the Church, and then you wish to defend all your abominations by the pretext of the intention of the Church. You can only allege the intention of the Church; the Church sees and thinks nothing beyond the words and the institution of Jesus Christ, and

much less against his design and institution, of which I have already spoken ; for St. Paul says, in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, chap. ii., when speaking of the Church and the assembly of the faithful : ‘ We know the mind of Jesus Christ.’

“ But how will you learn that a thing is according to the design and the intention of Jesus Christ and the Church, except by the word of Jesus Christ, by the doctrine and public profession of the Church ? How do you know that the intention and thought of the Church is that murder, adultery, and unbelief are among the sins for which one may be damned ? And how do you know other similar things, except by the word of God ?

“ If, then, we must learn from the words and commandments of God what the Church thinks of works good or evil, must we not, by greater reason, learn from the word of God what she thinks of her doctrine ? Wherefore, then, blasphemer, do you contravene in private Masses the express words and orders of Jesus Christ ? And wherefore, then, do you make use of his name and the intention of the Church to cover your falsehood and impiety ? And why do you trick out in these miserable colours your invention, as if the design of the Church could be contrary to the words of Jesus Christ ? How prodigious is your audacity, in profaning the name of the Church by so impudent a falsehood !

“ Since, then, the bishop has enabled you to say Mass by the unction which he has given you, for the sole purpose, in saying private Masses, of doing all that is contrary to the express words and institution of Jesus Christ, and the intention, faith, and public profession of the Church, that unction is profane, and has nothing holy or consecrated in it. It is even more vain and useless, and as ridiculous as the baptism given to a stone or a bell.’ And Satan urging this line of reasoning still further, said to me : ‘ You have therefore not consecrated, you have only offered bread and wine, like all the pagans ; by a traffic infamous and insulting to God, you have sold your work to Christians,—the servant not of God and Jesus Christ, but of your belly. Was ever such abomination heard of in heaven and in earth ?’ Such was about the sum of this disputation.

“ I see here holy fathers laugh at me, and exclaim : ‘ What ! is this the celebrated doctor who remained silent, and could not

answer the devil ? Are you not aware, doctor, that the devil is a spirit of falsehood ?' I thank you, my fathers ; I should not have known until now that the devil is a liar, if you had not assured me of it, my learned theologians. Certainly, if you were to suffer the rough assaults of Satan, and to dispute with him, you would not speak as you do of the example and traditions of the Church ; for the devil is a hardy combatant, and he presses you so violently, that it is impossible to resist him without an especial gift from the Lord. In an instant, in the twinkling of an eye, he fills the spirit with darkness and terrors ; and if he has to do with a man who cannot readily reply to him with the word of God, he needs but his little finger to beat him. It is true that he is a liar ; but he does not lie when he accuses us ; for then he comes to the combat with the twofold testimony of the law of God and our conscience. I cannot deny that I have sinned ; I cannot deny that my sin is great ; I cannot deny that I am guilty of death and damnation !'"¹

Such is the account of this vision, in which Luther appears to less advantage than at Worms. The devil shows himself in it to be not so good a wrangler as the Dominican in the disputation at Leipsic, where Satan spoke, however, by the mouth of Eck, according to Luther. The master is here weaker than the pupil. Unless the Reformer wished to conceal from us the powerful reasonings with which the devil nonplussed him, there is not a tyro in theology who could not easily refute the Satanic thesis. Luther, who doubtless had in his hands one of the catechisms which are still to be found in every German family, would not have required to do more to confound him than to open the page in which the Church teaches, that the priest, in celebrating the sacrifice of the Mass, applies its merits to all those who hear it devoutly. Evidently, Satan knew the catechism as little as history. We know not what his answer would have been to Luther, had the latter asked him where he had read that the Turks believed in

¹ De Missâ Angulari, tom. iv. : Jense, pp. 81, 83. Opera Lutheri, tom. vii. : Witt. p. 228. See the anonymous Conférence du Diable avec Luther contre le Saint Sacrement de la Messe (by Paul Bruzeau). 12mo. Paris, 1740 ; Cochleus, in Act. p. 67 ; Math. Conc. p. 82 ; Claude, Défense de la Réformation, part. ii. ch. v. ; Préjugés Légitimes, by Nicolle : Bruxelles, ch. ii. ; Réfutation de la Réponse d'un Ministre Lutherien sur la Conférence du Diable avec Luther : Bruxelles, 1682 ; Basnage, Hist. des Eglises Réformées, tom. iii. ch. v. ; Bayle, art. Luther.

the death of Jesus Christ, when Mahomet, in the Koran, positively says that God lifted up Jesus Christ, and that another, substituted in his place, was crucified ?¹ Luther also treated his adversary too politely. If the doctor of Ingolstadt, or Tetzel, or Emser, had objected to him the unworthiness of the priest to prove the inefficacy of the sacrament, he would have answered him :—

“ Were the devil to appear, and I knew that he meddled with the office of pastor ; that having assumed the shape of a man, he has preached, taught, baptized, said Mass, absolved, and performed these functions according to the institution of Jesus Christ ; we should be forced to admit that these sacraments are not inefficacious, but that we had received a real baptism, a real gospel, a real absolution, a real sacrament of the body and blood of Jesus Christ ; for our faith and the efficacy of the sacraments do not rest upon the quality of the individual. What does it signify that he is worth something or nothing ; that he has received unction, that his vocation be lawful or not, that he be a devil or an angel ! ”²

Luther's legend tends to subvert entirely the character of Satan, as introduced by Christianity into those tales with which Germany still loves to be amused. The demon, who in these is always represented as struggling with the Eternal, has the mission of tempting man and turning him away from heaven. Hence those compacts in which the spirit of darkness pays a heavy sum for the soul. Thus the tower of St. Stephen at Vienna was built ; Paxbaum, in love with his master's daughter, gives himself to the devil,³ builds the spire, and marries the young woman. But in the present instance, how does the demon comport

¹ Alcoran de Mahomet, at the end of the chapter “ Of Women,” containing 170 verses, written at Medina, p. 113, Du Ryer's translation : Paris, 1651.

² “ Et dico, si diabolus ipse veniret . . . ego autem pono ut posteà resciscerem diabolum sic irreپisse in officium pastoris ecclesiae, in specie hominis vocatum esse ad predicandum et publicè in ecclesiâ docuisse, baptizasse, celebrasse missam, abeoluisse à peccatis et munere functum esse juxta institutionem Christi ; tunc cogeremur fateri sacramenta ideo non esse inefficacia, sed verum baptismum, verum Evangelium, veram absolutionem, verum sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Christi nos accepisse. Fides enim nostra, dignitas et efficacia sacramentorum non nituntur qualitate personæ sive bona sive mala, uncta vel non uncta, vocata legitimate, vel non vocata, Satan vel angelus.”—Luth. De Missâ Privatâ et Unctione Sacerd. Op. tom. vii. p. 243.

³ M. Genin, Revue du Nord, No. 8, Oct. 1835.

himself? As an angel who seeks to drag from perdition a poor soul, and who performs the part of a priest. The devil ought to inhabit the Lutheran paradise, if he is so solicitous for the salvation of men.

It is evident that in this fable against the Mass, it is to the Saxon peasantry, so fond of the marvellous, that Luther addresses himself: Satan translates for them the Latin of the "Church's Captivity in Babylon." He does not care to argue in the manner of Eck, he hates too cordially all that savours of the Dominican; it is enough that he calls the Mass an idolatrous action, the peasantry will take his word for it. Luther might have introduced into his narrative an angel of light, but we question if the celestial seraph attacking the Mass would have produced the same effect. In the legend, such as the doctor framed it, there is a double marvel; first, the apparition of the demon, then the part played by the spirit of darkness, who speaks for a time the language of a divine messenger. And how admirably imagined is the place of the scene: an unknown land, suspended like a star between two worlds, floating upon the clouds, where a mysterious hand has placed one of the actors of the drama; an aerial Patmos, where the demon and the owl alone come to stoop. We can comprehend why Luther refrained, during fifteen years of his life, from publishing the account of his colloquy with the devil; he would have spoiled the story by describing the place where it happened. Such is the fable in which Luther shows himself a poet; but the poet does not forget in it his character of sectary. If the Mass is an idolatry, it must be destroyed by preaching, if preaching will answer the purpose; but if necessary, by force; for how, without offence to God, can the altars be left standing, where these idolatrous acts are daily repeated? It is invariably, as we see, his two-fold element, spirit and matter, which Luther desires to employ in his struggle against Catholicism.

By one of these inconsistencies which it is pitiful to recall, because they occur constantly in the Reformer's life, Luther, who rejects as superstitious the belief in the mysterious relations between a soul that enjoys the vision of God, and a soul that still is confined within its earthly prison, imagines such harmonies between earth and hell. It is no longer an angel of

light, so properly designated a guardian angel, that watches over the creature ; it is an angel of darkness whom he has intrusted with this mission.

It seems to us impossible that Luther could have been broad awake when Satan appeared to him ; for we do not recognise the Saxon in that gentle and timid language with which he ventures to refute his adversary. We cannot then comprehend the fine character given to the monk in that disputation by some Protestants,—among others, the minister Drelincourt, who affirms, “that the old serpent attacked Luther, promising himself the victory, because the servant of God had been a priest and celebrated private Masses for fifteen years ; and that Satan proved by invincible arguments that these Masses are contrary to God and Scripture divinely inspired.”¹ The minister assigns to Satan too good a part in this controversy.

It must be agreed that this interview marvellously contributed to Luther's conversion. Whatever of indecision remained in his mind as to the import of the Bible texts, gave way before the devil's arguments. Convinced by the spirit of darkness, the monk saw nothing in the sacrifice of the altar but a papistic idolatry, and ceased to celebrate it. In order to prove that the Mass is only a pagan action, Protestants, in imitation of Drelincourt, have since then referred our priests to the testimony of Satan.² On their side the Sacramentarians, like Pareus,³ appeal to this apparition to convince the Lutherans and the Calvinists that if the devil showed himself to the father of the Reformation, in order to reveal to him the idolatry concealed in the celebration of the Mass, an angel might as well have appeared to Zwinglius to teach him the true meaning of the words of the Supper.⁴ Luther laughed at that vision, to the

¹ *Livre du Faux Prophète*, p. 273.

² This is the argument of Lauenberger, in his little work entitled, *Willst du dann noch nicht katholisch werden ?* Nothing is more true than that Luther learned from the devil that private Mass is an idolatrous act : “Wahr ist, dass Luther vom Teufel unterrichtet worden, die Mess als eine gräuliche Abgötterei zu verwerfen.”

³ *Controverses Ecclésiastiques*. Luther and his disciples ought to be more reasonable, and cease to criticise the dream in which Zwinglius received, not from the devil, but from a very different monitor, the true meaning of the word of God.

⁴ *Hospinianus, Hist. Rei Sacramentariae*, part. ii. p. 120.

great offence of the Zwinglians, who have never refused to believe in his dialogue with the tempter !

" Do you know why the Sacramentarians, Zwinglius, Bucer, and Ecolampadius, have never understood the sacred Scriptures ? It is," says Luther, " because they have never had the devil for their adversary ; for, when we have not the devil tied to our neck, we are but sorry theologians."¹

A writer who had the honour of frequently disputing with Bossuet, Claude, is disposed to see nothing in this conference but a parable, or sort of myth imagined by Luther, who was fed, he says, upon the writings of the monks, in which the tempter so often appears. Satan, instead of a reality, will appear no more than a philosophical abstraction, the voice of our evil passions.² For our own part, even had Claude all the eloquence assigned to the devil by Luther, he would not convince us, so clear and positive is the text of the narrator ! We will more readily admit the appearance of Satan, in flesh and bone if you will, than the interpretation of the Calvinist minister.

Luther himself has refuted this awkward apologist ; for, in his treatise " De Missâ Privatâ," in which the vision is narrated, after having exalted the powers of Satan, who does not suffer long disputation with him, " This," says he, " explains to me how it happens sometimes that men are found dead in their beds ; it is Satan who twists their necks and kills them. Emser, Ecolampadius, and others like them, fell under the claws and weapons of Satan, and died suddenly."³ Hospinian fully believes that Emser died of the devilish death mentioned by Luther ; but he cannot give to the devil Ecolampadius, " a preacher of a pure and holy life,"⁴ who, according to the testimony of Beza, after a gentle death, was united to Zwinglius, his brother,⁵ the

¹ " Cur sacramentarii sacram scripturam non intelligunt, hæc causa est, quia verum opponentem, nempe Diabolum, non habent, qui demum docere eos solet. Quando Diabolus ejusmodi collo non habemus affixum, nihil nisi speculativi theologi sumus."—Luth. in Coll. Isl. de Verbo Dei, p. 23. Coll. Francf. p. 58.

² *Défense de la Réformation.*

³ " Credo equidem quodd Emserus et Ecolampadius, aliique horum similes, istius modi, ignitis Satane et telis, ac hastis confossi subita morte perierint."—Hospin. Hist. Sacram. tom. i. p. 220.

⁴ *Idem*, p. 126.

⁵ Beza, *Portraits of Illustrious Men*, pp. 84, 85.

curate of Einsiedeln, who pretended that Luther was not possessed by an impure spirit, but occupied, like a strong castle, by a legion of devils.¹

The most wonderful part of this legend, is still less the appearance of Satan than the controversies to which it has given rise, and the ocean of ink and abuse which it has caused to flow.

They began by denying the authenticity of the narrative, which they attributed to a Catholic who wished to ridicule Luther. The conference, as Hospinian observes, took place in 1535.² At that time, Luther wrote to Justus Jonas : " You will do well, my friend, to translate this narrative into Latin."³ Justus Jonas obeyed his master.⁴

When and where did the devil appear to Luther ? The doctor has made a mystery of the date and place of the conference ; and his disciples, obliged to supply their master's silence, place some of them the apparition at Wittemberg, towards the end of 1535, that is, at the time when he published the account of it ; others, before the diet of Worms ; and some at Wartburg ; which last is the most likely conjecture. It even gains a sort of demonstration, for the devil begins his dialogue by accusing Luther of celebrating Mass for fifteen years ; now it was towards the end of 1507 that the monk was ordained.

According to Satan, the doctor, after his appearance at Worms, still said Mass. Luther's correspondence gives a great degree of probability to the evidence of the bad angel ; since we see the prisoner in the mountains of his Patmos, labouring with doubts and inquietude, declare to Melanthon that, as celibacy is a work of the devil, he considers the abbot of Kemberg, who had taken to himself a wife, to be a man of God, and that he will never more celebrate Mass.⁵

¹ " Non obsessum ab uno spiritu, sed occupatum à catervā dæmonum."—Zuingl. contrà Luth.

² Hospin. Hist. Sacr. part ii. p. 131 : Zurich, 1601.

³ " Benefeceris si hunc librum necessarium nostris fratribus per Latinam lingua reddideris quām plurimam utilēm."—Luth. Ep. ad J. Jonas, Op. Luth. tom. vii. Jenæ, p. 226, verso.

⁴ " In lucem quoque emisit hoc anno 1533 Lutherus librum de missa privata et sacerdotum consecratione in quo statim ab initio describit colloquium à se cum diabolo intempestivæ nocte habitum."—Hospin. Hist. Sacr. part. ii. p. 131.

⁵ " Sed et ego amplius non faciam missam privatam in eternum."—Melanch. 1 Aug. 1521. De Wette, l. c. tom. ii. p. 36.

How then should we now be astonished by the report spread in Germany that Luther had a commerce with the invisible powers, and nocturnal communications with Satan, who, to obtain admission to Wartburg more easily, assumed the figure of a young woman of the family of Berlips?¹ Luther has spoken of this very natural visit moreover.

This young woman, Argula Stauff, married to the chevalier Grumbach, was seized with a real passion for this mysterious being, with whom she wished to converse. The day on which the Augustinian promulgated his system of faith, Argula, in order to comprehend it, had commenced the study of theology like a young girl, that is to say, with more of heart than of head. Since the diet of Worms, Argula seemed to have lost her wits. She could no longer sleep, from a desire to see the prisoner. She knew that he resided at Wartburg; left Ingoldstadt, with her husband's permission, it is said, reached the prison, did not find the lodger visible; but slept in the bed in which he ordinarily reposed,² and next morning sadly retraced her steps homewards. This is the most innocent account of Argula's journey.

Nothing prevents us from believing it, any more than the apparition of Satan; but in the account given of it by the Catholics, Argula's journey is much less edifying.³ Scarcely

¹ Ulenberg, *Hist. de Vitâ Lutheri*, p. 189.

² *Colloquia Mensalia*, 1st edit. p. 262.

³ Ulenberg, l. c. p. 139.

The following is a list of the principal works which Luther composed or wrote at Wartburg:—

In Singulas Apostolorum Epistolas Argumenta per Lutheram : Bas. 1522 ;
In Epistolas Apostolicas, hoc est, Pauli, Jacobi, Johannis, Petri, Jude, per eundem. Quisquis amas philosophiam Christianam, hoc volumen in deliciis habet. Nam multo plus affert lucis, minusque tedium, quam aliorum verboi Commentarii : Basil. 1522 ;

Contra Henricum, regem Anglie, Martinus Lutherus ad Sebastianum Schlik, comitem in Passun. : Wittenb. 1522 ;

Auslegung der Episteln und Evangelien, die nach Brauch der Kirchen gelesen werden, vom Advent an bis Christ-Tag, durch Martinum Lutherum : Wittenb. 1522 ;

Auslegung der Episteln und Evangelien von Christ-Tag bis auf den Sonntag nach Epiphanie. Mart. Luther an Herrn Albrecht, Grafen zu Mansfeld : Wittenb. 1522 ;

Von den Geistlichen und Kloster-Geltibden Martini Luther's Urtheil, an Hans Luther, seinen lieben Vater; verdeutscht durch Dr. Justum Jonam, Probst zu Wittenberg : Wittenb. 1522 ;

Wider die Verkehrer und Fälscher Kayserlichs Mandata, Mart. Luther : Wittenb. 1522 ;

had she left Wartburg than they make Luther write the lines which we have already quoted : " My indomitable flesh boils and is on fire."

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE DIALOGUE. 1521.

The Sorbonne condemns various propositions extracted from Luther's works.—Melanchthon replies to the theological faculty.—Luther, dissatisfied with his disciple's work, attacks his judges in a dialogue.—Specimen of this work.—Luther brings that style of literature into fashion.—The dialogue against Eck.—Double form of the dialogue: first religious, then political.—Under both it serves the Lutheran cause.

WHILST, from Wartburg, Luther disturbed Germany, at Paris a doctrinal sentence was pronounced against the Saxon creed. We remember the fine language used by the monk in honour of the Sorbonne. The inquisitor, Hochstræt, could not display a more filial piety towards our theological faculty. We know that Cologne, in his poetic phraseology, placed there the river of light, which, by invisible canals, laved the banks of the Rhine;

Ein Sermon vom Heiligen Kreutz, gepredigt von Dr. Martin Luther : Wittenb. 1522 ;

Vom Missbrauch der Messen. Martin Luther an die Augustiner zu Wittenberg : Wittenb. 1522 ; alia editio, Wittenb. 1522 ;

De abroganda Missa privata Martini Lutheri Sententia, ad fratres suos Augustinenses cenobii Wittenbergensis : Wittenb. 1522 ;

Epistola Lutheri ad Wolfgangum Fabritium Capitonem theologum utilissima, ex eremo, die Anthoni, 1522 ;

Vom ehelichen Leben, Martin Luther : Wittenb. 1522 ;

Wider den falsch genannten geistlichen Stand des Papsts und der Bischöfen. Dr. Martin Luther, Ecclesiastes zu Wittenberg : Wittenb. 1522 ; alia editio sine loco, 1522 ; alia editio sine anno et loco ;

Deutsche Auslegung des 67 Psalms, von dem Oster-Tag, Himmelfahrt und Pfingsten. Dr. Martin Luther ;

Ein Sermon von den unrechten Mammon. Luc. 16. Dr. Martin Luther Wittenb. 1522 ;

Martini Lutheri Lucubrationes in Psalmum xxii. (22), Deus meus, Deus meus, etc. Qui est de Passione Christi, quemque autor verè vocat Psalmorum omnium principem, in tomo operationum nuper excuso omisssus : Basil. 1522.

Welche Personen verbotten sind zu ehelichen in der Heil. Schrift, beyde der Freundschaft und Mogaſchaft. Lev. 18. Martin Luther, 1522 ;

Bulla Cœnæ Domini, das ist die Bulla vom Abendfressen, des allerheiligsten Herrn des Pabets, verdeutscht durch Dr. Martin Luther, dem allerheiligsten Römimischen Stuhl zu neuen Jahr. Glossa des Könige Davids über diese Bullen. Psalm x. : Wittenb. 1522 ; alia editio, Wittenb. 1522.

Erasmus made it the throne of divine knowledge.¹ At Augsburg, when Cardinal Cajetan pronounced the name of this glorious tribunal, Luther bowed, protesting that he was ready to accept its sentence, as that of an oracle.

Now the Sorbonne spoke.

It had had under its consideration, during nearly three months, all those virulent pamphlets published at Wittemberg; it had perused the "Church's Captivity in Babylon," the "Christian Liberty," the "Abrogation of the Mass," the "Theses of Wittemberg," the "Sermons on Confession," and, after an attentive examination, it had extracted from Luther's books one hundred and thirteen propositions, which it solemnly condemned.² It denounced as heretical these axioms of the monk: "That the sacraments are of recent invention; that all Christians are equally empowered to preach the word of God; that we are all priests; that the Mass is not a sacrifice; that no one, pope or bishop, can establish rules obligatory on a Christian; that vows must be abolished; that the works done prior to the regeneration of man are sins; that contrition makes a hypocrite; that auricular confession cannot be proved by any divine law; that the just sin in all their good works; that God has commanded us to do things which are impossible; that the soul does not cease from sin in purgatory."

The universities of Germany had condemned Luther's works under general qualifications. The Sorbonne proceeded differently, by examining and discussing each proposition: it gave an explanatory sentence.

Now, what is Luther to do? will he rebel against that which he called the fountain of wisdom?

At Wittemberg, a professor barely twenty-five years of age, who until then had not opened a theological book, happy in his occupation of explaining, amidst the plaudits of his thousand auditors, the harmonious language of the orators of antiquity,—this professor, Melanchthon, took upon himself to refute the grey-heads of the Sorbonne. It is painful to see a person of such a fine intellect scatter insults on theologians of such high character,

¹ Erasm. Epist. ep. i. lib. xiv. De Burigny, Vie d'Erasme, tom. ii. p. 54.

² Berthier, Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane: Paris, 1749, 4to. tom. xvii. p. 502 et seq.

accuse them of inability to understand either the Scriptures or the Fathers, and treat them as dunces, fools, and numskulls, "as are all the French."¹

Luther, who was not satisfied with his disciple, made two replies to the Sorbonne, the one grave and serious, and destined probably for the theologians; the other facetious, which he addressed specially to the students who frequented Melancthon's school, and which he entitled, "The Comedy of Luther, condemned by the foolish and wicked Sorbonne of Paris." It is a pamphlet full of wit and humour, in perusing which it is impossible to preserve gravity. We must pity and admire a man of such prodigious imagination.

Luther figures the Sorbonne as assembled to reply to Melancthon: one of the theologians takes the "Apology" against the decree of the furious "theologasters" of Paris,² and severally reads each proposition, which they examine at length, and condemn thereafter, in the usual form. This scene, in which there is a play upon words, as in Aristophanes, can only be appreciated in the Latin language.

MELANCTHON.

Quid enim estis, nisi Sorba, & vos rudes et verè Sorbonici?

THE SORBONNE.

A proposition offensive to pious ears, and contumelious, if by *rudes* you mean those thick-set stakes with which hog-troughs are made; if by *rudes* you mean to call them ignorant, the proposition is derogatory and detractive.

MELANCTHON.

Hæc est illa Helena pro quâ magistri vestri decertant.

THE SORBONNE.

A proposition which, in so far as it signifies that we are fond

¹ Berthier, l. c. p. 527. *Opera Lutheri*, tom. ii. p. 517. Glareanus played upon the names of the doctors in theology at Paris, and wrote to Zwinglius: "Beda, Quercus, Christophorus, Bellua, Stercus, Christotomus."—Glareanus ad Zwinglium: *Lutetiae*, 4 non. Julii, 1521. *Epist. Zw.* p. 176.

² *Ludus Lutheri, à stolidis et sacrilegis Sorbonis damnati. Adversus furiosum Parisiensem theologastrorum decretum Philippi Melanchthonis pro Lutherio Apologia.*—*Opera Lutheri*: *Jenæ*, 1557, tom. i. p. 451. This book has been translated into German, under the title of Dr. Martin Luther's Scherzschrift, auf der pariser Verdammung seiner Lehr, by John James Greifl. See Luther's Works, in German: *Leipsic*, 1732, fol. vol. xvii. p. 684 et seq.

of women, is defamatory ; and blasphemous, if you mean to say that our theology is a Helen.

MELANCTHON.

Rumpite interim magistri nostri.

THE SORBONNE.

A diabolical and homicidal proposition, which wishes that our body should burst asunder like that of Judas Iscariot.

MELANCTHON.

Quis non rideat muliebrem hanc et monachalem impotentiam ?

THE SORBONNE.

A false and foolish proposition ; in the first place, because it supposes that we are women, who cannot engender without the agency of men ; contumelious, if it wishes to establish that we monks are sterile ; injurious, inasmuch as it tends to represent us as imperfect, and consequently impotent, which is given the lie to by experience and the theological proverb : *lardant per braccam.*

MELANCTHON.

Spectabilis domine decane, vos estis jam iratus.

THE SORBONNE.

Barbarous ! *Vos estis iratus* is as if one were to say, *Ego currit.* It is derisive, ironical, and contumelious, if by *decane* you mean that we are of canine progeniture ; impious, in supposing that we cannot be angry.¹

The dialogue was the favorite literary form adopted by religious polemics in the sixteenth century, since Erasmus had made use of it to spread his scepticism. Comedy was invented. John Reuchlin had discovered it, and perhaps, says a critic, Luther had drawn the first idea of the Reformation from the "Sergius" of that author,—a violent satire against Holzinger, an Augustinian monk, and against the princes who suffered themselves to be led by their clergy.²

¹ See Luther's letter to Spalatinus, quoted in Seckendorf, p. 185, § 113, who thus expresses himself on the subject of this *Ludus Lutheri*: "Prodit etiam adversus apologiam Philippi censura ludicra et jocosa, incertum an ab ipso Luther, an ab alio composita, stylo scholastico, ut risum lectoribus moveat."

² Le National, April, 1838.

The dialogue is another comedy which is only performed in books ; it is brief and lively ; the monks are the constrained performers in it. It is an excellent frame-work, wherein the author, without disturbing the unities of time and place, and regardless of historic truth, creates a personage whose name alone has some reality, but whose manners, costume, and language, are entire inventions. When once the work is completed, the character is thrown amidst his contemporaries as a real being, with whom they are to be amused. The convents were the world whence Erasmus, Luther, and Ulrich von Hutten drew the most of their characters ; and during nearly half a century, until the time of Hans Sachs, society had only for its amusement the grinning countenance of some monk, whom it pleased the imagination of the Reformer to hand over to the jeers of the reader. It was Thespis besmearing the faces of his actors. We must not seek in these coarse shows for a picture of the monastic life : in these fictions, it is only the name of the hero that is true, all the rest is false. Sometimes the scenic sketches are warm and coloured, and deficient neither in happy sallies nor comic spirit ; we have seen Luther with the Sorbonne. There are dialogues in which we are surprised with witty expressions, nice pleasantries, ravishing buffooneries ; but nearly all are pasquinades such as those which delight the populace of large cities ; in which the language is shockingly indecent ; in which the incentive to laughter is borrowed from the disorderly market idiom, or the vocabulary of the scullion, if the writer has not sought for it in the brothel. Would you recall the semblance of them ? Imagine Naples apostatized and become Protestant, then the punchinello of the *Strada di Toledo* will repeat against the monks of the present day, all that the Reformers put in the mouths of the monks of their times.

Luther did not invent the satirical dialogue : it had been discovered long before him. He was not the first to conceive the idea of metamorphosing a school of theology into a comic gambling-shop, to exchange the black gown, which had never trailed except upon the benches, for the grotesque costume of village merry-Andrews ; and the beards of the monks, nearly as long as their gowns, for the grinning masks of the Roman actor. Hutten imagined this artistic caprice. For this once we must

do him justice, his dialogue is very superior to his letters. In the following one we may appreciate the writer ; but we must not forget that its style alone deserves to be studied.

CONVENTICLE OF THEOLOGIANS AGAINST THE DISCIPLES OF SOUND
LEARNING OF GERMANY, HELD AT COLOGNE.¹

Hochstrata,	Petrus,
Duplicius,	Stropha,
Eduardus,	Lupoldus,
Eckius,	Stentor,
Arnoldus,	Curtisanus.

Old Hochstraet opens the scene.

HOCHSTRAET.—In my capacity of dean of the faculty of theologians of Cologne, I have summoned you, most illustrious professors, to have your opinion upon the heretical and blasphemous doctrines, offensive to pious ears, which pervade the world. In vain, last year, you may remember that we condemned the books of a certain Augustinian friar named Luther. This cursed fellow does not cease to instruct the people. I have made a selection from his propositions to sift and then burn them ; but I desire, in the first place, to learn your opinion. Call the clerk, who will write down our deliberations.

DUPLICIUS speaks first ; his language is perplexed ; we can scarcely comprehend his conclusions. Then comes the turn of Eck.

ECK.—Do you know, my masters, whom you resemble ? The Pharisees of the Gospel, who came to tempt the Lord on the subject of tribute to Cæsar, and who sent to the Saviour one of their number, whilst the rest stood aloof, ready to cry out “Victory,” if their messenger triumphed over Christ, or to disclaim him if he played his part ill ! You make me fall foul of Luther, because you are aware that I am master in the *partis logicalibus* and *copulatis*, and in the learning of the doctors of the Church : I mean Scotarelli, Alexander, Alesius, and Landulphus. I have been unsuccessful ; now that you have put

¹ Conciliabulum Theologistarum adversus Germanie et Bonarum Litterarum Studiosos, Coloniæ celebratum XVI. kal. Maii, postquam Hobenstratus dejectus est ab officio prioratus et ab officio inquisitoris. Small 18mo.

me in a trough, you retire, and leave me in the mud up to the throat.

HOCHSTRAET.—No, no, master, we will not leave you there ; on the contrary, we are assembled to draw you out, and to consult upon the means of confuting Luther.

ECK.—I firmly believe that I am equal to the whole of you in learning, and I have not been able to do so ! That man denies everything ; he defies syllogism ; and when I conclude in Frismemor, Barbelin, and Branco, he laughs at my arguments, and instead of Aristotle, wishes me to quote the Gospel, St. Paul, and the Scriptures. I have sweated blood and water in defence of the papacy, in hopes of a prebend or a bishopric. I went to Rome. His holiness gave me—his slipper to kiss, instead of a benefice : fine compliments. (He makes a horrible wry face.)

HOCHSTRAET.—Master Arnold, you who are gifted with such a fine genius, and who gave us such wise advice in the matter of Reuchlin, extricate us, then, from this embarrassment.

ARNOLD.—You are ninnies, speculators. If they wished to burn you, you would not even know how to extinguish the fire of the executioner, because you want experience. You have nothing of the man of the world except avarice and envy ; for, as the proverb says, every theologian is first in pride, avarice, and luxury, according to the word : “ You are the salt of the earth.”

HOCHSTRAET.—Alas ! master, you say truly ; there are among us some who know how to dispute and advance subtle arguments ; but next day, when on leaving the school to go to dinner, the kitchen is cold, the servant asleep or in the monastery with the monk, making . . . hem ! (He laughs loudly.)

ARNOLD.—If you do not prove by miracles that your theology equals all the poets, there is an end of us. Listen : I understand a little of necromancy ; I can transform myself into an angel of light or an angel of darkness, and, if necessary, can enter the body of Luther. I will be St. Thomas, you shall be Scotists ; each of us shall have a golden book in his hand, above my head a dove, which shall represent the Holy Ghost. We shall nightly visit Father Peter in his bed ; I shall approach gently, and whisper in his ear : “ I am Thomas ; all that I have written proceeds from the Spirit of truth ; I have never erred :

whoso follows my doctrine follows that of the Roman Church ; let him not fear to go astray" Then we shall escape through the window with a thunderclap, leaving the bed in a flame. In the morning, when Peter is awake, he will narrate his nocturnal apparition to the people

HOCHSTRAET.—Excellent ! But if we should get into a scrape ! I will not play such a high game : let us not trifl with the saints. If you know any other thing, *per fas et nefas*, tell it, and I will absolve you beforehand. If any one told me that he had killed Reuchlin, and that nobody knew about it, I should absolve him in every way.

ARNOLD.—I know no other plan.

HOCHSTRAET.—What say you, Peter ? You are a zealous father ; you do not eat flesh, and you labour effectively to prevent learned men being among you : let us have your opinion.

PETER.—Times are hard, altogether changed since I was your pupil. I believe in celestial influences, for always after forty years a new age commences. At present they ridicule St. Jerome and St. Chrysostom. If we wait, in forty years they will return to St. Thomas, as to a novelty. . . .

HOCHSTRAET.—And you, learned Stentor, who are never at a loss, as you show in the pulpit, what say you ?

STENTOR.—I would speak, but I dare not.

HOCHSTRAET.—Speak, nevertheless ; only not too loud, for some one may be concealed in the chimney.

STENTOR.—Have you not read in the Scriptures : "Honours corrupt and dull the eyes even of the wise ?"

HOCHSTRAET.—I am so buried in St. Thomas, that I have never read either the Scriptures or any book from the hand of man.

STENTOR.—Write immediately to his holiness to give the cardinal's scarlet robe or the bishop's crosier to those who speak, and all will be silent.

HOCHSTRAET.—Bad ! bad ! two or three cardinals will cost the holy father nothing, but the dispute will not be ended.

They look again and find nothing. Then the dean closes the sitting, because all the members of the faculty are not there, and the assembly is at an end.

HOCHSTRAET.—The meeting is over. If any one speaks of

this deliberation, he will incur the indignation of the Almighty and of the Holy See, which is at Babylon, where Satan dwells. Clerk, write the minutes.

What a lamentable period, when, in order to lower Hochstraet in men's opinion, they were reduced, like Luther in his "Dialogue on the Sorbonne," and Hutten in his "Conventicle," to calumniate his learning ! In vain has he grown old over books, and become grey from study ; in vain, in the words of a distinguished judge, do his writings loudly proclaim his devotion to the muses, and his phraseology itself his love for the adornment of language.¹ A writer comes of the temper of Ulrich, and the monk will be laughed at, disgraced, and despised before all Germany ; and his name, in the work of M. de Villers, will at a later period stand for folly or madness ! They will not wait till the death of the Catholic champion, they will kill him prematurely, and make him die of a debauch, if he calls himself Eck, and make his last moments the subject of a dramatic representation.

The dialogue consists of only three persons,—a doctor, a barber, and a confessor.

THE CONFESSOR.—Good-morrow, Master Eck.

ECK.—Good-morrow, father.

THE CONFESSOR.—Why do you send for me ?

ECK.—To confess me.

THE CONFESSOR.—Begin.

ECK.—I, Eck, master of arts, master in theology, doctor, chancellor ordinary, doctor in the canon law, doctor in the civil law, the Italian, Austrian, Saxon, the victor

THE CONFESSOR.—Your sins, not your titles.

ECK.—My sins ?

THE CONFESSOR.—Drunkenness ?

ECK.—I am always thirsty.

THE CONFESSOR.—Lechery ?

ECK.—You mean frailty of the flesh ?

THE CONFESSOR.—Envy ?

ECK.—The favourite sin of the clergy.

THE CONFESSOR.—Anger ?

¹ "Nam litterarum nostrarum avidissimum esse te, vel tua scripta palam clamitant, quæ cum nunquam non affectent politiem ac venerem orationis, dubitari non potest quid de bonis litteris sentias."—Eras. Ep. liv. xi. ep. 19.

ECK.—Who can subdue his passions ?

THE CONFESSOR.—Wherefore, then, do you send for me ?

Eck confesses, and recounts all the evil passions which have impelled him to thwart Luther's works. The confessor wishes to give him absolution. Eck refuses it, because, by virtue of free will, he can absolve himself from all his errors. The doctor causes the patient to be tied to the bed hands and feet, and calls the barber. The barber shaves his head. "God !" exclaims the confessor, " what do I see ? Lice !"

THE DOCTOR.—Not at all : syllogisms, propositions, majors, minors, corollaries, and the whole artillery of the schoolmen.

Eck cries out to let him loose. They bring a draught, which they forcibly make him drink to the last drop. The poor doctor's heart sinks, and he vomits bulls, brieves, and decretals in great quantity.

"Come," says the medical man, " a clyster."

THE CONFESSOR.—What bile ! what a stink ! See, these are indulgences, confessions, masses, purgatory. But what do I see ? —pieces of gold swimming on the top !

THE DOCTOR.—It is not astonishing if they swim contrary to the laws of nature ; it is the money which he has received to defend Satan.

THE DOCTOR.—The iron ! the hot iron !—we must take off his skin.

THE CONFESSOR.—Immortal gods !—what coal !¹

Such was comedy in the time of Luther, the dialogue which they played behind the curtain. Ulrich von Hutten, John Reuchlin, Erasmus and Luther, their imitators, made use of it like poets. He who should judge of the monastic manners by these dialogues, would deceive himself, like a person who should seek for Dutch society in the pothouses of the school of Teniers. The reality was better than the representation ; it had its defects, but which fell not under the indictment. These caricatures did immense injury to the religious houses. The German people, especially the inhabitants of the great towns, were deceived ; they believed that the monastic state was as represented by the Reformers, and they laughed and shrugged their

¹ Impressum per Agrippam Panoplium regis Persarum bibliopolam. L. Simone Samaritano, et D. Juda Schariottade consulibus. In urbe Lucernarum.

shoulders in pity. The wit with which these fictions were spiced compelled them to laugh, and the nation, heretofore so grave and morose, sought nothing but merriment. The dialogues were at first written in Latin, in order that the author might indulge in all the impudence he chose ; they then reproduced in German these grotesque sallies, and the Saxon language strove with the Latin in frolic and audacity. They introduced into the dialogues the pope, the cardinals, monks, priests, and even abstractions, which then took a colour, figure, and senses, as in the dialogue of the bull transformed into a pepper-bag, which cries and laments being unworthy, as the grocer says, to be applied to the vilest purpose.

*"Ah scelus ista piper tegeret maledicta papyrus :
Non erat immundas tergere digna nates."*

The poor monks were driven from their monasteries, reduced to beggary, and vilified in reputation : every one at once abandoned them. Art was as ungrateful as human nature ; it forgot the progress which it made by their labours. The people laughed when they passed by ; they had no words of pity, or look of compassion, for such unfortunate men. Whither were they to go ? The roads were unsafe ; at that time there were horsemen who infested the highways, and chased the monks, whom they amused themselves with mutilating when they could catch them, for the greater glory of God.² Franz von Sickengen was one of the most renowned of these hunters. It was to him, who could scarcely read, that Luther dedicated his "Treatise on Confession" (*Von der Beicht*), which he had written at Wartburg.

¹ The following are some of the titles of these satirical dialogues :—*De Fide Concubinarum in Sacerdotio, causa joci et urbanitatis, in quolibet Heidelbergensis determinata, à magistro Paulo Oleario Heidelbergensi, without name of place or printer ; Raphaealis Musaei, in gratiam Martini Lutheri et Hutten propugnatorum Christianæ et Germanæ libertatis, ad osores, etc. ; Hochstratus ovans, Dialogus festissimus ; Dialogi Decoctio, etc.* These dialogues were sometimes half-Latin, half-German :—

*"Pertransivit clericus
Durch einen grünen Wald,
Invenit ibi stantem
Ein Meidlein wohlgestalt."*

² Hutten. Ep. ad Lutherum, part. xi. p. 128, . . . "wo er einen Pfaffen oder Mönchen angetroffen, er solchen, als silzogrossem Eifer castrirt hätte."—Unsch. Nachricht. Sammler, tom. xxviii. p. 496.

The dialogue could not escape from Luther's influence. Like the monk's creed, it assumed a twofold shape : it was religious and political. At first, its fable is entirely literary : it attacks the gown, that is to say, the mind which it covered ; it makes something of the monk blacker than his dress ; if it laughs at the figure, it ridicules the intellect still more ; for it the religious resume and reproduce all the sins of the catechism, and even ignorance, which is not forbidden by any commandment of God. We have seen what the individual who wore a gown appeared in the eyes of Luther !—a scullion, whom the savour of a roasted goose attracted and made happy, and who despised the word of God nearly as much as the Hebrew. The monks so ridiculed by the dialogue exactly resemble Tetzel, as portrayed by the Augustinian.¹ But soon with Luther the dialogue grows bolder. The monk once down, Luther seeks to destroy the “papistical” doctrines of which the vanquished was the living symbol. Then the dialogue attacks vows, the sacraments, works, purgatory. The priesthood naturally could not desert the poor conventional martyr of its faith. Luther advances a step farther, and the dialogue also. It is the Catholic priesthood, as represented in its hierarchy, that he seeks to ruin : the pope and bishops, the curates and officiating clergy, are sacrificed to their ridicule. But the scholars only can perceive the fine and ludicrous satire which changes the priest into a servant of Satan : it is necessary to address the people in another language. Whilst Luther, from Wartburg, appeals to the iron gauntlet of the knight and the fist of the peasant to overturn tradition, the dialogue repudiates the form of the Roman satirist, and like Luther, in his “Walls of Reprobation,” affects the language of the prophets. It mourns over Germany,—it pursues with its wrath the proud prelates, the rich prebendaries, the curates who have in their stables two or three nags, the abbots who live plentifully in their gilded arm-chairs, the laden crops of the monastic corn, the ever-fertile pastures of the parsonage, the golden chasubles of the sacristy, the tabernacles of the cathedrals sparkling with gems, the massive gold chalices and remonstrances of the collegiate churches, and the extensive

¹ See, in the early part of this volume, how Luther has depicted Tetzel.

cellars of the canons. Of the figure it says no more; but nothing is more full of meaning.¹

The body is represented as well warmed in winter by stoves six feet high; reposing at night upon thick mattresses; in summer preserved from the sun by double green shutters, which it constantly exhibits as a grievous sight to the poor people of the towns and country, who are obliged, in obedience to these hell-grubs, who are called priests, to cast into the holy purse their last groschen, and believe devoutly that it will be employed in making war against the Turks. The sweet song of this nightingale, named Luther, reaches every ear,² and Hans Sachs forsakes his shoes and his tragedies to compose, like the disciples of the Saxon, dialogues in which he imputes coarse vices to the priests of his parish.³

The dialogue is the journal of the period. When a writer wishes to give the Germans news from Rome, he imagines a fable composed of three parties,—a courtier, a nobleman, and a burgher. The courtier, who comes from beyond the Alps, is astonished with the sympathies excited by a monk. “Truly,” he says, “you are dreaming; Luther is not a saint, you deem him a god. What has he done to be so adored?” “What has he done?” says the burgher; “he has taught us to keep our money in our pockets, and not to spend it in the purchase of indulgences. What has he done?—he has taught us that a layman has as much power as a monk and a priest. What has he done?—he has taught us to laugh at Aristotle. What has he done?—he has taught us that the pope is a miserable sinner. What has he done?—he has taught us that there is only one book which we ought to read—the Bible: *gülden* and the Bible, these we regard as treasures. What has he done?—he has taught us that all courtiers are blackguards.”⁴

¹ Ein schöner Dialogus und Gespräch zwischen einem Pfarrer und einem Schultheiss, betreffend alle Uebel des Standes der Geistlichen und böse Handlung der Weltlichen, allein mit Geistigkeit beladen.

² Die Wittenbergische Nachtigall, die man jetzt höret überall, cum præf. Joh. Sachs, Schumacher: Eylenburg.

³ Disputatio zwischen einem Chor-Herrn und Schumacher, darin das Wort Gottes und ein recht christlich Wesen verfochten wird. Hans Sachs: Eylenburg.

⁴ “Item er lernet mich zum ersten, dass ich nimmer so viel soll umb den Aplass geben. Item dass die Curtisanen Buben seyen.”—Hüpech Argument, Red, Fragen und Antwort dreyer Personen, nemlichen aines Curtisanen, aines Edelmans, und aines Burgers: 8vo. without name of author or printer.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

DISTURBANCES IN THE PUBLIC MIND. 1521.

The edict of Worms cannot restore peace to Germany.—At Wittemberg, Melanthon in his lectures incessantly attacks Rome.—Preaching against celibacy and the Mass.—The students interrupt divine worship, and expel the celebrant.—The elector, not daring to take measures against the offenders, appoints a commission to examine the question touching the Mass and celibacy of the clergy.—Opinion of the commissioners.—Disturbances in the Saxon monasteries.—Marriages of a great number of monks.—Luther's doctrines spread far and wide.—Munzer, at Zwickau and Prague.—Bucer and Zell at Strasburg.—The old Catholic institutions fall under the assaults of men devoid of theological knowledge.—What they make of the Bible.—It is matter and not mind that rebels.—Luther's admissions.

THE statesmen who wished, at the diet of Worms, that the emperor should apply to Luther the penalties prescribed by the constitutions of Germany, knew well what they sought. They had foretold that the heresy, if unpunished, would increase, and that instead of a few drops of blood which they advised to be shed for the sake of the peace of Germany, they must soon erect scaffolds, if they wished to deal right with a religious accident which would end by becoming a political revolution. What they had predicted, came to pass. Everywhere, in the course of the emperor's progress through the provinces of Brabant, they burnt the monk's books ; but when the flame was extinguished, a living book presented itself demanding to be burnt in its turn. Martyrs were ready, and their song of triumph, at the stake, was rehearsed beforehand. Luther's impunity was of itself an argument which was made use of to prove the purity of the Saxon's doctrines.

The author of one of those dialogues, in which the innovators sacrificed the Catholic doctrines to their merriment, brought over a priest to the doctrines of Luther, by showing, that if he had been guilty, the sword of the emperor would inevitably have smote him. "And why," asked he, "were you unable to get

the better of him in the disputation at Worms?"¹ At Mayence, the archbishop, afraid of serious disturbances, forbade the Franciscan monks to attack from their pulpits the hermit of Wartburg.²

The papal nuncios had not recovered from their surprise ; they had declared that the ink wherewith the emperor signed his edict, would scarcely have dried before the doctrines condemned would give no longer any sign of life. The edict was posted up everywhere, on the doors of churches and town-halls, at the gates of villages, and the doctrine was protected, especially by the people. Aleandro ought not to have deceived himself as to the dispositions of the German people, especially since he travelled in the emperor's suite. It was not the Saxon creed which the people expected to make victorious, but the German nationality ; a schism would cost them nothing if they could effect that political independence which Luther constantly promised to them. At the downfall of each Catholic dogma, the people clapped their hands, never in the least imagining that in renouncing their faith, they would lose their nationality.

Traditional works were everywhere shaken : the university of Wittemberg had no more care or respect for the pope's bull than for the emperor's edict. In his chair at Wittemberg, Melancthon, intoxicated with the flattery of Luther, insulted the doctors of the Sorbonne. At twenty-five the professor showed his contempt for the age and the learning of the theologians of Paris. He slandered the Southerns, of whom he was ignorant ; he extolled the learning of the German nation ; read from his chair the pamphlets of Hutten, the poetic representative of the Saxon race, and commented upon them with a cruel delight. Then, casting a glance at Rome, he said to his audience, as in the character of a knight : "Look yonder ; among the cardinals and prelates, you do not find one German, but you will find more than one among the grooms, the water-carriers, and the mule-teers."³ And Rome at that very moment gave the professor the

¹ "Warum hand ir dan nit Doctor Luther mit Disputation yez zu Worms überwunden ?"—Ein schöner Dialogus, &c.

² Capito ad Zwingl. Hallis IV. Aug. 21.

³ "Sehet, ich bitte euch, sehet auf die Cardinäle und Prälaten in Rom, ob

lie, by calling to the chair of St. Peter a cardinal of the German race, Adrian VI., who succeeded Leo X.

The monk's books were circulated in Saxony, especially in the religious houses ; every monk before going to bed could read one of Luther's pages against celibacy. Their flesh, like the Saxon's, began to rebel, and to resist that irritation of the senses, they had neither sufficient faith nor piety ; what still restrained them was a remnant of human respect, which fell when the temptation became too violent and their prayers too lukewarm. James Seidler, priest at Glashutte, and Bernard of Kemberg, were the first to violate their vow of chastity. Seidler was thrown into prison by Duke George, whose subject he was ; but Frederick of Saxony did not venture to take any rigorous measures against Bernard. The two priests pretended that they were not fettered by the canons.¹

In the Augustinian monastery at Wittemberg, the monk Gabriel Zwillig, in a violent sermon, charged the vows of chastity with being inspired by Satan. According to him, it was impossible to go to heaven in a monk's habit.² Convinced by him, his hearers hastened, after the discourse, to throw off the gown and leave the monastery : some went to share the apartments of the students ; others dispersed themselves among the citizens ; one of them took up the trade of a joiner, and quickly got married.

But Gabriel did not content himself with attacking the monastic life ; fresh from reading the " Captivity of the Church at Babylon," he preached against private Masses. On this occasion he had for his audience a large number of students. On the 3rd December, 1521, during the celebration of the holy sacrifice in the parish church, at a given signal, some young citizens and students drew forth knives concealed under their clothes, and while some seized the missals and cut them to

ihr einen Deutschen darunter findet, und dann auf die Stallknechte, Wasseträger und Mauleseltreiber, ob sie nicht alle Deutsche sind."—Ulrich von Hutten, quoted by Ad. Menzel, *Leben des Erasmus von Rotterdam* : Hamburg, 1828, 8vo. p. 158.

¹ "Quid statuerint pontificii canones, nihil refert Christianorum."—*Corpus Reformatum*. tom. i. p. 418.

² Bericht von Gregorius Bruck an den Churfürsten, 11 Oct. — *Corpus Reformatum*. tom. i. p. 439.

pieces, others dragged the celebrant by force from the altar. Some of the rioters were arrested, whom the senate would have punished, but were compelled to release at the demand of the mob.¹

On hearing of these outrages, what did Frederick the Wise? Secluded in his ducal residence, sometimes at Lochau, at other times at Wittemberg, he initiated himself into the mysteries of the ancient Roman life, through the pages of Horace or Juvenal; if he came forth from his retirement, it was to recite as he went along passages from his favourite poets. All that could be got from him by dint of urgency, was, that he would write to the monks of Misnia and Thuringia to come to supply the vacancies occasioned at Wittemberg by the departure of the Augustinians. The monks obeyed the prince; but once in residence, they declared their wish to be at liberty either to wear or throw off the gown.²

Frederick, as in all extremities, wished to have the advice of his theologians. A commission was accordingly appointed to examine if celibacy and the Mass should be abolished. Justus Jonas, John Doltzig, Andrew Carlstadt, Nicolas Amsdorff, and Philip Melancthon were of the number. The commissioners soon made their report: it was to the effect, reproducing the arguments in the "Captivity of the Church in Babylon," and those of the devil in his conference with Luther,³ that the Mass and celibacy were of infernal origin. The prince, it appears, did not seem satisfied with the conclusions of the report, and he requested the theologians, by the lawyer Beyer, to reconsider it. The divines replied that they had maturely examined the question; that the custom of private Masses dated only four centuries back; that it was true there existed another Mass, such as the apostles

¹ Ranke, l. c. tom. ii. p. 15.

We read, in the Chronicle of Sanuto (Archives of Vienna, vol. xxxii.): "Novità di uno ordine over uso de la fede Christiana comenzada in Vintibergia. Li fratri heremitani di S. Augustino hanno trovato, che le messe secondo che se usano adesso si è gran peccato a dirle o odire, e dapoi el zorno di S. Michiel 1521, in qua ogni zorno questo hanno predichado e ditto, e stanno saldi in questa soa oppinione e questo etiam con le opre osservano et dapoi la domeniga di S. Michiel non hanno ditto più messe nella chiesa del suo monasterio, e per questo è seguito un gran scandalo tra el popolo, li cantori e canonici spirituali e temporali."

² *Decreta Augustinianorum*, in the *Corpus Reformatorum*, tom. i. p. 456.

³ Briamarc, in *Vita Carolostadii*.—Ulenberg, l. c. p. 151.

had instituted, which had been celebrated since the time of St. Augustine, and which still was in use in the days of St. Bernard ;¹ that the apostolic institution must be restored, and that idolatrous novelty, the Mass, considered as a sacrifice, be destroyed, regardless of the disturbances which Satan would not fail to excite. But as the prince was still more afraid of the emperor than of the devil, he requested the canons of the collegiate church to preserve the Mass and the old ceremonies of worship : the canons obeyed.

If the elector Frederick had been such a theologian as Luther represents him, he would have taken out of his library one of those liturgies of the Eastern or Western Churches, such as are known by the names of St. James or St. Mark, the founders of the Churches of Jerusalem and Alexandria, and have proved to his synod, that in these ancient monuments of the Catholic faith, the Mass is always considered as a sacrifice. He ought to have known that liturgies already existed in the fourth century, since the Monophysites of Syria and Egypt, who separated themselves from the Church in the fifth century, possess them, as well as the orthodox Greeks. He ought also to have known, if he possessed the theological learning ascribed to him by Luther, that in the second century Irenæus speaks already of the invocation (*ἐπικλησίς*), and that in the third, St. Cyril makes mention of the preface with the *surrūm corda*.²

Carlstadt laughed at the orders of his highness the elector. The noise which Luther made, hindered from sleep this person stuffed with pride. He believed himself, and desired by all means to be, head of a sect. The mirth of the prisoner of Wartburg on receiving Carlsstadt's matrimonial commentary, had extended to Wittemberg ; it was necessary to stifle it, and the archdeacon was truly an immoral man. He speedily composed a Mass. On Christmas day he ascended the pulpit,

¹ "Ad huc respondent : Missam uti nunc quidem cum opinione divini cultus et sacrificii peragitur, annis ab hisce circiter quadringentis primum natam."—Ulenberg, l. c. p. 154.

² Möhler's Symbolism, vol. i. App. p. 3 (Robertson's translation), where various passages from the Euchologion, or ritual of the Greeks, are quoted. See Bona, Rer. Liturg. ch. ii. 10 ; Renaudot, Dissertatio de Lit. Orient., orig. et auctor. tom. ii. : Paris, 1716 ; Lienhart, De Antiquis Liturgiis : Argentorati, 1829.

went from it to the altar, where he omitted to adore Christ in the canon, and exhibit him to the faithful at the elevation. At the communion, he took bread and distributed it to all who approached the table, and then gave them the cup to drink, saying : "This is the cup of my blood of the Old and New Testament." Carlstadt triumphed: he had conquered Luther. But as if not content with this bold act, he wished to show to the world that he knew how to put in practice the theories of his pupil ; he had dependent on him a girl of doubtful reputation, whom he married, and set himself to compose, after the fashion of monks who yielded to temptation, a Mass, in which the celebrant blessed in the name of God the incestuous union. At the introit the priest said : "Dixit Dominus Deus non est bonum hominem esse solum : faciamus adjutorium simile sui :" at the collect : "Deus qui post tam longam et impiam sacerdotum tuorum cæcitatem, Andream Carlostadium eâ gratiâ donare dignatus es, ut primus, nullâ habitâ papistici juris ratione, uxorem ducere ausus fuerit, da quæsumus, ut omnes sacerdotes, receptâ sanâ mente, ejus vestigia sequentes, ejectis concubinis, aut eisdem conductis, ad legitimi consortium chori convertantur. Per Dominum Jesum Christum," &c. Then came the prose : "Deus in tuâ virtute Andræas Carlostadius gaudet et lætatur, thalamo copulatus." The Mass ended with the following prayer : "Sint nobis, Domine, auxilio sumpti sacramenti mysteria, et sicut Andreæ Carlostadii connubiali celebritate lætamur, itâ fac quæsumus sacerdotum conjugia toto orbe feliciter auspicientur, feliciùs succedant, et quâm felicissimè finiantur. Per Dominum," &c.¹

This riot of men's minds was not confined to Wittemberg, it extended to various quarters of Germany. At Zwickau, on the feast of the Assumption, 1521, the curate Munzer had preached against indulgences, Masses for the dead, purgatory, and the celibacy of the clergy.² Expelled from Zwickau, Munzer fled to Prague, where he posted on the doors of the cathedral an insolent

¹ Scultetus erroneously considers this Mass to be the work of some Catholic monk. It is entitled, *Missa de Nuptiis Carlostadii et Sacerdotibus Matrimonium contrahentibus.*

² Weller, *Altes aus allen Theilen der Geschichte*, tom. i. p. 752.

placard against the Papists.¹ He was an enthusiast, an inspired demoniac, a poet with waves of imagery such as we shall find him soon in the mines of Thuringia. He announced that he came to waken the disciples of John Huss with the trumpets of the pure Gospel ; that he was weary of those frozen texts of the Holy Scriptures, which the robbers had stolen from the Bible ;² that he desired to have no longer anything in common with those carcases anointed with papistical oil from head to foot, which breathed, sweated, and belched forth abomination. "It has indeed been long," said he, "that men have hungered and thirsted for divine justice : the children have called for bread, and there has been no one to cut it for them. Well then, look at those who toss to them, as to dogs, texts from the Bible. Wretched pastors, whose paps are so dried up, that they have no more milk to offer to their lambs ; storks, who gobble up the poor frogs who by ill luck leave the bottom of their marshes ; birds of prey, who feed their young with stones in the shape of food.

"Rejoice, my well-beloved children ; see how your houses become clean by the beams of my word. I come, with God's penny in my hand, to put the scythe to the harvest : my throat will sing the truth, my lips will curse the blasphemers. I come among you, Bohemians, in order that you may receive the word of life, which living I aspirate and respire. We shall see if your Mass-mumblerers are real priests ; you shall see as clearly as midday, that you have been seduced and deceived. I tell you that the lands of the North are about to be watered with a river of grace. It is hence that the Church renewed shall extend its kingdom over the whole world. Do not come to me, come to God ; I ask nothing from you for my trouble. Let me only speak to you.... In the name of the crimson blood of Christ, I urge you to compare me with your priests of Rome.

¹ "Intimatio Thomæ Muntzeri manu propriâ scripta et affixa Pragæ a. 1521, contra Papistas." — Pantheon Anabaptisticum et enthusiasticum : Cothen. 1702, folio, p. 316 et seq.

² "Cum Christi athletâ Johanne Huss canoras et ductiles tubas novo cantico repleturus, ingemiscens protestor coram universâ Ecclesiâ . . . sepiissime autem gelidas ab eis audiri scripturas, quas iniquissime, tanquam cupidi furee et atrocissimi latrones de Biblia sunt furati," etc.

I, Munzer, demand that the Church shall cease to pray to dumb gods.”¹

Bucer, who had retired to the house of Franz von Sickengen after preaching against celibacy, carried off a nun named Labenfels, whom he married.² His friend, Anthony Firn, curate of St. Thomas at Strasburg, did not long look about him; he married a mistress whom he had kept for four years. One Sunday he got up into the pulpit and said to his parishioners: “There is a promise of marriage between Miss — and Anthony Firn, curate of St. Thomas.”³ Matthew Zell, curate of the cathedral, preached a long sermon on the day of the celebration of the nuptials at St. Lawrence’s, on the necessity of marriage, and some days thereafter Gerbel wrote to John Schwebel: “Master Anthony, curate of St. Thomas, had for some time in his service a young girl, fresh, delicious, and very beautiful; he has made her his wife. The Papists are enraged.”⁴

This Zell repeated in the pulpit Luther’s insults against the clergy; he said: “The priests are only fit to eat and drink, that is their whole care; they would like to take the wives and daughters of the citizens to make them their mistresses. During Mass, some sleep, while others walk about the church.”⁵

On leaving the pulpit, Zell invited to dinner Hans Karst, who went crying through the streets, that the time was come for massacring those who called themselves the elect of God, and who by means of the belief in purgatory racked out money from the poor.⁶

It is afflicting to witness thus the fall of our ancient and holy institutions, and under what blows? Let us not speak of

¹ Munzer was obliged to leave Prague for want of countenance. “In pleisque locis mox ut notaretur ejus intentio pessima, ejectus fuit, antequam occulta seditione machinationis scintilla in apertum prouumperet incendium. Sic ejectus fuit Praga Bohemorum.”—Cochlaeus, in Comm. de Actis Scriptis Lutheri: Moguntiae, 1540, folio, p. 108.—See Confirmatory Evidence, No. 23.

² Adami Vita Theol. p. 102.

Trausch, Chron. Strasburg MSS. vol. ii. p. 69.

³ Gerbel, Centuria Epist. pp. 36, 37. See *La Foi de nos Pères*, by M. de Bussières: Paris, 1844, p. 493 et seq.

⁴ Trausch, l. c. De Bussières, l. c. p. 496.

⁵ Trausch, vol. ii. part ii. p. 70.

that wicked angel, too deeply interested in the question to be accepted as an adversary ; but what warrant of theological light shall we find in Melancthon, only twenty-five years old ; in Schurf, who had never studied the Holy Scriptures ; in Justus Jonas, a professor of law ; in Amsdorff, a professor of philosophy ? Fathers of a council who designedly falsify history in giving to the Mass an antiquity of four centuries only. How rest convinced that the celibacy of the clergy is of demoniacal origin, when in order to prove this Satanic genesis, Carlstadt gravely quotes his famous text, *immolare Moloch* ? Bernard of Kemberg, a greater toper than Eobanus Hessus, and a greater glutton than Sickengen, is tainted with such gross ignorance, that, to justify his incontinence, he is obliged to borrow the pen of Melancthon, who charitably bestows upon him twenty-four octavo pages !¹ In a sermon publicly preached at Strasburg, Zell maintains, that in case of necessity a woman may receive orders, and perform the functions of a priest ;² that the pope is a mere sensualist, and resembles a scarecrow set up in the fields to frighten birds !³ Such are the famous adversaries of celibacy !

Again, if, to reject the Mass or celibacy, these monks had come to us with the same texts ; but no ! Each has one of his own, which he considers most convincing. Luther laughs at the text of Carlstadt, who ridicules the text of Bernard, who inveighs against that of the curate of St. Thomas of Strasburg. Nevertheless, all these rest upon the Bible, the letter of which, they say, is more luminous than the purest sunbeam.

Every hallucination which could cross a distempered brain was, for a time, taken for an illumination by the Holy Ghost. Never had the divine light been communicated more capriciously to the human understanding. The Bible was extended like a subject on a dissecting-table, whither every doctor, armed with his own scalpel, came, as at a later period did Dumoulin, to anatomicize God's book, and search in it for the life concealed from Catholic eyes till the advent of Luther. This was the reign of glosses and commentaries, to which time happily has

¹ *Apologia ad Officiales Dicecesanos Magdeburgensis Archiepiscopatus.*

² Trausch, Chron. MSS. of Strasburg, vol. ii. part. ii. p. 70.

³ Trausch, l. c.

not only done justice, for ridicule also was mixed up with it, and was merciless. There were Reformers, who, to reconstruct Christianity, announced that they had found an irresistible argument against the Mass, purgatory, and saint-worship ; this lay in a denial of the soul's immortality. Now, that idea had originated with the Italian refugees. They loudly ridiculed it. They left Wittemberg and settled at Geneva, where we find them in 1565, publicly maintaining in printed theses, that all which had been said of the soul's immortality was an invention of Antichrist to make the pope's pot boil.¹ And they quoted Luther, who had said : "They must be very clever to prove that the soul is produced by means of propagation, that it infuses itself into the body at the moment of creation ; I maintain that the poet was right in saying that the child follows its sire."²

What has become of that spiritualism to which they have told us the apostle of the Reformation was indebted for his success ? But in that struggle which at this moment goes on under our eye, it is matter or flesh which triumphs, and not mind. Luther knows it well, and has said in his Rabelaisian style : "It is the gastric necessities which those monks obey, who have scarcely stripped off their gowns when they hasten to marry."³ They are pressed, they take those whom they find on their way ; and the most of their time they have no other journey to make than from the refectory to the kitchen, from the library to the dining-room ; it is their cook or servant whom they generally marry. Let us be grave. Certainly it was not science which overcame those priests, Carlstadt, Bernard, and Zell. Accordingly it was not, as it has been called, a contest between Catholicity and Protestantism, in which Protestantism necessarily must prevail,

¹ "Purgatorium cum misere et pontifice Romano melius abolere non possumus quam si dicamus simul animam cum corpore extingui. . . . Quidquid de animalium habetur immortalitate, ab Antichristo ad statuendam suam culinam excoxitatum est." This proposition was indeed maintained at Geneva ; not in a general assembly, as Prateolus (Du Préau) says, in his *Elenchus, voce Athei*, p. 72, but by some Italian exiles, who published their theses, and maintained them in open school.—Bayle, art. Luther.

² "Nihil est quod dicetur, anima rationalis creando infunditur et infundendo creatur ; melius hoc in re docuit poeta dicens : patrem sequitur sua proles."—Op. Luth. tom. ii. Bayle, art. Luther.

³ "Video monachos nostros multos exire nulla causa alia quam quæ intraverant, hoc est ventris et libertatis carnalis gratia."—Joh. Lango, 23 Mart. 1522.

because it represented mind and knowledge. We see that they made mind the slave of sensual appetites ; and we have shown how they made use of knowledge by torturing grossly a text of the inspired word. There was, therefore, either bad faith or ignorance on the part of these explanators. How much the South prevails here over the North, if we mark throughout this dispute merely an antagonism between two races. Beyond the Alps, they made an explanation offensive neither to the ear nor to good sense. We may safely prefer Sadoletus to Carlstadt, and Giles of Viterbo to Zell, the curate of St. Thomas. The more we reflect on the causes of the success of Protestantism, the more we are convinced that they are indebted to matter only.

Thus then, Aleandro, Leo X.'s nuncio at the diet of Worms, was right when he wrote that everywhere in his travels in Germany, he had only seen a struggle between the flesh and the spirit. When the contest was over, by the triumph of matter, all the monks who had married, exchanged the choir of their chapels for the pot-house. "If they had any faith left," says a Protestant author, "it no longer manifested itself by works, or rather, works and faith, all were dead in them."¹

How should not matter have rejoiced in those seductive pictures which Luther drew of the pleasures of married life, when, lifting the veil which the hand of no priest ought to touch, he reveals the phenomena that precede pregnancy ?²

¹ "Wir hofften die römische Buberei, desgleich der Mönch und Pfaffen Schalkheit sollt gebessert werden ; aber so man zusieht, hat sich die Sach also geändert, dass die evangelischen Buben jene fromm machen. Ich kann es wohl gedenken, dass euch Solches zu hören fremd ist, wenn Ihr aber um uns waret, und sehet das schändlich, bös und sträflich Wesen, so die Pfaffen und ausgelassen Mönch treiben, wurd't Ihr euch mit dem höchsten verwundern. Die vorigen haben uns mit Gleissnerey und Listigkeit betrogen ; so wollen die jetzigen öffentlich ein schändlich und sträflich Wesen führen, und dabei die Leut mit gescheiden Augen blind reden und sagen : Man kann sie aus ihren Werken nit urtheilen, so uns doch Christus ein andres gelehrt hat ; und obwohl die guten Werke nicht leicht erkannt können werden, so aber einer böölich und sträflich handelt, zeigt er damit an, dass er kein Biedermann ist, er zieh sich gleich auf den Glauben, wie er will, dann an die Werk' ist der Glaub todt, wie auch die Werk' an den Glauben."

Ernst Mönch's Bilibad Pirkheimer Schweizerkrieg, nebst Biographie und kritische Schriften-Verzeichniß : Basel, 1826, 8vo. pp. 49, 50.

² "Fecunda adhuc est ; et tumescit uterus ejus pleno sinu."—Nicol. Gerbellio, 1 Nov. 1521.

CHAPTER XXXV.

REVOLT AGAINST LUTHER. 1521—1522.

Luther, from Wartburg, urges his disciples to the destruction of Catholicism.—Carlstadt applies himself to the work with too brutal energy.—He is censured by Luther, who invokes authority for the use of infant baptism.—Disturbances caused at Wittemberg by Carlstadt and Didymus.—The war against images.—Erasmus protests against Carlstadt's fanaticism.—The archdeacon in his iconoclasm was consistent with Protestant principles.—Erroneous ideas of Protestants as to the worship of images.—Luther joins Erasmus in reprehending Carlstadt's fury.—The latter revolts against Luther.—Carlstadt only applies his master's principles.—Munzer derives other deductions entirely social, from the doctrine of free examination, established by Luther.

ALTHOUGH assailed by sickness, the attacks of the Catholics, the decrees of the Sorbonne, the sentences of the universities, the defection of many of his disciples, by all that could break the most heroic courage, Luther did not suffer himself to be moved. His soul was never at a loss ; it never bent nor was humbled. From his turret at Wartburg, his eye could see the flames which consumed his works ; and it might be said, that from the pile erected by the emperor's orders, some spark escaped, which lighted upon those heights, and kindled another fire, which could not thenceforth be extinguished. He scarcely slept beyond two or three hours ; all the rest of the night was occupied in corresponding with his friends, in exciting their zeal, which was relaxed when distant from their master, and enlarging the breach which he had opened with full force in the papal edifice, in spite of the incessant outcries against him, as he says, “of fire, wood, and coals, to burn the rash fool !” His language is still more powerful than we have hitherto heard. He summons his disciples to the destruction of the traditional works of our Church. Before his exile, we might have believed that he would spare some stones of the Catholic edifice ; but now that solitude has left him complete leisure, there is no portion of it to which he would not apply the hammer. At first it is confession which he dearly loves, he says, but which he ruins by representing it as a human

precept, and by recommending his friends at Wittemberg to translate the Latin pamphlet, in which his beloved Ecolampadius harasses so cruelly Antichrist and his followers on this subject.¹ Then, again, it is the celibacy of the clergy which he treats as a Satanic inspiration, and which he praises Carlstadt and Bernard, the priest of Kemberg, for having publicly shaken off. It is the worship rendered to saints which he would abolish as idolatrous; the Mass, which has ceased to be a sacrifice in his eyes; purgatory, which a short while before he admitted, but now rejects as a deceit; orders, which are only empty ceremonies; extreme unction, a practice of a few centuries only; monastic vows, a mere human invention.² It is the whole Catholic Bible which he wishes to reform and remake, although the divine word does not always enlighten him, as he confesses; and the language of the sacred books often appears to him so very obscure as to require an elucidation from his disciple Melancthon. If it happens that the divine meaning escapes his comprehension, and he searches in vain for its objective import, then, the Holy Ghost failing him, he appeals for the interpretation of a passage to the authority of the Church: and here Luther's works deserve to be quoted. The point in question is the text, "qui crediderit et baptisatus fuerit salvus erit," upon which Carlstadt rested for his proof of the necessity of a second baptismal ablution.³ "Besides, what does the Church say? There is here a question of fact and not of right. We cannot dispute whether the Church ought to believe that faith is infused into the baptized infant, for there is

¹ Melanchthoni, 26 Maii. Ecolampadius had written, in 1521, under the title of *Quod non sit onerosa Christianis Confessio, paradoxon, Joa. Ecolampadii, Basil.*, a pamphlet against auricular confession, full of invective against the pope.

² Melanchthoni, 1 Aug. De Wette, l. c. tom. ii. p. 34. "Sermonem de Confessione antevertit Ecolampadius noster, edito libro de confessionis facilitate, satis libero, futurus et ipse est suis hostibus nova vexatio."—Melanchthoni, 26 Maii. De Wette, l. c. tom. ii. p. 9. Ecolampadius had already attacked the worship of the Blessed Virgin, in the pamphlet entitled, *De Laudando in Maria Deo, ad Jo. Jung, Canonicum et Vicarium in Spiritualibus Frinsingensem, Sermo: Augustæ, 1521.*

³ The most of the questions agitated by Luther had in the first instance been treated by Carlstadt; as, for example, communion under both kinds. See *Von beyden Gestalten der heil. Mess, von Zeichen in gemein was sie wirken und deuten. Sie sind nicht Böhmen oder Ketzer, die beyde Geetalt nehmen, sondern evangelische Christen. Andreas Bodenstein von Carlstadt, an Jorgen Reich, Bürger zu Leipzig : Wittenb. 1521.*

no text which forces her to it. What then? we cannot prove the right; the belief, who sees it? but we have the confession. What does the Church confess? is it not that in baptism the child becomes a participator in the merits of Christ? You object; but if St. Augustine, and those whom you call the Church, have erred upon this point, whence are we to have certainty, since we cannot prove, after all, that such was their belief? The reply must ever be the same: for want of the right, the material fact of the confession. Who will assure us that St. Augustine has spoken the truth, if we do not accept his confession as sufficient? now that confession agrees with the Scriptures. But that he believed what he confessed, is what I cannot prove. Is it not, then, a singular miracle of God, that the necessity for infant baptism has never been denied even by heretics? that no voice has ever been raised against that practice? that, on the contrary, all have admitted and respected it? To deny that it is the confession of the Church would be an impiety, as much as it would be to deny the Church itself. If the baptism of infants was not an article of its belief, its teaching must have changed: now, the Church has never confessed what it did not believe."¹

Is it a dream? We look at the date of that letter to Melanchthon, in order to see whether it was written when Luther, according to his own expression, was still walking in the leading-strings of popery; but when he drew up this magnificent testimony in favour of authority, he was free, he had cast off all the bonds and memories of the past. It is not the Papist monk who speaks here, but the doctor, the ecclesiastes of Wittemberg, who was then reposing in that elevated position, where God loves to visit his elect, and enlighten them with his wisdom. So, then, when Eck, at Leipsic, and Vehus, at Worms, appealed to authority, was it not to defend the doctrines which the Church had constantly confessed? And then the reason of the Reformer was indignant, and called for texts to enlighten his understanding, as

¹ Melanchthoni, 13 Jan. 1521. De Wette, l. c. tom. ii. p. 124 et seq.
 "Jam quid confitetur Ecclesia se credere in hoc articulo? Nonne pueros etiam esse particeps beneficiorum Christi? Objicitur verò: Quid si Augustinus et quos Ecclesiam vocas vel esse creditis, in hac parte errant, quis certos nos faciat, cum probare non possumus debere eam sic credere? At eadem objecio impugnabitur: Si non jus, tamen factum propriè credendi in Ecclesia?... Hanc autem confessionem negare esse Ecclesie illius verè et legitimè, arbitror impiissimum esse."

the sun does darkness. The parts are changed : now Carlstadt speaks like Luther at the diet, and Luther like the chancellor. Luther makes use of the same argument against the menaces of incipient Anabaptism as the Catholic jurist did against the novelties of Protestantism. Thus Luther has made use of his reason, has troubled the repose of the Church, and the peace of Germany, and made all that noise which excites the world, only to fall back into the sepulchre of the letter, wherein he seeks, in his turn, to entomb his adversaries ! He calls the fathers of the Church to vouch for his faith ; and, happily for our consolation, this is not the only transfiguration which we find in his long apostleship : his life is full of them. We do not speak only of that monastic life, which we can clearly imagine as filling him with the still early ideas of youth, but of that gladiatorial state of existence when he fights or teaches under the inspiration of his Lord and his God. In his first theses, does he not maintain the whole sacraments of the Church, which at a later period, in his letter to Melanthon, he reduces to two, and then increases to three, in the Confession of Augsburg ? In this new confession, does he not admit that the body and blood of Jesus Christ are under the species of bread and wine, to the great annoyance of Schwenkfeld, who will bitterly reproach him for this development of doctrine ? In the conference of Marburg, will he not teach that the bread remains with the body ? If at first he adores Christ in the eucharist with the Church of Wittenberg, he is not long in proscribing that adoration. Open the book "Adversus Bohemos," or "De Captivitate Babylonica," or some of his letters ;¹ communion under both kinds is there treated as an indifferent practice, as a grievous thing ; and afterwards does he not make it a dogma ? What more ? Will he ask for signs and miracles from those who introduce new doctrines to the world ? He will come to that.

For "Satan had slipped into his flock at Wittenberg ;"²—Satan, that is to say, the demon of pride and rebellion. Removed from that eye which flashed lightning, and in which there "burned a wild glare like that of a madman," some bold dis-

¹ 30 Mar. 1528.

² "Der leidige Satan hat in meiner Abwesenheit allhie zu Wittenberg in meinen Heerden viel Böses versucht anzurichten."—An Spalatin. 7 Mars, 1522.

ciples wished to fathom the mysteries of Luther's ideas. That came to pass : they treated Luther as he had treated authority ; they gave him doubt for doubt, denial for denial ; they wished to separate from him, in virtue of the same principle which he had invoked for repudiating authority ; and as he had saddened the heart of the common father, they made his drink gall and bitterness.

In the beginning of 1522, the following events occurred :¹—

Carlstadt, followed by Didymus² (Zwilling), and some of the multitude roused to fanaticism by his preaching, one day entered the church of All Saints during service, and began to destroy the statues, pictures, and sacred images, calling to those present : “ ‘Thou shalt not make to thyself a graven thing, nor the likeness of any things that are in heaven above, or that are in the earth beneath, or that abide in the waters under the earth.’ ”³

This text seemed so to dazzle their eyes, that the magistrates of Wittemberg were mute : not one of them had the courage to seize the iconoclast and drive him out of the church. Carlstadt profaned other churches equally filled with statues, the offspring of German art, which required not to be warmed by the sun of Italy in order to produce them : spontaneous inspirations, that made every church a museum, where might be studied those models that showed to what a height the national genius could rise without studying the works of antiquity. A great lesson is derived from the effects produced by the twofold principle in which Catholicism and the Lutheran Reformation resolve themselves ; the one submitting its reason to faith, but honouring human works ; the other desiring to emancipate reason, and finding a text in Scripture whereby to justify its Vandalism. Witness these apostate monks, who remained unmoved amid all these saturnalia, and who had laughed so heartily at their brethren when they formerly attacked Reuchlin ! Under the conventional robe, not a single heart stirred at these cruel profana-

¹ Prætolus, De Vitis, etc., omnium Hæreticorum: Colon. folio, p. 261.

² Gabriel Didymus, a fiery monk, who from the outset partook of all Carlstadt's fancies, was expelled by the Lutherans, and afterwards appointed minister at Torgau. See Luther's letters to this monk, of 17 April and 8 May, 1522, vol. ii. De Wette.

³ Deut. v. 8.

tions ; it was only excited by the joys of marriage promised by Luther. One of these monks denounced these outrages to Luther ; but what disturbed Staupitz ? Was it that all these treasures of antiquity were for ever lost to science ? No, but the doubt whether the Bible text had been properly applied by Carlstadt.

"But," said the archdeacon, who with his disciples continued his crusades against images, "why refer to a man ? God has spoken by the mouth of his prophet. Look at the Scriptures ; is it not written, 'Thou shalt not make graven images ?' Is it, then, a crime to destroy idols ?" And all those who carried on the work of destruction in the Catholic churches repeated, "'Thou shalt not make graven images.'"

At Zurich, they wished to try the images before condemning them ; they therefore formally published an indictment, entitled, "God's Judgment upon Images,"¹ in which these dumb signs were put to the bar and condemned as idolaters. Then an artisan, named Hottinger, took upon him to execute God's sentence, and, accompanied by several citizens, broke to pieces the wooden crucifix erected at the city gate.

Zurich was aroused, the council assembled, and Hottinger was cast into prison. Then Zwinglius ascended the pulpit, and preached against images, as forbidden by the law of Moses, and that the Gospel had not repealed the command of the Jewish legislature. And it was not only canvas and marble that were destroyed in the towns whereto the Reformation had penetrated, but, would it be believed ? they consigned to the flames manuscripts, in which a generation of monks, in the solitude of their cloisters, had endeavoured to depict with colours which time has been unable to efface, the principal scenes of our regeneration in Christ ; they broke with hammers, even in private residences, those painted windows of which Protestant art at present tries to revive the secret,² and incarcerated the pious individuals who kept in their houses the images of their patron saints.³

Every one possessed of a feeling for the arts, among the learned

¹ Bull. Schw. ch. tom. iii. Life of Zwinglius, by Hess, p. 186 et seq.

² "Scis Tigurinos omnes divos ejecisse à templis, Vuualshutenses etiam à vitreis fenestrarum sedium."—Epist. Erasmi, lib. xix. ep. 4.

³ See Life of Calvin, vol. i.

men of the time, felt Carlstadt's frenzy as an outrage. Erasmus was the first to protest against these fanatical doings, and plead the cause of the images with great and hearty eloquence.

"Whoever deprives us of painting," he writes to one of his friends, "deprives existence of its greatest charms : painting is often a better interpreter than language. It is false that images are useless. Formerly there were images in the temples of the Jews,—cherubims, and fanciful images of men and animals. The images which adorn our Christian churches are not presented to the adoration of the faithful,—they are either elegant ornaments or pious memorials. Do you not believe, then, that if the scenes of the life of Jesus Christ were painted upon our sacred edifices, these material representations would elevate the mind to the intimate contemplation of the life of the Saviour? No; Catholics never offer images for the adoration of man, and the respect which they show to them they naturally bear to the saints whom they represent. Banish, then, since you will not have images, the Atlases and musicians, by means of which the artist sometimes supports a pulpit or a pillar; and even remove the cock which surmounts the steeple."¹

We are forced to admit, that in the war with images or visible signs, Carlstadt understood much better than Luther the spirit of the new worship which was to supersede Catholicity. The ostentatious barenness exhibited by the Protestant or reformed Churches of the present day, proves that the archdeacon had foreseen that the new faith would inevitably proscribe form, for visible form is work symbolized by canvas or stone. Now Luther's faith, as we have seen, did not admit of visible signs. Carlstadt, faithful not to the letter of the Scriptures, which he did not understand, but to the spirit of the Saxon creed, repudiated all that could appeal to the senses ; his worship was, what it boasts of being at the present time, a worship in spirit and in truth. Unfortunately, Carlstadt had an incomplete idea of the nature of man, who, being composed of a body and soul, must in all contemplation pass over matter to reach the spiritual.

Christianity is not a cold emanation of reason, but the true revelation of heavenly beauty in its inexhaustible variety of forms,

¹ Erasmi Epist. lib. xxxi. ep. 59.

in its immutable unity. Does respect for the Deity incur any risk when we contemplate the Transfiguration of Raphael, or the Virgins of Perugino? Does not the spire of Strasburg, reaching towards the sky, elevate the soul to heaven? Are the senses alone ravished by listening to the *Miserere* of Allegri? Is not the splendid painting of Christ in the Septichre, by Holbein, an elegant sermon? But within the boundaries of creation, that immense temple of the Godhead, are not the flowers, the rivers, the sun, the stars, the night, and the day, real images, which must therefore be destroyed to idealize worship? In severing all connection with the æsthetics, Protestantism has mistaken human nature. It should remember that Christ comes not to the soul by the word only, but also by miracle, which is nothing other than an image.

Even in Protestantism there are to be found serious minds, who have taken upon themselves to vindicate those images which Carlstadt desired to remove.

On seeing the cathedral of Strasburg, Clausen feels his heart stirred with an inexpressible joy, and he exclaims, in his enthusiasm as a Christian artist, "That monument will endure as long as love towards the heavenly spirit who inspired it. It is in these Catholic works that the power of human genius, when vivified and enlightened by faith, manifests itself."¹ "Look," says a Protestant clergyman, "at the paintings of the great masters,—of Raphael, Guido, Guercino, Domenichino, and say if that spiritual grace wherewith they have impregnated their compositions does not touch your inmost heart. Truly it is not matter alone which is moved by the sight of their marvellous canvas. What Christian would not mourn over the destruction of images effected by the Reformation?"²

Luther also was indignant,—not from a poetic affection for art, but for the sake of the liberty of which he was at intervals the enlightened apostle.

"And I also," he exclaimed from his Patmos, "condemn images; but I desire to attack them with preaching, and not with flames, in order that they may not be believed in as they

¹ Clausen, quoted by Hœninghaus, in his *Réforme contre la Réforme*, vol. ii. p. 280.

² Prediger Kayser, Bibl. Theologie, 1814, tom. ii.

have hitherto been. They will fall of themselves when the people have been taught to know that they are nothing in the eyes of God : it is thus that I seek to efface from their minds, but by preaching only, all these conceits of the pope upon confession, communion, prayers, and fasting. I am sorry for those people who, in forgetfulness of God, his faith and charity, boast of their Christianity, because that in presence of weak minds they venture to make use of meat, eggs, and milk : let them communicate under the two kinds, and leave off fasting and prayers.”¹

Luther’s voice thundered too far off to be heard at Wittemberg. Carlstadt, after the images were destroyed, began to preach against their *cultus*; then it was that Staupitz showed him the Reformer’s letter. Carlstadt smiled, and replied: “It is written: It is better to obey God than men.” Staupitz urged upon him the annoyance which these profanations of the sanctuary had caused to their common father. The archdeacon continued: “It is no new thing that the world should be troubled for God’s word. Herod with all his court was alarmed on hearing of the birth of Jesus; the earth shook and the sun was darkened at the death of Christ. That the multitude and the wise are offended by it, is a mark that my teaching is true. Hear the Psalmist: ‘God has chosen the weak and the foolish;’ the understanding of his word is given to those who walk in simplicity of heart.”

In this he translated what Luther had written to Henry von Bunau, archdeacon of Elsterwick, some months previously.²

“Doubtless,” said Staupitz, “our father condemns, like you, the worship of images; but he does not wish violence to be used. He desires that they should be attacked in the pulpit.”

“Be silent,” replied Carlstadt; “do you then forget that Luther has written, ‘The Lord’s word is not a word of peace, but a sword?’”³

Staupitz threatened him with the punishment of the authorities.

¹ Nicolao Hausmann, 17 Mart. 1522.

² Henrico de Bunau, 30 Maii, 1520. De Wette, l. c. tom. i. p. 420.

³ Johanni Staupitio, 9 Feb. 1520. De Wette, tom. i. pp. 555, 556.

Carlstadt smiled, and taking him hastily by the arm, "My father," said he, "it is the threat which the envoy of Cardinal Cajetan addressed to Brother Martin ; and do you remember what reply he made to the messenger ? ' I shall go whither God pleases under his heaven.' "

The conversation ceased, and Staupitz wrote the result of it to Luther, who from that day vowed to his old master in theology a hatred which time could neither extinguish nor mitigate. The disciple had no mercy for the professor, whose learning he had so long extolled. He followed him even in the grave with his sarcasms, representing this Carlstadt, who but lately had been the star of the school of Wittemberg and the eagle of scholastic theology, as a furious madman, devoid of genius, eradition, and common sense, who had never known human learning, and in whom there was not a single spark of divinity. Carlstadt might have put in relief Luther's language, veering with every wind, and who on the same day cast on the same person mud or laurels. He erred in believing himself again on the benches of the school, and judging his pupil after the principles of the Aristotelian syllogism. Luther had given a crown to human reason. Carlstadt took that kingdom seriously, and made logic a sovereign ; he did not understand that Luther, if necessary, would pluck from reason the wings which he had lent it. Carlstadt wished to fly, and he fell by scorching himself in the sun which the hand of his pupil had lit up : if he doubted, Luther imposed faith upon him ; if he examined, Luther sought to be believed on his word ! On the first use which Carlstadt wished to make of his reason enlightened by the rays of the Holy Spirit, which he had called to his aid, Luther said to him : " Your light shines : *ut stercus in lucerna.*"¹ Carlstadt, as we shall soon see, attempted other follies, and betook himself again to the Holy Scriptures, in the question of the real presence. Luther says that the archdeacon was again devoid of the Holy Spirit, whom for a year he sought in vain, and only found him once, at the time of his marriage, with which the Church of Wittemberg had been edified and gladdened.

We do not know, in the history of the establishment of

¹ Oper. Luth. tom. ii. : Jenæ, folio, 440, b.

Protestantism, a person more unfortunate than Carlstadt, who, at upwards of forty years, lends an ear to the fancies of a monk whom he had fed with the milk of learning, whom he loves, fondles, caresses, and of whom he is so proud ! His heart beats with every success of his child ; when occasion offers, Carlstadt is ready,—he will trudge on foot from Wittemberg to Leipsic to defend his disciple. How delighted is he when, as the reward of his fatigue, he receives a little incense from the lips of his pupil ! Sweet fume of glory which rejoices his vanity, and consoles him for the bitter remarks of the Catholics ! It was to please Luther that he broke his vows of chastity. The clergyman *emeritus* put a white nosegay on his side, and took to wife young Anna von Mochau, proud of the approbation which his pupil in theology would bestow upon him ! and it was not withheld.¹ It is true, Erasmus laughed at him ;² but Carlstadt heeded not such ridicule, having received the delightful congratulations of Luther ! His joy was soon at an end. At freedom in his new state of life, he studied the Scriptures with greater assiduity, according to the advice of the Reformer ; he daily published a new book,³ and, when he believed that he had found one of those great truths, the discovery of which made the fortune of a mind, he was told, in the name of his pupil, that he had learned and understood nothing in the Bible, that he erred and was engulphed in fanciful speculations, that the Spirit of God had withdrawn from his intellect, and that he had no right to confer degrees and call himself Rabbi. What a fall ! Carlstadt could not sustain it, his brain became overheated, and he lost both his peace and his reason.

He had made a noise in the world,⁴ and that was all that he

¹ On this point Luther wrote to Nic. Amsdorff: "Confortet eum Deus in bonum exemplum inhibenda et minuenda papistica libidinis. Amen."

² Epistola Erasmi Friderico Myconio.

³ Plank, Geschichte der Entstehung, &c. tom. ii. pp. 28—31. Strobel's Litt. Miscell. pp. 119—130.

⁴ Ein Sermon von Stand Abrahams der christl. gläubigen Seelen, von Abrahams Schoes, und Fegfeuer der abgeschiedenen Seelen.—Dr. Andr. Witt. 1521. Von Gelübden Unterrichtung Andreas Bod. von Car. Doct. Auslegung des 30 Cap. Numeri, welches von Gelübden redet : Wittenb. 1521.

Send-Brief Andreas Bod. Carlstadt an Anthonium Romholts, Magistrum und Stadt-Schreiber aus Anneberg. Erklärung Pauli : "Ioh bitte euch Brüder dass ihr allesamt eine Meinung reden wolt."—1 Cor. i.: Witt. 1521.

sought. On Christmas, we are told by a witness, he gave communion to more than five hundred persons, of whom five only made confession, and that he absolved them all at once (*en masse*).

"And how then could Luther censure him?" says Arnold.¹ He had married; but Luther, from Wartburg, had written to Amsdorff: May God comfort Carlstadt for the example of others. He had raved against the Mass: but how often had Luther attacked the Mass as a Satanic invention! He had smashed the images to pieces; but on more than one occasion, even from Wartburg, Luther had thundered against them.

It was the fate of the Protestant principle, to throw into confusion those of whom it took hold; the admirable constitution of Catholicity once destroyed, anarchy entered into the Lutheran churches.

Luther then suffers the penalty of his rebellion against the Catholic Church; around him he sees nothing but deceit, doubt, and scepticism; the defiance which he flung to authority is tossed back to him, and he is obliged to pick it up to throw it again at those false prophets whom he has begotten. See him at Wartburg, humbled under the hand of God, with his eyes fixed upon those tempests at Wittemberg which his loud voice cannot appease, breathing from his inmost soul those strains of sorrow which God will not hear. They leave, they desert him; his disciples, his cherished lambs, his masters, choose for themselves another way. "Oh, my God!" he cries, "thou dost forsake me, thy wrath has burst upon my head. What have I done, Lord?" Let us see if his voice will be heard. If he calls for the rod to those mutinous scholars who burn their class-books; the scholars reply: "It is written in St. Matthew, Take not the name of 'Masters,'² and in Doctor Martin against Catharinus, 'In order to pluck the Gospel from the hearts of men, Satan could devise nothing better than the universities.'"³ If he writes to Carlstadt to spare the images, Carlstadt replies to him: "Thou shalt not make graven gods."³ "Baptize infants," he says

¹ Arnold's unpartheyische Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie, tom. ii. p. 697.

² Weislinger, Friß Vogel, oder stirb, p. 59.

³ Von Anbetung und Ehrerbietung der Zeichen des Neuen Testaments. Andreas Bodenstein von Carlstadt, an Albrecht Dürern zu Nürnberg: Wittemb. 1521.

to Didymus ; and Didymus answers him : " He who believes and is baptized shall enter the kingdom of Heaven ; but an infant does not believe." " But read, then, wretch," he says to Storch, the prophet, " it is the doctrine of the Church ; " and Carlistadt, and Didymus, and Storch, repeat in chorus : " Papist, there is no authority but the Bible, or light save that with which the Holy Spirit enlightens us ; we walk in God's ways." " You shall not see the Lord's face ; I curse you," replies Luther. And the prophets laugh at his rage, as he laughed at that of Tetzel and Cajetan, and error progresses rapidly as pestilence.¹

If Luther did not break down, it was because he had the soul of a child, because a fantastically-shaped cloud, a prismatic sun-beam, the chirping of a bird at his window, or a glass of Eimbeck beer, had the power of dispelling his sadness.

When his head was heavy, when his face was flushed, and his eye was dim, he would open his window, and refreshed by the balmy breeze, pass his hand through his hair, breathe freely, and forget the exterior world. So Matthesius his pupil informs us.²

One winter morning, while leaning over his window, he perceived a pot of violets which the keeper, who knew the tastes of his prisoner, had fastened to it over night by means of some brass wires. Nearly all were hid, and as it were buried, in a tomb of snow. One alone piercing its white shroud, tremblingly displayed its moist petal, and seemed at each gust of wind to bend its head as if never more to raise it. Luther gently removed the folds of its snowy mantle, wiped its stem with the point of his finger, and then warmed it with his breath. Soon the filaments of the plant became extended, the flower after some convulsive movements reared itself upon its revived stem, and seemed to become green again. Never had the poor monk experienced such pleasure ! he was overjoyed ; he thought, breathed, lived no longer but for his little violet. With a look of affection, he watched the phases of this new birth, of this awakening from a lethargy of several hours, of this new life which he had restored to the dying flower by a light breath of

¹ See vol. ii. of Luther's Letters, collected by De Wette : Berlin, 1826.

² Matthesius, in *Vita Lutheri*.

his mouth, of this wonder which he had effected by the mere air from his lungs ! How his hand shook when he tried to touch the wires which his keeper had so firmly twisted ! He was impatient to remove the pot into his room, to renew the miracle of the revival of the remaining flowers. At length he succeeded in detaching the wires from the bars of the window, and joyously placing his treasure on the table, lit his lamp, and began his hermetic operations, which, to his eminent happiness, were successful. As soon as the frosty coverings were dispersed by his breath, and dissolved into water, the plant appeared to blossom, colour, and revive. One alone could not ; it was dead. Luther sorrowfully gazed upon the little, withered, discoloured flower, which he tried, but in vain, to fix upon its bowed and bent stalk. " Poor flower !" he said, " God alone can now give you life . . . Adieu ! Adieu for ever !" And he wept like a child.

At evening, when the sun hid itself behind Wartburg, Luther used to leave his prison, and accompanied by the keeper's dog, lie at the foot of a tree. He loved to listen to the wild cries of the nightbirds that flew over his head, the rustle of the pines, the echo of the rocks, the measured sound of the woodman's axe. That indefinable mixture of harmonious sounds and voices formed a sort of magic language, which soothed his griefs.¹ He would then fall into a gentle reverie, and often into a half-slumber, which was too soon interrupted by his keeper's step. He then rose without a murmur, and retraced his way to his Patmos, where his nights, as usual, were to be disturbed by apparitions.

And as he walked, he sang as on his road to Worms :—

" Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott,"—

" A sure stronghold is our God."

Ever the carol of an iron gauntlet !

But at each hour of the day some parts of the wall of this citadel of which Luther had constituted himself the keeper, fell under the assaults of Carlstadt and of Munzer. Carlstadt, the slave of that egoism of which Luther had made himself the representative, set forth as the truths of divine order every

¹ Reise in das Blaue hinein, von Thieck.

lucubration of the human personality. It was difficult to condemn him when he appeared with his finger resting on a text of the Bible, the mysterious meaning of which God had revealed to him ; for he repeated all Luther's pantomime at Worms. Both asserted that they were fettered within that circle of celestial fire which they called the Bible ; but Carlstadt had this advantage over Luther, that he taught the activity of man in the interpretation of the Scriptures, which Luther abandoned evidently to confine himself within his own individuality.

Munzer had accepted the Lutheran egoism, but to draw from it different deductions from those of Carlstadt, that is to say, entirely social. If the Lutheran egoism had been entitled to rebel against ecclesiastical order, wherefore should this egoism not rebel with equal boldness against temporal government ? If the pope fettering conscience was the image of Satan, what did those secular princes who deprived the peasant of his material bread resemble ? If the one was the tyrant of the souls, were not the others the oppressors of the body ? In that ancient Christian city which Luther came to rebuild, the priest was not the sole offender, the prince also had sinned. It was necessary then to found a new Jerusalem, in which no child of the devil should have a part.

So Munzer left the spiritual element disturbed by Luther, to occupy himself with the social one. In that the sore was bleeding, and Munzer set himself to cure it. The rebellion, as we see, travelled in its course the two segments of the circle which Luther had traced for it.¹

¹ The following works may be consulted, as to the first revolutionary movements of the Reformation :—Marheinecke, Geschichte der deutschen Reformation, tom. ii. ; Arnold's unpartheyische Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie, tom. ii. ; Vater, Allgemeine Geschichte der christlichen Kirche, nach der Zeitfolge, seit dem Anfange der Reformation bis auf die neueste Zeit, 1833, tom. i. ; Professor Georg Phil. Schuppius, Handbuch der neueren Geschichte, tom. i. ; Plank, Geschichte der Entstehung, Veränderungen und Bildung des protest. Lehrbegriffs, lib. ii. ; Schröckh, Christl. Geschichte, tom. ii.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE PROPHETS. 1521—1522.

Anarchy among the Protestants.—New evangelists appear.—Mark Stubner.—Storch.—Munzer.—Effect of Munzer's preaching on the multitude.—Munzer amplified the principle laid down by Luther.—His rebellion is directed against the temporal world.—Cellarius attempts to defend Luther's doctrines by holding them as authorities.—He fails in this, and takes his place among the prophets.

LUTHER had not dethroned authority ; he had only removed from human authority the diadem of infallibility to place it upon a dumb sign, which he called the word of God, and which, when it fell from his lips, was already to his disciples no more than a miserable human word. Carlstadt treated the Lutheran creed as Luther had treated the Catholic one. In place then of a secular theocracy, they were to have, for submitting the understanding to the truths of salvation, a religious democracy born of the old. By consecrating the principle of free inquiry, the people gained supremacy over the faith : they became the priesthood. To believe by doubt is to surrender the kingdom of the faith to whoever can read. From the moment that Protestantism took refuge in the Scriptures, to escape from the power of him who for fifteen centuries had been considered the vicar of Jesus upon earth, the sacred books in their turn supplied numerous texts to every individual who aspired to rebel against Luther and his new teaching. The great law of retaliation was to be applied to the doctor. The people to whom he had thrown the crown, were to break the instrument which had made them sovereign. As long as Luther was at Wittemberg in the midst of his flock, the spirit of insubordination was quiescent, alarmed for the doctor as for an apparition. If he ascended the pulpit, the people expected with anxiety the words which were to drop from his mouth. His eye, which seemed to roll in an orbit of fire, his large brow, his flushed face, as after high excitement, his threatening gesture, his voice which roared like thunder, the burning breath with which his bosom was charged, cast his

hearers into terror or extasies. It was known when Luther was in the pulpit by the suspended breathing of the audience,¹ "who hesitated as if the Lord," said Calvin, "were thundering by the lips of the preacher."²

God forbid that we should seek to obscure the literary glory of Luther. It has never been so nobly celebrated as by Catholic authors. One of them, too little known, has drawn an admirable sketch of the Saxon monk, which might be said in some parts to have proceeded from our Bossuet:—

" Nature had been very favourable to him, both in body and in mind. For, for a man born in Germany, a nation generally heavy and dull, he had an active and lively genius, a happy memory, much ease of expression, eloquent and fluent beyond any other of his time. When he was in the pulpit, full of fire and energy, he threw a life into everything he said, and like a torrent carried with him the minds of his hearers ; a grace which is unnatural to the people of the North, clumsy folk, who inactively deliver their sermons and lectures, seated in their pulpits, with their hands clasped together, as if they were motionless statues. He was, moreover, indefatigable in every species of labour, which was to him a substitute for rest ; ever at his books, with pen in hand, unless when occupied by his monastic duties, which were to him a heavy burden and amazing interruption to the progress of his studies. He was a high-hearted man, and bold in undertaking and executing whatever hatred or affection suggested to him ; and in his ordinary conversation familiar and affable, although he could take a high bearing, even among the greatest, when he acted the prophet. He was a man of much reading, having very successfully made use of good books during his fourteen years of cloistered residence ; so that no sophist could stand before him, if he ventured to dispute calmly, either in philosophy or in theology. . . . But all these fine qualities were disfigured and counterbalanced by many great and serious vices. For he was on one side coarse, haughty, insolent, and unbearable. His tongue was

¹ "Lutherus eximum est Dei organum, toto ore divinitus inspiratum, in quo qui spiritum Dei non sentit, nihil sentit."—Beza, Resp. ad Claudium.

² "Res ipsa clamat non Lutherum sub initio locutum, sed Deum per os ejus fulminasse."

ordinarily steeped in wine and calumny ; as little regulated in his manners as constant and settled in his doctrines, which he changed and rechanged during his life nearly as frequently as the sun recommenced his course ; the mortal and sworn enemy of all subjection, austerity, and penance, that might assuage the anger of God.”¹

Luther knew the secret of the gifts which God had bestowed upon him. His language consorted with his external appearance. Sometimes it floated in a lyrical excess, or savoured of intoxication, to use an expression of Erasmus ; sometimes it was coquettish like a female, employing allegory as a veil, to excite curiosity ; by turns simple as a parable, impassioned as an ode ; daring as an eagle in its flight, or like a white plumed dove, as Menzel says ;² and sometimes so indifferent to human art, so disdainful of every check, so extravagant in its conduct, that his language seemed not that of a priest, but rather of another Hans Sachs. Even the Catholics were seduced, and attributed to the influence of evil spirits, as did Prateolus,³ that deceptive charm which, according to his disciples, breathed of the Holy Ghost : a wonderful organization, destined to command wherever there was trouble. Place him in the time of the Gracchi, and he would have carried with him the senate and the people ; in that of the Crusades, and he would have repeated, had he believed, the miracles of St. Bernard ; in a public assembly like the National, and he would have been something greater than Mirabeau if he had faith ; in the seventeenth century, in our Catholic pulpits, and he would have been a second Bossuet and Bridaine.

When the Lutheran star was concealed behind Wartburg, they were no longer afraid of being scorched by its rays at Wittemberg. Suddenly there sprung from the soil which its light had fertilized, embryo evangelists, who supposed themselves to be so many suns whose brilliancy thenceforward was to direct men’s minds. They ascended the pulpit, or more frequently turned the first mere stone which they found in their way into

¹ Fl. de Rémond, *Histoire de la Naissance, Progrès, et Décadence de l’Hérésie de ce Siècle* : Rouen, 1629.

² Wolfgang Menzel, *Foreign Quarterly Review*, No. 2, 1838.

³ “In ejus oculis nescio quid daemoniacum relucere solitum.”—Prateolus, *De Vitis, Sectis omnium Hæreticorum*, p. 272.

an orator's tribune. "Here is Christ," said they, borrowing the apostle's words;¹ "you will find him on the mountains; he has retired with us into the desert; he dwells in the forests; come, listen to the voice which speaks within your hearts." Luther, by making the sacred writings the only code of faith, implicitly established the necessity for an interior glow to guide those who read them, and transformed man into an angel of light. He made the Bible a tripod, to which the fire of heaven descended upon him who sat upon it. While repudiating the prophets as his children, he nevertheless admits that they proceeded from his works.² And Protestants at the present day generally admit that filiation.³

Let us now see who were these "pitiful abortions, who burst the shell in which Luther wished to confine them." They were Mark Stubner, a scholar, the companion of Melanthon,⁴ Claus Storch, a tailor, and Munzer, a priest; three men of different organizations, who paled before Luther; but who, if born half a century sooner, would have been able, like him, to draw after them, in their rebellion against Catholicism, a portion of Germany. To appreciate their instincts, we must beware of minding Melanthon, or Luther, who have calumniated them; especially Melanthon, who for a short time was seduced by them, but being soon undeceived, sought to avenge his faith, which had been compromised, by blackening them, and to expiate his error by sacrificing them to the glory of his master.⁵

Mark Stubner was one of those individuals distempered by much study and meditation, whom the world regards as visionaries, physicians as hypochondriacs, and romancers as poets. Unhappy fools who, having abandoned the ways of salvation, take flight into the regions of imagination to seek truth, which invariably escapes them; monomaniacs, who in their waking moments believe themselves to be visited by God, and to "dream

¹ St. Matthew, ch. xxxiv.

² "Nostro tempore primum defecerunt à nobis sacramentarii, post Anabaptistæ, tom. iii. in com. 5, Ep. ad Galatas."

³ See Life of Zwinglius, by M. Hess; Ottius, Annal. Hist. de Orig. Prog. et Sect. Anabapt.; Joh. Gassius, De Exordio Anab.

⁴ Camerarius, Vita Melanchth. cap. xvi. Arnold, l. c. p. 728.

⁵ Camerarius, in Vita Philippi Melanchthonis, p. 51. Seckendorf, Comm. de Lutheranismo, lib. i. p. 193.

dreams," after the manner of the prophets of the old law. If we agree for a moment to follow them into the worlds of fancy created by their hallucinated brains, we are astonished with the poetry with which their conversation is stamped, and run the risk of becoming their dupes or their conquest. Such was Mark Stubner, whose learning Melancthon himself has praised.¹

Nicolas Storch,² who had embraced Protestantism with the ardour of a neophyte, was born at Zwickau: he changed his non-euphonious name, which might have served for ridicule, into that of Pelargus, supplied to him by Aleandro's lexicon.³ We might search in vain in the language of this artisan for any of those flames which shot from that of Luther, or in his appearance for any of those lightning glances with which the Reformer's eye fascinated its hearers. His style is meagre, bare, and colourless; but it had also its seductions, for it was gentle, clear, and went to the heart. His countenance, furrowed with wrinkles, puckered by labour, and pale-as that of a corpse, struck one forcibly: he might have been compared to a dead man risen from the grave and got into the pulpit to preach the gospel. And as a dead man restored to life would struggle against the tomb that sought to regain him, so Storch fought with his indocile hearers, and rarely failed in triumphing over them. He had the dress and mimicry of a *lansquenet*.

Munzer, late curate of Alstädt, in Thuringia, was quite a different person; his voice sounded like a bell. Of the sacred writings he had merely read the prophets, to borrow from them their style of construction. If he perceived that his hearers were distracted with thoughts foreign to the subject, and permitted themselves to be led away with them, he would stamp with his foot on the ground—it was his pulpit—and make his voice ring like a trumpet. They would then awake from their reverie, and tremble as if they had heard the angel of doomsday. His black and disordered garments, his hair flowing in curls over his shoulders and face, his eyes, which might have been

¹ Manlii Col. p. 481. Tobias Schmidt, in der Zwickauer Chronik. tom. ii. p. 284. Fabricii, Origines Saxon. p. 865.

² Schmidt, Zwickauische Chronik, p. 2. Leonhard Kreuzheim, Chronol. tom. vii.

³ Storch signifies in German, a stork. Nicol. Gerbelius, De Ortu et Progr. Anab.

compared to two burning coals, and his epileptic lips, gave him the appearance of one possessed. Had Satan preached, he would have copied him. He loved to speak in the open air, in the midst of fields, where the wonders of creation frequently served as the text of his discourse. The heavens were to him a book as fertile as the Bible. When his excited eye looked to the firmament to point out there the image of God, the immense multitude of men and women who followed him, and whose numbers were lost amid the forest trees, burst forth into groans and cries, which communicated to the scene something wild and fantastic.

Munzer was truly the man of the mob, the devil incarnate, according to Melancthon,¹ in open rebellion against all who wore tiara, diadem, ermine, or sword. Whilst Luther wrote : "Let us pray for Prince Frederick, for were we to lose him, farewell to the safety of our Syria;"² Munzer cried to the multitude : "Woe to him who calls himself our master ; we have no master but the Lord who is in heaven!"

This, let it be remembered, was the doctrine which Luther had maintained at the commencement of his apostleship ;³ but he then pursued its triumph in the sphere of the spiritual, whilst Munzer wished it instantly to prevail in the orbit of the social world. Munzer dreamed of a Christian republic, in which all men, after the new descent of the Spirit, should be equal, with community of goods, and from which science, which only served to puff up pride, should be excluded. The enemy of learning, he wished that the soul, rejecting every kind of written creed, should place itself in communication with the Deity by the sole aid of the spirit. The soul prayed, then slept, and during its slumber was visited by God. Carlstadt smashed the images by virtue of the Lutheran principle of adoration in truth ;

¹ Melanchthon's Historie Thomas Münzer's. We possess an old engraved portrait of Munzer with this distich :—

"Hei mihi, quot sacras iterans baptismatis undas,
Muntzerus Stygis millia fixit aquis!"

² "Et hoc sublato capite, sublata erit et salus quam Dens dedit et dat Syriæ nostræ."—Joh. Lango, 28 Mart. 1522. Erasmus often speaks of the advances which Luther made to the great people of the age.

³ . . . "Er gesetzet hatte : Ein Christenmensch sey ein Herr aller Dinge, und Niemanden unterworfen."—Arnold, l. c. p. 728.

Munzer, extending the principle, considered a church as the dwelling-place of Satan : to pray in a temple was to confine the spirit. We see that it is the visible phenomenon which Protestantism continues to prosecute in every external manifestation. From that time, it is easy to comprehend the rage of the *illuminati* towards these symbols of human force, which they call the diadem or the sword. For fanatics such as Munzer, Luther had only discovered a mere ray of the truth. He overturned religious orders ; it was the entire social world that he ought to have re-fashioned.

Munzer had not studied well the times in which he lived. In embracing the Lutheran gospel, the princes had everything to gain. Apostacy gave them splendid wealth. In destroying the old worship, they inherited its spoils : the plunder was excellent. The new baptism of Munzer, far from adding a single nail of gold to their thrones, broke them like glass, effaced every mark of royalty, and made of kings or emperors simple children of God. Munzer, then, undertook a task of difficult success ; and without the ways of rebellion opened for him by Luther, his kingdom would have been of short duration. He was wrong not to conciliate the doctor ; he wrote to him : “I love you people of Wittemberg, when I see you attack the pope so courageously ; but your marriages of nuns and monks are but the copulations of prostitutes.”¹

Let us see how Munzer and Storch attempted to prevail against Luther.

Storch came first with his soft and blandishing voice. He said :—

“ Glory to Luther, who has shattered the tyranny of Rome,—who has delivered us from popery and superstition ! Glory to the doctor, who has revealed to us the true nature of the sacraments of Jesus ! Glory to the Lord’s apostle, who has taught us that faith alone justifies. What efficacy, then, ought baptism to have when we have received it ? Did we believe then ? No ; now, we must believe to have merit.”

The tailor’s argument was specious, for the child does not

¹ Luth. Lat. Coll. Mens. tom. ii. p. 35.

believe, whence the necessity of a second baptism ; but Storch did not at once draw the conclusion.¹

Next day, the crowd pressed more numerously around the preacher. Storch said :—

“ Believe ? But who shall say if we believe ? God alone, who reveals himself to man,—who visits him in his sleep,—who sends him dreams,—who makes him read mysteries,—who illuminates him with the clear light of his revelations.”

The mob listened in silence, and inquired to whom God had so manifested himself ?

Storch let their thoughts wander, broke up the assembly, and deferred till the following day the manifestation by a new discourse.

The multitude increased more and more ; artisans left their work, women their household duties, to listen to the new prophet ; the learned and the magistrates mingled among the people. The people drove back the learned and the magistrates to get close to the preacher. Storch gained a mastery over the mob more and more : his language became more free.

One day he thus harangued his disciples : “ Behold what I announce to you. During the night, God sent his angel to me, who told me that I shall sit upon the same throne as Gabriel. Let the wicked tremble,—let the righteous hope. The wicked shall be crushed, and God’s elect shall be king on earth. Heaven has promised the empire of the world to me. Do you wish to be visited by God like me ? Prepare your hearts to receive the Holy Ghost. Let there be no more pulpits to announce the word of God,—no more priests, preachers, external worship, or books. Let your clothing be simple, your food coarse, mere bread and salt, and God will descend upon you.”

The populace were carried away ; nothing but visions and intimate communication with the Holy Ghost was talked of. The learned were staggered ; some of them even were seduced.²

¹ Luther has triumphantly refuted this argument in his letter to Spalatinus, 20 May, 1522. De Wette, Luther’s Briefe, tom. ii.

² Melanchthon apud Gassium, p. 47. Histoire du Fanatisme dans la Religion Protestante, depuis son origine, par le P. Catrou, tom. i : Paris, 12mo. 1783.

One day Carlstadt was seen going through the streets of Wittemberg with a Bible in his hand, stopping the passers-by to inquire of them the meaning of some difficult passages of the sacred books. "What are you doing?" the Augustinian monks said to him; "you prostitute the title of doctor."

"Is it not written," replied the archdeacon, "that 'the milk of the truth flows from the mouths of children?' I only fulfil the orders of Heaven."¹

It was not truth that the unhappy man sought; whoever could have read his heart might have seen in it the sting of the worm of pride, which tore it. Luther's yoke pressed upon him; he threw it off. Luther had too long held possession of the public. Before dying, Carlstadt wished to deprive his disciple's head of some rays of light wherewith to crown himself. It was for the sake of a little notoriety that he had abjured Catholicity, and unluckily his fall had not even procured for him a single mark of regard from the master of the Reformation. Now he renounced Luther to struggle against that Satanic obscurity which clung to him to the very verge of the grave; and to be more certain of escaping from it, he shattered the images which adorned the church of All Saints. He was a cold-hearted Erostratus, without feelings or faith, who fell not under the weight of the statues which he broke, but under the equally crushing weight of ridicule. For him the cock crew more than thrice, for he apostatised again before his death. We shall see him leave Storch and Anabaptism, and become a Sacramentarian.

Munzer was a different sort of person from Carlstadt, and a much more dangerous rival for Luther. It will be seen how he understood the theory of a religious revolution. He did other than propound dogmas; he rebelled against society. He was a Samson, who shook the pillars of the temple without fearing to be crushed in their fall: with one spring he reached the end to which Storch had attained only after a long circuit; he wished to organize rebellion, and he sowed wind to reap a whirlwind.

"Brethren," said he, "we are all children of Adam; God is our father. And see what the great have done! They have,

¹ Arnold Meshovius, *Hist. Anabapt.* lib. i. Catrou, *Hist. du Fanatisme*, tom. i.

the wretches, remade the works of God, and created titles, privileges, and distinctions. They eat white bread, we have rough labour; they have fine clothing, we have rags. Does not the earth belong to all?—is it not our common inheritance? and they have taken it from us! When did we renounce the inheritance of our father? Let them show us the deed of resignation. It does not exist. You rich ones of the time, who keep us in bondage, who have pillaged, oppressed, and mutilated us, restore to us our freedom, give us back our bread. It is not as men only that we now demand back what you have stolen from us, but as Christians. In the infancy of the Gospel, the apostles divided with their brethren in Jesus Christ the money which was laid at their feet: give us back the apostles' means, which you unjustly detain. Unhappy flock of Christ, how long will you groan in oppression, under the rod of government?"

Then suddenly the prophet fell into an epileptic fit; his hair stood on end, his face streamed, the foam came out of his mouth.

The people exclaimed: "Silence! God visits his prophet."

The ecstasy lasted for some minutes. Munzer recovered his senses, and narrated the visions which he had had; then suddenly falling on his knees, and stretching his hands to heaven: "Eternal God!" he said, "pour into my soul the treasures of your justice; if not, I shall renounce thee and thy apostles."¹

One day a disciple of Luther, who had mingled with the crowd that pressed round the fanatical preacher, interrupted him by appealing to the Bible.

"The Bible, Babel!" cried Munzer.

"And since you reject the Scripture," replied the Lutheran, "who will guide you?"

"The Lord! If he fails to visit me, as he visited the prophets, I will renounce him. By a breath of wind from above, the spirit of the Lord entered into me, and by a breath of wind from below, he shall go out of me.² I should like much that God would not come to converse with me. Do you know what I would do? I would cast my excrements in his face.³

¹ "Pater, infunde animo meo porrectum desiderium justitiae tuae; quod nisi feceris, te tuisque apostolos abnegabo."

² "Crepitu ventris eum à se rejecturum esse."—Meshovius, lib. i.

³ The German expression is much stronger: "Ja er sagte öffentlich, er

The multitude followed Munzer, kissed his garments and the very dust off his shoes : they loved his coarse language, his ranting and ecstasies. The students repeated his war-cry of "The Bible, Babel!" left the university, and burned in the cemetery their text-books, the ashes of which they scattered about. Luther had his turn, like Leo X. The same children's hands, that three years before had smutted the face of the pope, now besmeared with ink the face of the Reformer, which but lately expanded so joyously at the shouts of those beardless theologians. And in the monk's absence, no one dared to protest against the indignities done to the father of Protestantism, because all those who had shaken off the voice of Luther knew not to what they should adhere amid such confusion of human opinions.

One day, however, a disciple was found who, consulting his zeal rather than his ability, desired to dispute with the prophets. This was Martin Cellarius (Borrhans), of Stuttgart, a learned Hebrew scholar, the pupil of Reuchlin and friend of Melanthon, with whom he had been allied at Tübingen.¹ He appeared, holding in his hand the Bible, open at these words of the Saviour : "Suffer little children to come to me, for of such is the kingdom of heaven."

"Listen," said Cellarius ; "if the kingdom of heaven belongs to the circumcised child, why should it not to the baptized one ? If the circumcised child has faith, why should not the baptized one ? therefore, no new baptism." The argument is specious ; and Luther, in his knowledge of the Scriptures, found nothing stronger, after his recourse to tradition, against anabaptism.

Unluckily Cellarius abandoned the Scriptures, and clung to Luther, as a Catholic does to authority.² He appealed to the writings of the Saxon monk. The Anabaptist boldly met his antagonist, opened Luther's publications, read a number of

wollte in Gott scheissen, wenn Er nicht mit ihnen redete, wie mit Abraham und andern Patriarchen."—Melanthon, Historie Thomas Münzer's.

Luther has made use of Munzer's expression, when speaking of Henry VIII. See, farther on, the chapter so named.

¹ Jöcker's Gel. Lex. tom. i. p. 1259. Lingke, l. c. p. 115.

² Dionysius the Areopagite proves, in his last chapter, Ecclesia Hierarchiae, that from the time of the apostles, baptism was administered to children. See also St. Cyprian, ep. 18, book iii.

propositions which seemed to favour the doctrines of Storch and Munzer, and showed that Luther cared little for contradicting himself, and had only one object of ambition, that of obtruding himself as the pope of Wittemberg.¹ Cellarius began to stammer ; his confused tongue could only find inarticulate utterance in soft and weak sounds. Pressed and discomfited by his antagonist, who gave him not a moment of rest, Cellarius lost his senses, and only opened his mouth to confess himself vanquished.²

¹ The Protestant Arnold is of precisely the same opinion as the fanatic. He says : "Aus welchen und andern Umständen viele dazumal und sonst schliessen wollen, der ganze Streit wäre aus einer AEmulation entstanden, da sonderlich Lutherus allein Alles regieren wollte."—L. c. p. 697.

² He returned to Luther in 1525 ; in 1536 he was professor of rhetoric at Basle. Hornbeckius, Controv. p. 338.

The following may also be consulted on the origin of Anabaptism :—Fried. Seyler, Berstellter Wiedertäufer, cap. ix. ; Zach. Theobald, Wiederläufer. Geist. ; Alexis Ross, Relig. der Welt. ; Spanhemius, De Anabapt. disp. i. thea. 4 ; Bucholzerus, Ind. Chron. ad ann. 1522 ; Hieronym. Kromayerus, Scrutin. Relig. dissert. v. thes. 10 ; Wigandus, in Anab. ; Schlusselb. Catal. Hæret. lib. xii. ; Kortholdus, Hist. Eccles. ; Seidemann, Thomas Münzer : Dresden, 1842, 8vo.

CONFIRMATORY EVIDENCE.

No. I.

THE MONKS IN GERMANY AT THE BEGINNING OF THE EIGHTH CENTURY.

ABOUT the year 720, Boniface carried the light of the Gospel to the banks of the Rhine.¹ At first he preached in Thuringia and Hesse; and the conversions were numerous. In order to extend the kingdom of Christ he desired to found a seminary, and in furtherance of this design, he selected a wild situation, surrounded with dense forests, where the contemplative soul could adore God in silence.² There soon arose at Fulda or Buchonia a vast mansion inhabited by monks, who chose St. Benedict for their patron, and received the name of Benedictines. The religious soon commenced the work of civilization. All around the monastery, and in four main directions, roads were made, which led to the neighbouring villages. When Boniface traversed these lands partially sunk in the darkness of paganism, he recommended mothers to send their children to the abbey of Fulda. The mothers listened to the apostle's voice, and soon was to be seen seated on wooden benches, and in a large hall, wherein stood the image of Jesus crucified, a crowd of children, whom the monks first instructed in the truths of the faith, and then in the principles of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Charlemagne encouraged this twofold movement, religious and intellectual; each soul joined to Christ was a conquest for the prince.³

To each new episcopal see or abbey which he founded, the

¹ Cave (Will.), Hist. Lit. Script. Eccles. 1689, fol. Olearius Gottfried. Bib. Script. Eccles. tom. ii. p. 244 et seq.

² Eichhorn, Geschichte der Künste und Wissenschaften seit der Wiederherstellung derselben bis an das Ende des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts: Göttingen, 1799, tom. ii. p. 382 et seq.

³ Ernst Ruhkopf's Geschichte des Schul- und Erziehungswesens in Deutschland : Bremen, 1794, 8vo. tom. i.

emperor added a school of music, grammar, and polite learning. Osnabruck possessed, in 804, a school where the clergy taught the Greek and Latin languages.¹. Then came into operation a movement, somewhat similar to that which manifested itself after the fall of Constantinople, when the Medicis summoned from the East a number of Greeks to found in Italy the kingdom of letters. The roads of Germany were constantly traversed by pilgrims who had received from Heaven the mission to convert the nations to the Christian faith, and from the sovereign to regenerate the human intellect. Appollonius at Ratisbon, and Virgil at Salzburg² preached a double baptism. The cloister which they inhabited was the focus of propaganda.

The first abbot of Fulda was St. Sturmius, the third Ratgarus, who showed himself full of zeal for learning.

Ratgarus was scarcely installed when he sent Rabanus Maurus, and Hatto to Tours, to study under Alcuin, Bruno under Einard, and Modestus and Candidus under Clement the Scotsman. Rabanus Maurus was to bring back to Germany the method of tuition employed by the French teachers. He attended their schools for a long time, and returned to Fulda with a complete rudiment, which Harmuth introduced at St. Gall, Walfrid Strabo at Reichnau, and Ottfried at Weissemburg. Fulda, under Rabanus Maurus,³ who succeeded St. Eigil, soon became a school frequented by a great number of talented individuals, whom God reserved for the service of his altars. When a bishop observed in his flock a child of much promise, he hastened to send him to Fulda. From this monastery proceeded a multitude of scholars who shone in all the sciences; mathematicians, astronomers, geometers, historians, musicians. After a residence of some years, they went to occupy the high dignities which the pope or the emperor had appointed for them.⁴ Servatus Lupus, after the

¹ Diploma Caroli M. Imperatoris de scholis Osnabrugensis Ecclesie Græcis et Latinis critè expensum ab A. I. anno 1717. In this charter we read: "Et hoc è de causa statuimus, quia in eodem loco Græcas et Latinas scholas in perpetuum manere ordinavimus, et nunquam clericos utriusque lingue gnaros ibidem deesse in misericordia Dei confidimus."—Baluzii Capit. tom. i. p. 419. Baring, Clavis Dipl. p. 27. Möser's Osnabruicke Geschichte.

² Gerberti Historia Nigrae Sylvæ, tom. i. p. 126. Hedio, Hist. Eccl. lib. vi. cap. ix.

³ Baronius, Ann. Eccl. ann. 869. Trithemii Chron. Hirz., ann. 813, 890. Schannat, Hist. Fuldens. p. 1, § 2.

⁴ "Erat autem his temporibus in monasteriis ordinis nostri hæc consuetudo celeberrima, ut scholæ monachorum in singulis pend cœnobiis haberentur,

completion of his studies, was made abbot of Ferrières by Charles the Bald, and Haymo, bishop of Halberstadt, by Louis the Pious, in 840.¹

A noble spectacle, glorious for the kingdom of letters, was then exhibited beyond the Rhine. War desolated the country where the monastery of Fulda had been built. Lothaire and his brothers Louis and Carl fought after the manner of savages, covered with bear-skins and armed with axes. The poor abbot of Fulda, who had espoused the part of the vanquished, left his monastery. The conqueror, Louis, on seeing this house whence ascended hymns from the lips of children whom the monks instructed in human learning, was moved with admiration and pity, and he wrote to Rabanus Maurus, whom he not only pardoned, but restored to him his titles, cloister, and books. But another, the learned Hatto, had been chosen by the members of the community to fill the place of the exile. Wherefore, Louis the German gave to Rabanus Maurus the archbishopric of Mayence; was not this a noble revenge? A few Latin words, sung by children, had changed that savage character.

War ceased: learning breathed again, and with it Germany; it was the time of the birth of intellect.²

Eginhard of Odenwald, who took Suetonius for his model, has often in his Latinity the elegant precision of his master; Walfrid Strabo of Allemania wrote like a poet; his prose possesses measure and harmony; Roswitha, a nun of the convent of Gandersheim, has no rival in the language of Virgil, even among the learned monks; Rabanus Maurus, who treats of the seven liberal arts, is superior in learning to Bede and Alcuin himself. You will with difficulty find, perhaps in Italy, a writer more copious than Godeschalc, a more skilful canonist than Regino, a sacred composer more ingenious than Notker Balbulus, a writer

quibus non sacerdotes homines, sed monachi moribus et eruditione præfiebantur nominatissimi, qui non solum in divinis scripturis docti essent, verum etiam in mathematica, astronomia, geometria, musica, rhetorica, poesi, et in ceteris omnibus sacerdotali litteraturæ scientiis eruditissimi haberentur. Ex his multi non solum in Romana lingua, sed etiam in Hebreis, Græca et Arabicā peritissimi, quod ex eorum operibus facile dignoscitur, quamquam vitio scriptorum qui à primævæ institutione præceptorum paulatim degenerare coeperunt, pauca exemplaria nostris temporibus emendata reliquerunt."—Trithemii Chron. Hirsa. ann. 890.

¹ Chronic. Hildeah, in Leibnitii Script. rer. Brunsw. tom. i. p. 714. Ziegelbauer, Hist. Bened. pp. 32, 39, 41, 310.

² Eocardi Comm. de Reb. Fr. Orient. lib. xxix. p. 357.

who has managed more happily than Ottfried his native language. The tenth century was indeed the golden age of monachism. The monks were the teachers of Germany; nearly all the great lights of the period belong to the Benedictine order, the fame of which has been celebrated by Trithemius. Learning and piety were united in the German monks; likewise, if we look beyond the Alps, we see upon the episcopal thrones, and even in the chair of St. Peter, religious with names entirely German, who had crossed the forest of Fulda before reaching those high places, in which God was to set them as objects of mark to both the Latin and the German world.¹

To the light succeeded darkness; darkness which happily passed away very quickly.

Scarcely had the death of Charlemagne left the coasts of Germany defenceless, when hordes of slaves overran that country. On hearing of these Northmen, Bohemians, Moravians, and Wends, who carried desolation into the heart of the empire, Arnulphus called the Hungarians to his aid. The Hungarians came and repelled the barbarians, who, under his son Louis, resumed their incursions. The work of the great emperor was menaced; those fine schools which he protected, those monasteries, the asylum of the virtues and sciences, which he maintained, those rich libraries, which he had collected with so much care, all fell under the hoof of the horse, or the battle-axe of the Norman. The Norman, in whose veins flowed Pagan blood, had no more mercy for the grass of the field than for the presbytery; for the sculptured Christ than for the manuscript in which, under the eye of a monk, the child learned the first rules of the Latin syntax.²

But God had compassion for sacred literature, and the monks who cultivated it with such pious affection. To save them from the fury of the barbarians, he raised up two princes, descended from Witikind and the Saxon race, and both of whom deserved the name of *great*: Henry I. and Otho I. At Sonderhausen and Merseburg (934) Henry defeated the troops that had penetrated into Thuringia; eighty thousand of the barbarians were left on

¹ "Aurea fuerunt in ordine sanctissimi patris nostri Benedicti haec aetate, quibus viri monastici vita et doctrina pene innumerabiles ubique claruerunt. Ex quibus multi ad pontificatus apicem fuere promoti: cum nulla in toto Latinorum imperio aperiretur ecclesia, quae de ordine monachorum non haberet antistitem. Commendabat enim vite sanctitas scientiam Scripturarum et fecit eruditio litterarum omnimoda vitam monachorum multo clariorem."—Trith. Chron. Hirs. ad ann. 952.

² Eichhorn, l. c. p. 392.

the battle-field ; the rest perished of hunger. To assure his states and his conquests against the Slaves, Henry built, on the banks of the Elbe, Meissen, a stronghold and capital of the margravate of Misnia ; to defend them against the irruption of the Wends, he founded the margravate of North Saxony. Then he carried war into Jutland, and reunited to his empire the territory which extends between the Eider and the Schley, of which he formed the margravate of Schleswig.¹

Otho I. continued the work of his father Henry. Three prelates appeared at his coronation, the archbishops of Mayence, Treves, and Cologne, all three vested with the electoral dignity.² In the wars which desolated Germany, oftener than once, the bishop took his place by the side of the prince. He exerted himself to save Christianity, and with Christianity the country and civilization : the priest was at his post ; he strove against paganism and slavery. Had he remained concealed in his palace, the people would no longer have listened to him.

The Hungarians, or, as they called them, the Magyars, who devoured, as was said, the flesh and blood of their enemies, reappeared in Germany (955), overspread Bavaria, Austria, and the country which extended to Lech, crossed the river, and showed themselves before Augsburg, with horrible yells.³ Otho went forth and gave battle to the barbarians, who fled to return no more.

The conqueror then rested, but his repose was glorious ; Christianity was to complete the work which the warrior's sword had so fortunately commenced. The people of Schleswig and Jutland embraced the faith of Christ. To establish the reign of the Gospel in countries scarcely escaped from the darkness of paganism, Otho founded at Schleswig, Riven, and Arhusen, various bishoprics, suffragans to the see of Hamburg. The new prelates seconded the prince's intentions.

The monks reappeared (956—1056), not as before in the mysterious obscurity of the forest of Fulda, for the Slave or Norman horse had not spared one of the noble trees which sheltered the monastery, but in the capitals of the districts.

¹ Rotteck, General History, from the earliest period to 1832 : Carlsruhe, 1832, 8vo. tom. ii. p. 394 et seq.

² Rotteck, l. c. p. 398.

³ Witichind. Annal. ap. Meibom, tom. i. p. 650. Hahn's Reichshist, tom. ii. p. 45.

There the prince, now called emperor, because he had received the imperial crown of gold from the hands of the pope, caused cloisters to be constructed for them alongside of the palaces, where he desired the prelates, dignitaries of the kingdom, should dwell. These palaces are to be seen at Brandenburg, Havelburg, Naumburg, Ripen, and Magdeburg.¹

Under Otho's dynasty, the friends of learning, the bishops and the monks united in a pious crusade against ignorance. At Utrecht, where he was bishop, Adelbold founded a school where Bruno, son of Henry I. and Otho's brother, went to study² the ancient languages, dialectics, and poetry. Liege (960) had schools under the management of monks, and maintained at the expense of the bishop Eraclius, which all who were intended for the sacred ministry were obliged to attend. At the time when there was none to attend them, the prelate might be seen interrogating, reproofing, and encouraging the children.³ Bremen had for scholars the Danish princes, and children of their nobility;⁴ Hildesheim had Goderannus, Albert, Siegeber, and Meinward, for professors.⁵ In the monastery of St. Michael in that city there was a grammar school, of which the bishop had drawn up the statutes.⁶ Bishop Meinwerk had summoned to Paderborn philosophers, rhetoricians, geometricians, astronomers, musicians, and poets. They expounded there Horace and Virgil, Sallust and Statius; music and verses were composed there; and the movements of the stars and agriculture studied.⁷ The university of Cologne was known throughout Germany; it had for its protector the emperor Otho's own brother, Bruno, one of the most learned men of the tenth century.

¹ Adamus Bremens. in Hist. Eccl. cap. lvii. Ziegelbauer, Hist. Ord. Bened. tom. i.

² Rotger, in Vitâ Brunonis ap. Surium, de Viris Sanct. ad d. 11 Oct. Folcunus, De Gestis Abbatum Leodiensium, cap. xiii. in D'Achery Spicel. tom. ii. p. 307.

³ Ziegelbauer, l. c.

⁴ Adamus Bremens. in Hist. Eccl. cap. lvii.

⁵ Siffridus Mismensis, in Epist. lib. i. ann. 1002.

⁶ Ziegelbauer, Hist. Ord. Bened. tom. ii. pp. 45, 46.

⁷ "Studiorum multiplicita sub eo floruerunt exercitia, quando ubi musici fuerunt et dialectici enituerunt, rhetorici clarique grammatici, quando magistri artium ibi exercebant trivium, quibus omne studium erat circa quadrivium; ubi mathematici claruerunt et astronomici habebantur, physici atque geometrici. Viguit Horatius, magnus atque Virgilius, Crispus et Sallustius et Urbanus Statius; ludusque fuit omnibus insudare versibus et dictaminibus jucundisque cantibus."—Vita Meinwercki, cap. lli. in Leibnitii Scr. rer. Brunsw. tom. i.

Amid this blossoming of literature and science, the mind could not be inactive. The monks had at their command the great works of philosophy, history, and Greek and Latin poetry. Gunzon¹ brought from Italy to Saxony the Ηερὶ Ἐρμηνείας of Plato, Aristotle's Topics, Homer's Iliad, the Orations of Cicero and Demosthenes, the Natural History of the elder Pliny, Cæsar's Commentaries, the poems of Statius, Claudian, Manilius, Virgil and Horace, and Vitruvius.² The monks made copies of these for the clerical libraries, which each bishop formed in his diocese. These treasures were generally preserved in the sacristy of the cathedrals, and their custody intrusted to well-informed priests. The collection of authors of antiquity, formed by Walthred at Magdeburg, and that of Bernward at Hildesheim, are especially noted.³

The monks set themselves again to work; their first thought was to recount the wonders of the reign of the Othos, their protectors. It was a sentiment that sprang from the heart; might it not bring them success? Witikind the Saxon retraces, in a sort of rhymeless epic, the deeds of Henry the Fowler and Otho the Great.⁴ Dithmar narrates the lives of the five emperors of the great Saxon race, of Henry I. and II. and the three Othos.⁵ Lambert of Aschaffenburg brings on the stage the German people, and traces with the simple belief of a legendary, that is to say, of a poet, all the wondrous deeds which they achieved in their wars with the Northmen.⁶ Hermann Contractus has resolved some difficult problems in astronomy.⁷ Notker translated the Psalms of David into the old Teutonic idiom, which was daily becoming extinct;⁸ Willram, with heightened

¹ Christ. Gatterer, *Commentatio de Gunzone Italo, qui a seculo x. obecuro in Germania pariter atque in Italia eruditio[nis] laude floruit*: Norimb. 1756, 4to. p. 17 et seq.

² Martenne, in *Thes. Aned.* tom. i. p. 304.

³ Eichhorn, l. c. p. 398.

⁴ *Witikindi Saxonie Rerum ab Henrico et Othono I. imp. Gestarum*, lib. iii. *Meibomii Script. Germ.* tom. i.

⁵ *Dithmari Merseburg. Ep.* lib. vii., *quinque imp. Saxoniorum, Henrici I., Othonum trium et Henrici II.*, ed. Joach. Jo. Madero: Helmst. 1667, 4to.; in *Leibnitii Scr. rer. Brunsw.* tom. i. p. 323.

⁶ *Lamberti Schaffnaburgensis Chronic. S. Historia Germanorum*, in *Pistorii S. Rerum Germ.*: Ratisb. 1726, fol. tom. i. p. 301.

⁷ *Hermannus Contractus, de Mensurâ Astrolabii Liber*, in *Pezii Thes. Ane.* tom. iii. pp. 2, 50, 98. He has also written, *Chron. de Sex Mundi Ætatis*.

⁸ *Notkeri Psalterium Davidicum à Latino in Theodiscam veterem Linguam versum et paraphrasi illustratum*, in *Jo. Schelteri Thes. Ant. Teut.* tom. i.

imagery, translated the Canticles of Solomon.¹ It is impossible not to praise these attempts of the clergy to give the German people a national literature.

It was to the clergy, the monks especially, that literature was indebted for the development which it took before the reign of the school divinity. And above all, it was the instrument of thought which it required to create.

*The German Language.*²—In the eighth century, Germany had no national language, but popular dialects, which were spoken, but written by none, for want of syntax. It was difficult to raise to the symbolic power signs to a great extent composed of diphthongs. In the time of Ottfried that effort seemed impossible. Christianity, which had regenerated man, in some degree founded language. The priest, in his nomadic preaching, constantly provided it, if not with new radicals, at least with new acceptations which he gave to the existing vocables. These acceptations were, at bottom, only the figurative signification of popular terms in use, images of unknown ideas, which the missionary caused to enter the domain of the written word. It was not merely one of the dialects which the people stammered, which thus became enriched with new terminologies. The monk, a species of living lexicon, left on his way, among the different people whom he evangelized, ideas which came to be understood, by the aid of words, which henceforth changed with the signification.

From that cause, a new order of notions was in part borrowed from the spiritual life, such as it is represented in the Gospel, and which the missionaries revealed to the nations which they converted to Christianity. The earliest literary fragments which have descended to us from these ancient times are written in the Low Saxon, Allemanic, Rhenish, and Frankish dialects. Nearly all are in prose, and seem to have been specially destined for the priests, who carried the light among the pagan colonies. They are translations or paraphrases of the New Testament, of ascetic books, statutes, and rules for the conduct of the priesthood.³

¹ Willrami, in *Canticum Canticorum paraphrasis gemina, prior rhythmis Latinis, altera veteri Lingua Francica*, in Jo. Schelteri *Thea. Ant. Teut.* tom. i.

² Upon the development of the German language, consult Adelung's *unstndliches Lehrgebude der deutschen Sprache*, tom. i.: Leipzig, 1782, 8vo.; Hoch's *Compendium der deutsehen Literatur-Geschichte*: Berlin, 1795, 8vo.

³ *Catechesis Theodisca* (Eccardi, p. 93). Grupen, *Form. Vet. Conf.* : Hannov. 1667, 4to. p. 19) of the 9th century. A French translation of the writing of Isidore, *De Navitate Domini*, 7th century (Schilter, tom. ii.). A Paraphrase, in the Rhenish language, of the Four Evangelists (Michaeler, tom. iii. p. 84).

Their origin is evidently Latin. Eckardt has given a fragment of a Latin sermon preached in the time of Boniface,¹ and which was afterwards reproduced in the Saxon language. Melberg's Commentaries are probably the work of some monk, and the Capitularies of Louis the Pious have very likely been digested by the clergy.

To initiate the young in the secrets of the Latin language, the religious prepared vocabularies, which each scholar was required to transcribe.² That of Rabanus Maurus, which one of his pupils composed, was long used as a class-book.³ Sometimes, in the form of a glossary, the author included an elementary treatise of anatomy, as Walfrid Strabo in his Vocabulary of the parts of the human body.⁴

A more substantial service was rendered by the clergy to the national language in the translation of some purely scientific works, such as those of Boetius, Martianus Capella, and Aristotle's Organon.⁵ These essays, in which the original thought could not always be faithfully reproduced, favoured the movement of ideas.

At intervals, mind, which becomes more and more independent, strives to give an original form to its inspirations: it sings in rhyme; Jesus speaks to the Samaritans in metre; there is a hymn in verse to St. George; the four Evangelists again narrate in verse the life of Christ. Sometimes the writer is truly inspired, as in the hymn of St. Anno, a work of a fine poetic flight. Whether or not happy in his versification, the poet has not the less rendered a service to the idiom or the dialect which he has employed: in imagining that he only spoke to the heart, he has converted the ear.⁶

Germany, so slow in its intellectual labour, has advanced before all other nations in the cultivation of the mother-tongue. In Germany, the language of the people was distinct from that of the learned, who reserved to themselves the Latin; so that each attempt of the plebeian muse in the popular idiom, was a real

¹ Catech. Theod. p. 749.

² Eccardi, Franc. Or. tom. i. p. 853; tom. ii. pp. 850—997.

³ Eccardi, l. c. 850.

⁴ Walfridi Strabonis Glossae Latino-barbaricae de partibus humani corporis (in Goldasti Scrip. rer. Alem. ii.; in Rabani Mauri Op. tom. vi. p. 831).

⁵ Boëtius was introduced at St. Gall about the 10th or 11th century (Gerberti Iter Alem. p. 148). Mart. Capella at the same time (Gerbert. l. c. p. 141).

⁶ Eccardi, Franc. Or. tom. ii. p. 948. Nyerup, Symbol. p. 411. Schilter, tom. ii.

advance in lexicography. Eichhorn justly remarks, "that it was not thus among other people,—the French, Italians, and Spaniards, for example,—where, at that time, there was but one written language, that of the learned, or Latin. Afterwards, when among these nations the Latin had been divided with the *Roman*, the latter became the property of the people, while the former remained in the possession of the educated classes.

The Study of the Latin Language.—The Latin syntax was brought from the banks of the Loire to those of the Rhine. There existed at Tours a celebrated school conducted by Alcuin, which was visited by Rabanus Maurus. The masters of this school had framed a technical method of instruction, suited to the capacity of all, and of which the success was as certain as it was rapid. Germany, desirous of acquiring this method, deputed one of her most illustrious sons to study on the benches of Alcuin's seminary.

Rabanus Maurus left Tours, carrying with him a grammar which he translated, and which was soon taught at Fulda. Walfrid introduced it in the school of Reichenau; Ermenric¹ disseminated it on his journey in the various establishments founded by the monks. They possessed the key of the sacred ark, wherein lay the treasures of which they were to make themselves masters. Rabanus Maurus had it in his mind. Under the master's eye, apt scholars composed small lexicons,² in which each word of which they had acquired the meaning, was arranged alphabetically. At St. Gall, Iso executed the same work. In a short time all the German monasteries possessed grammars and dictionaries, which the scribes multiplied, and which the scholars were obliged to copy themselves; syntax and dictionaries were then discovered. But Alcuin's rudiments were soon insufficient; other methods were devised, and the clergy made new grammars. Among the grammarians of the time are noted Haymo, bishop of Halberstadt; Adelmann, bishop of Rixen; and Willram, abbot of Ebersberg.³

¹ Liber de Grammatica ad Grimoldum Archicapellani. Mabill. Annal. tom. iv. pp. 420—422.

² Eccardi, Comm. de Reb. Franc. Orient. tom. ii. p. 340. Gerbert, Iter Alem. p. 4-10; Bern. Pezii Thes. Anecd. tom. i.

³ Mabillon, in his Annals, book xxi. no. 18, quotes several examples of the manner in which the monks spoke Latin in France in the tenth century. The following epitaph will give an idea of it:—

“Qui requi esset in passe Eusebia religiosa
Magna ancila Domini”

By means of that twofold instrument of all lexicological investigation, the grammar and the dictionary, the use of the Latin spread through the monasteries. However, it was the word, and not yet the idea, which occupied the monk's brain, and the simple word which he commonly found in the works of devotion which he habitually read. He had no need of, or care for, the old writers, because his desire was to nourish his soul before enriching his memory. But once master of the word, it was impossible that he should not think of appropriating the idea which that word represented, more particularly in ancient times; so that from the moment he had overcome the word, he was insensibly led to arrive at the source which had produced it. He soon then comprehended the necessity for studying antiquity. In the tenth century Probus frequently quotes Cicero, Virgil, and the authors of the Augustinian age;¹ Bruno, archbishop of Cologne, prided himself on knowing his Latin authors;² the monk Frumondus in his letters frequently makes use of passages from Persius and Juvenal.³ At Paderborn, in the beginning of the eleventh century, they expounded Horace and Virgil, Statius and Sallust.⁴ Terence was even in the cells of the nuns, for the religious women themselves applied with a pious fervour to the study of classical antiquity. But it was no longer the word only which the monk sought to conquer; he wished to master its turn, rhythm, harmony, and style. Roger, of the monastery of St. Pantaleon at Cologne, in his life of Bruno,⁵ Notker bishop of Liege, in his legend of St. Remacle, want neither simplicity nor charm.⁶ Lambert of Aschaffenburg had studied the noble models of Rome

Qui in seculo ab heneunte estate sua vexit.
Secolares, annos XIII. et ubi a Domino
Electa est, in monasterio sanctorum Cyrici
Servivet annos quiquaginta; recesset
Sub die pridie Kald Octobris, indictione sesta."

—See, in Labbe, Conc. tom. iv. p. 1780, Charlemagne's complaints of the barbarous language spoken by the monks in France.

¹ Servatus Lupus, in Ep. 20.

² Rotger, in Vita Brunonis, cap. vii. ap. Surium de Vitis sanctorum ad d. 11 October.

³ Ziegelbauer, Hist. Ord. Bened. tom. ii. p. 557.

⁴ Vita Meinwerki, cap. lii. in Leibnitii Scrip. rer. Brunsw.

⁵ In Leibn. Scrip. rer. Brunsw. tom. i.

⁶ Apud Surium, 3 Sept.

and Athens; so that he is much superior to all his rivals, even to Peregrinus of Hirschau, who passed for a master in style.¹

Latin Poetry.—Germany had an epic poem before all the other nations. In the sixth century a monk sang Attila's expedition into France, which epic was given to the learned world in 1780 by Christopher Fischer.² It appears that Rabanus Maurus found in Alcuin's school at Tours a Latin prosody, which he introduced at Fulda, and which was soon used in all the colleges on the banks of the Rhine. At that time, as now, the scholars were obliged to compose verses; the hexameters were especially cultivated in the monasteries. Unluckily the poet, like a very buffoon, thought to attract the admiration of his readers by dint of poetical tricks more or less serious. There are poems in which the whole verses begin with the same letter, others in which the verses form figures of men or animals, and some in which the verses have all the same rhyme.

The poem *De Sancta Cruce*, which Rabanus Maurus sent to Pope Sergius, in 847, consists of a succession of paragraphs, each of which represents an arabesque.³ The life of Conrad, by Wippo, is written in leonine verses.⁴

The Germans, moreover, were the first to write history in verse. In the middle of the ninth century, a monk of Paderborn strove to sing the exploits of Charlemagne;⁵ Walfrid Strabo, monk and afterwards abbot of Reichenau, celebrated not only the saints,⁶ but the garden of his monastery, the flowers which grew in its vicinity, the grass of the field, and the medicinal virtues which God had bestowed upon certain plants which he had himself collected on the mountains. But the great poet of the age was a nun of Gandersheim, Roswitha, the pupil of two young ladies, Richardis and Gerberga, one of whom taught her Latin, and the other Greek. In her leisure moments, after repeating her office,

¹ Trithemii, *Chron. Hirsaug.* ann. 118, tom. i. p. 393.

² *De Primâ Expeditione Attilæ regis Hunnorum in Galliam, ac de rebus Gestis Waltheri Aquitanorum principiis, Carmen Epicum ssecul. VI. nunc primum ex Cod. Memb. productum & Fred. Christ. Jon. Fischer: Lipsiae, 1780, 4to.*

³ *Rabani Mauri Opera*, ed Georg. Colvenerio. Col. Agripp. 1627, fol.

⁴ *Pistorii Scrip. rer. Germ. tom. iii. p. 457.*

⁵ *Poeta Saxo Monachus Paderboruensis, de Gestis Caroli M. in Leibn. Scrip. rer. Brunsw. tom. i. p. 120.*

⁶ *Vita S. Mamme, S. Blaitmaici, Visiones S. Wettini, Carmen ad Ruadbertum, in Canissi Lect. Ant. tom. ii. pp. 2, 176.*

the nun read Terence till she learned him by heart ; she then was seized with a desire to imitate her much-loved poet, and, like him, to write comedies. She was not ashamed to avow her modest admiration of this great genius;¹ we suspect it, otherwise, in perusing the comedies which she wrote.² What charmed her in Terence was the harmonious sweetness of expression, which she as happily imitated. We must be indulgent to the young lady, and pardon Roswitha some barbarisms which her master would never have permitted. In the middle of Ottfried's manuscripts was found a sort of song addressed by the nun to the monk ; it is Roswitha's most eminent composition, wherein she shows herself truly a poet.

The Greek Language. — Charlemagne enjoined the monks to study it. The emperor, in his political relations with Greece, required ambassadors who understood the language spoken in the East. Amalarius, bishop of Treves, and Hatto, bishop of Basle,³ whom that prince sent to the court of Constantinople, might have passed for native Greeks. At Fulda, under Rabanus Maurus, both Greek and Latin were taught.⁴ As distinguished Hellenists have been noted Hartmann, the pupil of Rabanus Maurus ; Rupert, a monk of Mayence ; Ratbertus and Tutilo, religious of St. Gall, and especially the many-tongued Hermann Contractus.⁵

History. — There are two distinct periods in the historiography : —one preceding, another collateral with or subsequent to Charlemagne. In the first, history is legendary, hagiological, and chronological. The historian applies himself to produce in his narrative the life of a saint, the miracles which mark the existence of his hero, the interior of monastic life. His narrative, which almost always commences with the creation of the world, is deficient neither in charm nor in simplicity. In general, he is animated with a lively faith, and the faith is his muse. His world is almost always contained in the small monastery where he dwells ; and like Savonarola, he writes under the shade of some

¹ "Non recusavi illum imitari dictando quem alii colunt legendos." — Preface to her Comedies.

² Opera Hrosvitae, ed. Conrad, Celtes, Norimb. 1501. Opera partim soluto, partim vineto sermonis genere, conscripta, ed. Henr. Leon. Schurzfleisch : Wittemb. 1707, 4to.

³ Hatto was sent, with Hugh of Tours, on an embassy to Nicephorus, emperor of the East. He wrote an account of his journey, which is unluckily lost. See Fabricii Bib. Lat. Med. Aevi.

⁴ Ziegelbauer, l. c. tom. i. p. 210.

⁵ Trith. Chrou. Hirsaug. ad ann. 1048.

fine rose-trees ; but his style is far from imbued with their perfume. To be convinced of this, it is sufficient to cast a glance on the "Annals of Fulda," by a monk whose name is unknown,¹ and on the origin and revolutions of the monastery of St. Gall, by Ratkerus.² Rabanus Maurus, Wandelbert, and Walfrid Strabo gave the flavour of martyrologists and hagiographers.³ We must not expect from them, any more than from their imitators, order, method, or criticism.

Towards the close of the tenth century, history begins to assume new forms : she leaves the skies, and seeks for heroes on earth. The historian mixes with the people ; he has studied national manners,—the origins of cities,—the movement of ideas,—the revolutions of kingdoms, and the causes which produced them. Witikind, a monk of Corvey, abounds with the marvellous in his "Annals of Saxony;" but when he describes a site, or a battle, he is exact and picturesque.⁴ Dithmar, dean of Walbeck, afterwards bishop of Merseburg, if he has not the style of his rival, surpasses him in the philosophical appreciation of facts ; his mind is vigorously stored, his glance sure, and his political views reveal the statesman.⁵ These are the two great historical names of mediæval Germany : Adelbold, first a monk, then bishop of Utrecht, in 1008, made a serious study of Tacitus, whose sententious phraseology he seeks to re-produce ;⁶ but Lambert of Aschaffenburg is far superior to all the historians of his age. He had travelled as far as Syria. He is clear-sighted, and takes a far range, and his narrative flows continuously, uninterrupted by tedious digressions ;⁷ he is a man of talent, perhaps of genius. Siegbert, of Gembloux, has fine qualities, but they are inferior to those of Lambert.⁸

¹ Auctor anonymus Annalium Fuldensium (secul. ix.), in Freherus.

² De origine et diversis casibus Monasterii S. Galli, in Goldastus.

³ *Ægilis, Vita Sturmiensis* (ed. Christ. Brovero). *Candidi, Vita Ægilis* (ed. Christ. Brovero), 750. *De Miraculis Othmari*, in Goldastus. *Theodorici Moguntini, Inventio Reliquiarum Celsi Confessoris*.

⁴ *Annales de Rebus Saxonum gestis* (ed. Reineccio) : Francof. 1577, fol. Voss. III. *De Hist. Lat. cap. xli.*

⁵ *Chroniorum Lib. VIII. ann. 876—1018* (ed. Reineccio) : Francof. 1580, et Madero, Helmst. 1667, 4to. In Leibnitii *Scri. rer. Brunsw.* tom. i. p. 323.

⁶ *De Vitâ Imperatoris Henrici II.* in Leibn. *Scri. Brunsw.* tom. i. No. 30. Leyseri *Hist. Poet. Med. Ævi*, p. 307. Fabricii, *Bib. Lat. Med. Et.* tom. i. p. 38.

⁷ *Chronicon Hist. Germanorum* : Bas. 1569, in Pistorii *Scri. Rerum Germ.* tom. i. p. 301. Voss. II. *De Hist. Lat. cap. xlviij.*

⁸ *Chronicon* (ann. 881—1112), printed in Schardii, IV. *Chronogr. celeb.* Francof. 1566, fol., et curâ Auberti Miraci, Antwerp. 1604, 4to.

History had at this period a dramatic struggle to record, that of Gregory VII. with Henry IV.; unhappily, the drama contained more than one rock, over which it was very difficult for a contemporary to avoid falling. The empire and the tiara contended for the world. If the historian wears a cowl, like Berthold, we must expect a complete apology for all the acts of the popedom. The monk espouses with ardour the cause of the Roman pontiff,¹ but that very passion sometimes serves the narrator admirably,—it makes a poet of him. On the other hand, the mitre does not always preserve its wearer from unjust prejudices;² and he who wishes to form an idea of the great Pope Gregory VII. ought to beware of referring for it to the narrative of Waltram, bishop of Naumburg, a violent writer, who palliates even the crimes of Henry IV., his hero.³

The German annalist, who had at first taken for his model the ancient historians, could not dispense with taking from them the fancy for harangues. Bruno follows the fashion of Livy; at the commencement of a battle he puts a magnificent speech in the mouth of the military leaders of the two camps: but the good sense of the Teutonic nation soon ridiculed these rhetorical allocutions, and the monk—it must in justice to him be said—did not long bid defiance to the popular dislike. He very soon cast aside the harangue for documents derived from official sources, and which he sometimes places at the foot of the page, sometimes in the text, and at others at the end of his work.

Biography at this period becomes developed, and takes forms more appropriate to the subject. The legend is less superstitious, and miracles intervene less frequently: not that the monk, while writing, forgot his ordinary source of inspiration—heaven; only he understood better the character of his personages, and their double individuality. It is the mind and the body, the matter and the spirit, which he studies to exhibit in their various phenomena. The biographies of Archbishop Bruno, by Rotgerus,⁴ monk of Cologne; of Bernward, bishop of Hildesheim, by Dean Tangmar;⁵ of Meinwerk, bishop of Paderborn, by an anonymous reli-

¹ In Jac. Gretseri *Apologia pro Gregorio VII.*: Ingolst. 1709, fol. et Gretseri *Oper.* tom. vi.: Ratisb. 1785.

² *Historia Belli Saxonici*, 1073—1082. He wrote likewise *Anecdotes of Henry IV.*

³ In Goldasti *Apologia pro Henrico IV.*

⁴ In Leibnitii *Ser. Rer. Brunsw.* tom. i.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 411.

gious,¹ are historical essays of real value. Hermann Contractus will always hold a distinguished rank in chronography.²

Geography.—It is to the sword of the Franks (or Franconians), who opened a passage across the north of Europe, but especially to the cross which the Christian missionaries went planting from kingdom to kingdom, that we owe the movement of geographical science in Germany. The monks understood the necessity, in order to give animation to their narratives, of describing the places which witnessed the exploits of these warlike people. The legend-mongers who attached themselves to the steps of the missionary in his miraculous journeys over the pagan districts, affected to give exact notions of the manners of the new converts and the countries which they inhabited. Every writer of legends is naturally a poet: the aspect of a wild situation moves him; he is inspired by the gloom of a dark forest; it is necessary to see them either through his eyes or those of his heroes.

Adam, canon of Bremen, is the first (1076) who has studied with care and faithfully described the topography of a country.³ He loved the wide air and space; part of his youth was spent in visiting unknown countries. In order to describe them, he made use of his own memory in the first instance, then of the narratives which the monks, since Louis the Pious, had composed and left in their monasteries. His work was for a long time quoted as a model of comparative geography: no one previous to him had given such complete notions of Jutland, the interior of Sweden, and different islands of the Atlantic Ocean.

The monks drew their ideas of the geography of the nations of antiquity from Solinus and Martianus Capella: but when it related to the Slaves and the Normans, they had nothing to assist them except the narratives of their fellow-countrymen. Hence, in German geography there are two series of works; the one not to be regarded, because they are merely reproductions, sometimes even faulty, of ideas already published; the other necessary to be studied, since for the most part of the time they have been drawn from official sources.

In general, a priest who had made long travels wrote an account

¹ In Leibn. Scr. Rer. Brunsw. tom. i. pp. 417, 564.

² Hermanni Contracti Chronicon, in Pistorio.

³ Adamus Bremensis, *De Situ Danie et Reliquarum, quae trans Daniam, sunt; regionum natura, deque gentium istarum moribus religionibusque*. In Lindenbrog, *Script. Rerum Septent.*: Hamburg, 1706.

of them. Thus Wilibad, the first bishop of Eischaedt, published the narrative of his pilgrimage to Italy, Cyprus, and the Holy Land;¹ Hetto that of his itinerary from Basle to Constantinople (813); and Amalarius, archbishop of Treves, that of his travels across a part of the East.²

One of the most curious monuments of cosmography in the tenth century was the great geographical chart which St. Gall presented to the abbey he had founded.³

Mathematics.—Physics, mathematics, and astronomy formed part of that *Quadrivium* which was taught in every convent. However, these sciences had among the monks no representative of great merit.

Hermann Contractus has left two works upon the measure and use of the astrolabe.⁴ Trithemius has vaunted the services which Wilhelm, abbot of the convent of Hirschau, rendered to astronomy and mathematics.⁵

Dialectics.—Since the time of Rabanus Maurus, this was a science taught in every convent; but neither Theodorich of Mayence; Remi, abbot of Mittlach; Orthrich of Magdeburg; his pupil Adelbert, bishop of Prague; nor many other monks whom they reckon philosophers, instilled a durable motion into the ideas. The speculations of Aristotle were almost always what they reproduced. If they did not go in search of the unknown, we cannot charge them with the least step in dogmatism: they were devout individuals, who stuck to authority, and took no thought for new words which might disturb the world of mind. Their philosophy consisted in faith, love, and good works. Nevertheless, from the shade of the cloisters some truly skilful logicians appeared; such as Willram, professor of philosophy in the university of Paris. Educated in the school of Bamberg, thereafter a monk at Fulda, he died abbot of Merseburg.⁶

¹ Mabill. Act. Ord. Bened. tom. ii. p. 273.

² Ibid. p. 455.

³ Radbertus, De Casibus Monasterii S. Galli, cap. x.

⁴ Hermanni Contracti, De Mensurâ Astrolabii, liber, in Pezii, Thes. Aneod. tom. iii. p. 2. De Utilitatibus Astrolabii, ib. p. 107.

⁵ "In Astronomia, Mathematica et Arithmeticâ quām peritus fuerit, ejus volumina testantur: de his facultatibus multūm lucubravit."—Trith. Chron. Hirs. ann. 1070.

⁶ "Claruit his temporibus Wilramus ex scholastico Bambergensi monachus Fuldensis, et tandem ex monacho abbas cœnobii Merseburgensis . . . vir tam in divinis scripturis quām in secularibus litteris non infimè doctus, qui in Parisiensi gymnasio philosophiam multis annis gloriòsè docuerat."—Trithemius, in Chron. Hirsau. ad an. 1064. Fabricius, Bibl. Lat. Med. Ævi, tom. vi. p. 903. Polycarp. Leyseri Hist. Poet. Med. Ævi, p. 354.

Church music was cultivated successfully in the monasteries. We are indebted to Notker Balbulus, of St. Gall, who died in 912, for a system of notation by means of the letters of the alphabet.¹ Berno, abbot of Reichenau, took advantage of his journey to Italy with the emperor Henry to study the Roman chant. On his return to Germany, he introduced several amendments in choral singing. His treatise on intoning was printed at Paris in the sixteenth century.² Berno appears to have given a new life to church music; he established a school. Germany soon had some great sacred musicians; such as Hermann Contractus; Wilhelm, abbot of Hirschau;³ and Siegbert, of Gembloux, who boasts of having *mellified* the antiphons and responses of the festivals of Saints Macarius and Guibert.⁴

When Guido of Arezzo had found his system of notation in one of our hymns of the Church, Hermann, archbishop of Bremen, engaged the artist to adapt his method to most of the monasteries.⁵

Medicine.—This science was not cultivated in Germany: they only reckoned there some celebrated practitioners:—A. Corverus; Wiebert, subsequently (880) bishop of Hildesheim; Agius, physician to Hathumod, the abbess of Gandersheim;⁶ and Thiadaz, who cured of paralysis Boleslas, duke of Bohemia, and received as his reward the bishopric of Prague. At St. Gall are mentioned Iso, one of the most renowned schoolmen of the ninth century, Notker (954), and Eckkehard.⁵

Theology.—How often have we not heard it said that prior to the Reformation biblical criticism was a science unknown in the theological world! There is nothing in that, however. The Bible was studied in the monasteries of Fulda, St. Gall, and Merseburg with a real passion. Rabanus Maurus was the first who conceived the idea of commenting on the inspired word.⁷

¹ Notkeri Balbuli Sequentiarum Liber, in Pez. Thes. Aneod. tom. i. p. 15.

² Bernonis Liber de Officio Missæ: Paris, 1514, 4to.

³ De Musica et Tonis et de Correctione Psalterii.

⁴ "Arte musicali antiphonas et responsoria de sanctis Macario et Guiberto mellificavi."

⁵ Adamus Brem. lib. ii. cap. l. p. 76.

⁶ Leibn. Scr. Bruns. tom. ii.

⁷ Pez. Thes. Aneod. tom. i. part. iii. p. 283. Eccard. Comm. de Rebus Francic Orient.

⁸ Eckkehardus, De Casibus Mon. St. Galli.

⁹ Opera collecta primum Industriæ Jacobi Pamelli, nunc verò in lucem

Haymo, his class-fellow and companion in his travels, first professor at Fulda, and then bishop of Halberstadt, explains the mysterious sense of the Psalms and Solomon's Canticles, the minor prophets, and all St. Paul's epistles.¹ Dithmar, a Greek and Hebrew scholar (850), discusses grammatically the text of Saints Matthew, Luke, and John.² Bruno, bishop of Wurzburg, and son of Conrad, duke of Carinthia, interprets some books of the Bible, and collates the Latin text of St. Jerome with the glosses of Gregory the Great, Cassiodorus, and Beda.³ Walfrid Strabo is an able critic. His Bible *cum glossis ordinariis* was for a long time the manual of the whole Western Church: his book is a faithful summary of Greek and Latin hermeneutics.⁴

It has been said, that before the Reformation, the Bible was a book which the priest carefully concealed from observation; a celestial ambrosia, which he only administered by drops to profane lips. And yet Ottfried versified the four Evangelists;⁵ Notker, surnamed Labeo, paraphrased the Psalms;⁶ and Willram translated the Canticles;⁷ all three in the vulgar tongue.

In the preface to his Catechism, Calvin complains that the Catholic Church had never embodied the dogmas of Christianity in a collection for the use of children. Now, this Golden Book—as they called it—existed in the ninth century;⁸ and it appears to have been the work of one of those missionaries who evangelized Germany. Very probably this little beggar, who questioned the good Cotta's child on the truths of the faith, put his queries, without doubting them, from one of these catechisms, which had found its way from the forests of Buchonia to the church of Eisleben.

emissa curā Antonii de Hemin, ac studio et op. Georgii Colvenerii. Col. Agr. 1627, folio.

¹ *Explanatio in omnes Psalmos et in Cantica*, ed. Des. Erasmo: Friburg. 1553, folio. In *Jesaiam*, ed. Nicol. Herborn: Colon, 1581, 8vo. In *XII Prophetas Minores et in Cant. Cant.*: Colon. 1529, 8vo. In *Pauli Epistolas omnes*: Colon. 1529, 8vo.

² Chr. Dithmari Grammatici *Expositio in Matthaeum cum Epitomatibus in Lucam et Iohannem*: Argent. 1514, folio.

³ *Comment. in totum Psalmterium et Cantica tam Vet. quam N. Testament. In Bibl. Patrum max.*: Lugd. tom. xviii. p. 65.

⁴ *Biblia Sacra cum glossis ordinariis*, primum quidem à Walfrido Strabo Fuldenensi, nunc verò novis Patrum cum Graecorum tñm Latinorum explicationibus locupletata. — *Opera et Studio Theologorum Duacensium*: Duaci, 1607, folio, 6 vols.

⁵ In Schilterii *Theos. ant. Reut.* tom. ii.

⁶ *Uebersetzung des Psalters*, ed. Jo. Schiller: Ulm, 1726.

⁷ In Schilter. tom. i.

⁸ *Eccardi Catechesis Theodisca*.

Such is an imperfect summary of the labours of the monks in Germany till the eleventh century. Since that time till the revival of letters, different schools arose beyond the Rhine, the history of which cannot be treated of here, and which divided the theological world. Scholasticism soon had its reign ; and this, according to Charles Villers, rendered essential service to the human intellect.¹ Its great apostles were St. Thomas, Lanfranc, Roscelinus, Abelard, and John Duns Scotus. However, we cannot deny that the light which the monasteries had at first caused to shine, was for a short while obscured, especially towards the end of the fourteenth century. A reform was necessary ; the cloisters required to be regenerated ; and the restoration was to be attempted by a monk of the Benedictine order.²

This monk was Trithemius. Let us endeavour to make a rapid estimate of the influence which he exercised on the discipline of the monasteries in Germany.

TRITHEMIUS OR TRITHEIM.—REFORMATION OF THE MONASTERIES.

Let us not leave the banks of the Rhine. Towards the end of the winter, in 1476, a child, who assisted at the mass in the monastery of Westenbrul, in Rheingau, admired the golden-ettered missal that lay open on the altar, and said to God in his prayer : “ My God, grant that one day I may be able to read this beautiful book.”

Thus spoke John of Trittenheim, so well known by the name of Trithemius, the son of John, a husbandman of Heidelberg, and Elizabeth of Longwich. His prayer was to no purpose : God would not listen to it. The monks turned aside when he stopped them to beg that they would teach him to read the beautiful missal of the monastery. Trithemius was not discouraged. Now, one fine summer’s night he suddenly awoke, and saw his chamber

¹ *Essai sur l’Esprit et l’Influence de la Réformation de Luther*, par Ch. Villers, 8vo. 1808, p. 368.

² See, as to the labours of the monks, J. Gottfried Eichhorn, 1. c. p. 440, whose documents we have partly cited, and who also quotes, Amalarii Treuirensis Arch. Epist. ad Carolum M. de Baptismo, in Canisii Ant. Lect. p. 366 ; Udalricus, Epist. Augsb. de Coelibatu Cleri, Epist., in Eccardi Corp. his Med. Ævi, tom. ii. p. 23 ; Haymonis Episc. Halb. Homiliarum : Col. 1531, 8vo. ; De Corpore et Sanguine Christi, in D’Achery Spicil. tom. xii. p. 27 ; Godeschalci, Conf. Fidei 2, ad calcem Historiæ Godeschalci et Predestinationis Controv. Auct. Ussorio : Dubl. 1631 ; Reginonis Monachi Prumensis, De Discipl. Ecclesiæ, lib. ii. ed. Joach. Hildebrand : Helmst. 1649, 4to.

Consult also, Christophori Saxii Onomasticon Litterarium : Trajecti ad Rhenum, 8vo. tom. ii.

in a blaze of light, and through the fantastic glare a young man with white wings holding in his hand two tablets, the one filled with figures of all colours, the other with written characters.

"What do you want with me?" said the child to the heavenly messenger.

"Choose, my child," said the angel.

And Trithemius, stretching out his hand, took the alphabet. And the angel smiled, and flew away: so says the legend.¹

These pages sent from heaven, and variegated with figures similar to those which he had seen in the missal of Westenbrul, were to Trithemius truly a fortune-book.

Trithemius had a friend, James, who worked for a neighbouring monastery, where he had learned to decline and conjugate. He took the mysterious alphabet, and began to read it fluently. After eight days, John knew the A B C, Lord's Prayer, Angelical Salutation, the Apostles' Creed, etc.²

But he was not satisfied; he wished that his book was as large as the abbey missal.

"Console yourself," said James to his friend; "we shall go together to the monastery where the good monks taught me to read; your angel will guide us."

They took their way. Behold them at the door of the monastery.

Now in this holy mansion dwelt a father, Peter of Heidenburg, who could read not only Latin parchments, but Greek, and even slightly, it was said, Hebrew manuscripts. He was captivated with the child's voice, and said to him, "Bless you, my child, it is Heaven that sends you; love, and pray to the good God, he will assist you. There is a letter for your father."

John leaped with joy, embraced Peter of Heidenburg, and returned home. His father read the letter. The abbot inquired the fortune of the child, his son by a first marriage.

That evening, John went supperless to bed, and next morning, instead of bread had blows. The legend does not say if the angel again came down to console his *protégé*.

Only, some time after, we find John on the road to Treves, with a prayer-book under his arm, a pilgrim's staff in his hand, and his scrip hung at his girdle, stopping at intervals before some

¹ *Macrostroma, seu De Laudibus Trithemianis*, by J. von Butzbach of Miltenberg. This manuscript is at Bonn.

² *Ibid.*

mansion of respectable appearance, and singing some old song to procure charity.

Sometimes a window is opened, and we see appearing among the tufts of clematis, which was the common ornament of German houses at that time, a female, who, moved with pity, throws some crusts of bread to the child.

Thus supported by charity, like Luther at a later date, Tritheimius arrived at Treves, that Roman city full of colleges, monasteries, and abbeys. He went straight to the most renowned of these institutions.

There, for several years, Tritheimius studied grammar, dialectics, and rhetoric; the *trivium* or vestibule of theology, then the mistress of the sciences. His progress was wonderful. When the fathers had communicated to him all their intellectual treasures, the boy left them to travel anew.

He frequented the German universities. At Louvain, in Lower Germany, he took to the angels of the school, to St. Thomas especially, his beloved master. Heidelberg initiated him into the subtleties of the Aristotelian syllogisms; Mayence in the philosophy of Plato.¹ When the bee had formed its honey of every flower which it found in that Eden of knowledge, it took flight again. This wandering life suited the imagination of Tritheimius. It developed in him the germs of a mysticism which afterwards resolved into real poetry. At evening he would pitch his tent at the foot of a tree; his tent, that is to say the books which he carried with him, the Bible, Homer, and St. Thomas's Summa. There he soon fell asleep; and in that slumber of the senses, in which his body only reposed, his soul dreamed of an invisible world of his own creation, which soon he was to describe like an artist.

The stars which sparkled like so many diamonds above his head, had each an angel, whose name he inscribed on his tablets; the torrent that roared by his side obeyed a familiar spirit, whom he saw in the ether; the leaf that dropped from the tree into the streamlet, was detached by a gnome, whose appearance he knew; the meteors that gleamed in the horizon were lit up by Satan. He heard the demon's voice in the eagle's scream, in the whizzing flight of the bat, in the howl of the tempest.² Then he considered whether some secret words could not evoke these fallen angels, and he drew up exorcisms, which, if uttered piously, would people

¹ *Macrostroma.*

² *Ibid.*

the air with all sorts of spirits, whose employments, attributes, and ministry, he has set down in his "Steganographia."

He had acquired learning as various as it was extensive. He knew Oriental languages, Pagan and Christian philosophy, astronomy and alchemy ; he was at once theologian, poet, and orator. One day the remembrance of his native country flashed across him in his cell, and he left his books to revisit, before dying, his father's cottage. He set out with a priest whom he had initiated into the mysteries of his cabalistic knowledge. They crossed Kreuznach, the hills of Hunsrück, and requested dinner at the monastery of Spanheim. In the middle ages, the monastery was a regular hotel, where the traveller was certain to find bread, bed, and charity. When the repast was over, they took leave of the superior, who had been equally charmed and instructed by the conversation of the two pilgrims.

"May God be your guide!" said the abbot, giving them his blessing ; "he will soon bring you back to Spanheim!"—"Amen," said John's companion.

They had not gone a mile, when they were overtaken by a storm ; a boisterous wind swept the snow-flakes in their faces : the road could no longer be seen.

"Let us return to the abbey," said the priest ; "it is the angel of the tempest whom God sends to stop the way." John stood and lifted his eyes to heaven.

The monk continued : "This white shroud which covers the field is emblematic of the dress which you are to wear." John looked at his companion.

"That sun which shines at intervals across this mantle of snow, denotes the light which you will cause to shine in the monastery."¹

"May God hear you!" said Trithemius. "To Spanheim!"

And they rang, and the superior opened, saying, "I told you for a certainty that God would bring you back."

This happened on the 25th of January, 1482, the feast of the Conversion of St. Paul. On the 1st of February following, John threw aside the secular dress ; on the 21st of March he donned that of the novice, and on the 21st of November made his vows. The abbot who had foreseen the future destiny of Trithemius was named John of Holhausen. When he left Spanheim for Seligen-

¹ Macrostroma.

stadt, whither he had been summoned by his superiors, the chapter elected Trithemius as his successor.

From that period everything changed. The monastery became quite a studio for painting, drawing, and calligraphy; a school of theology, a seminary, an academy. Everybody prayed or worked. Some monks spent their days in transcribing ancient Greek and Latin manuscripts of the Bible; others cleaned and prepared the vellum; others made the pens and drew the lines; some, come from Italy, illuminated the capitals and painted the miniatures; others prepared the ochre, the minium, the cinnabar, the gold and the silver; while others collected the leaves, bordered the paintings, bound the volumes, and fastened on the clasps. When the work was completed, a corrector compared the text, line by line, letter by letter, and marked the errors which had escaped the transcribers. During this double labour of head and hand, some sought for the destitute orphans, the dying in want of charity, and the soul afflicted with doubts; carrying with them bread, clothing, medicines, and prayers. There were others who wandered far in search of manuscripts, which they traced out admirably, returning to the monastery at the sound of the bell, amid the rejoicings of the abbot; for a manuscript was indeed a precious thing. Upon the covers of some we read: "Purchased by the monastery of . . . at the cost of so many *Obits*, or so many *Pater Nosters* and *Aves*.¹" It was Trithemius who collected all these wonderful leaves, who classed and catalogued them. When he entered the monastery, it contained only forty-eight volumes; in 1502 it possessed nearly two thousand; among which were some that have been reckoned the finest efforts of calligraphy.

Trithemius frequently preached. He was fond of taking for his text the expression in one of his letters to his friend Capellarius: "Knowledge is love." "The more we love," said he, "the more we know."² "The Bible is the source of all learning; it contains the living water of the rock, the manna of the desert, the children's milk. Labour constantly to relish the Scriptures: read them morning and night; let them be in your dreams, and lighten your paths, for it is only by God's word that you can attain internal joy of the heart."³ "The devils have knowledge,

¹ M. Mignet, How Ancient Germany became civilized.

² "Tantum cognoscimus quantum diligimus." (Joh. Capellario Mathematico.) "Scientia parit Dei cognitionem, cognitio amorem."

³ "Semper ergo ad sapientiae dulcedinem nobis pervenire cupientibus, &

but, as they have not love, their knowledge is useless and unprofitable.”¹

On his return to the cloister, Trithemius applied himself to labour: he occupied himself with a great historical work, his treatise, “*De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*.” It is a vast collection, in which legendary lore gives the narrative a dramatic tone; a quaint biography of more than eight hundred fathers of the Church, or theologians, which he dedicated to John von Dalberg, bishop of Mayence, the friend and patron of Reuchlin. In 1497, his “*De Luminaribus Germaniae*” was printed at Utrecht, and had great success in the learned world. Subsequently, Trithemius published his “*Liber Lugubris de Statu et Ruina Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*,” which was read at table in the monastery of Hirschau. In the following year, at the chapter held at Seligenstadt, he delivered a discourse “*De Cura Pastorali*;” and at the same time he maintained, against Wigand Caupo, a learned clergyman of Frankfort, a thesis in support of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin.

So much labour fevered him. He was travelling: he took to his bed, applied the necessary remedies for his recovery, and sent to the monastery for the only physician in whom, after God, he had confidence,—a Greek lexicon, printed by the Aldi.²

It was in the solitude of Spanheim, encircled by blue mountains, amid the sound of rivers and the waving of pines, that he collected the materials of a work which made a great sensation when it appeared, and of which the title is not yet forgotten. This is his “*Steganographia*,” or art of communicating with absent friends by means of ciphers;³ a curious work, which has been severely censured by Bellarmine, and warmly defended by another Jesuit, Schott.

In this singular work, Trithemius gives the names of the fallen

Rogerii, laborandum est et nunquam à studio scripturarum cessandum; quia non aliter possumus ad gustum interne pervenire suavitatis.”—(Rogerio Sicambro.)

¹ “Dæmones mali cognoscunt; sed quia non habent amorem, ad fruitionem quæ ex utroque nascitur minime pertingunt.”—(Epist. Familiares: Franc. 1501, folio.)

² “Ad nos cum latore præsentium è Græca bibliotheca nostrâ subiecta volumina, ut habeamus ad manum in lecto segritudinis nostre quibus fructuose occupemur per intervalla scripturarum studiis. Dictionarium imprimis Græcum ab Aldo impressum Romano mittas velim.”—(Epist.)

³ *Steganographia*: hoc est ars per occultam scripturam animi sui voluntatem absentibus aperiendi certa: Darmstadii, 1621, 4to. This work was printed for the first time at Lyons, in 1581.

angels, their dwellings, different appearances, and descriptions. In his "Chronologia Mystica," he assigns the ranks of the planetary dominations: Orefiel is the spirit of Saturn; Anael, that of Venus; the angel of the moon is to rule the world until 1879. Poor mind! affected by the pressure of learning, but which, in its ecstatic reveries, remains constantly submissive to the Catholic Church, of which it was one of the ornaments. Trithemius said, in the preface to his "Steganographia": "All that is written in this small volume rests on true Catholic and natural principles; all my adjurations are made in God's name, without deceit, superstition, or attempt on the faith or the authority of the Church."¹

On the 16th August, 1506, Trithemius left the abbey of Spanheim to superintend the Scottish monastery of St. James at Wurzburg, to which he had been appointed by Bishop Laurence, of Bibra. He had forgot his aerial monads. Entirely devoted to the business of the monastery, he speedily repeated those miracles of evangelical zeal, charity, and learning, at which Spanheim had wondered.

He completed his great historical works in St. James's Abbey. He spent six years in composing his "Annales Hirsaugienses," and his "Chronica Monasterii Spanheimensis Sancto Martino consecrati," two works which it is necessary to peruse, if we wish to know the sacred and profane annals of the banks of the Rhine. His "Breviarium primi Voluminis Chronicorum, de Origine Gentis et Regum Francorum, per annos 1189, à Marcomiro ad Pepinum Regem," and his "De Origine Gentis Francorum ex duodecim ultimis Hunibaldi Libris de Francis," ought to be consulted with prudence: they are legends rather than histories, in which the demon appears in every page; but legends full of freshness, forming a quaint picture of the early ages of our monarchy; a mirror in which the soul of our monk is shown with its superstitions, but also with his love for his brethren, his enthusiasm for the chair of St. Peter, and his devotion to literature.

In his correspondence with his brother James; with Nicolas Remi, of Spanheim; with Roger the Sicambrian; John Capel-

¹ "Omnia quae in hoc volumine continentur veris catholicis et naturalibus principiis innituntur, suntque omnia et singula cum Deo, cum bona conscientia, sine injuria fidei Christianae, cum integritate ecclesiastice traditionis, sine superstitione quamcumque." — (Prefatio.)

Trithemius's memory, for an instant attacked, was defended by Gaspar Schott, S. J., in a quarto volume, entitled, *Schola Steganographica: Norimberge, 1660*. See Matth. Gesneri *Observationes ad Steganographiam*; Coleri *Anthologia*, tom. i. fascio. vi. part. i.

larius, the mathematician ; the elector Hermann, of Cologne ; and Pope Julius II., curious details as to conventional life at that period are to be found. He says somewhere, "Ignorantia Scripturarum, ignorantia Christi est."

We have not recorded all the titles of Trithemius to the gratitude of Catholics.

In his "Chronicon Monasterii Sancti Jacobi Majoris in Suburbo Herbipolitano," he has narrated at length the history of the Scottish monastery of Wurzburg ; in his "Vita Sanctæ Irminæ Virginis," he has exalted Treves, his home of adoption ; his "Polygraphiæ," in six books, printed at Oppenheim, in 1506, contain useful information on the art of writing in cipher. Roscoe, in his Life of Leo X.,¹ says that Bembo was the first, at the revival of learning, who attempted to revive the ancient stenography : this is a mistake ; all the elements of that art are in the "Polygraphiæ" of Trithemius. The Jesuit Buseus published at Mayence, in 1605, the collected "Opera Spiritualia" of the abbot of Spanheim. These works contain sermons, commentaries on various texts of the Bible, and ascetical devotions. Trithemius was still at work when death surprised him. He died as he had lived, a fervent Christian. Some days prior to his death, he had prepared a recipe for those who wished to preserve, he said, "a sound stomach, a clear head, a good memory, and acute sight and hearing." This for more than two hundred years was the panacea of all learned men.

On the feast of St. Lucy, 13th December, 1516, this great light of the middle ages was extinguished.

But his labour was not lost : the reformation worked by Trithemius at Spanheim was introduced into most of the monasteries of Germany. The monks, who had so long neglected literature, stimulated by the example of Trithemius, whose intelligence had been so often praised by Julius II., applied themselves to the study of antiquity. They looked to Italy, which sent to Germany all the rich treasures of philosophy, history, poetry, and ancient languages that had recently been discovered.² The Teutonic monasteries backed this intellectual movement. The monks awoke from their mental slumber, and were everywhere to be found labouring to revive that noble Latin language which Ottfried and Lambert formerly spoke with so much purity.

¹ Vol. i. Appendix.

² See the first volume of our History of Leo X.

Dictionaries and grammars were necessary for the comprehension of the Latin world, which seemed to be lost: accordingly, rudiments and vocabularies announce the operations of the revival of learning.¹

At the same time, the taste for sacred studies which Trithemius recommended so earnestly revived. The book of the Gospels² was adorned with engravings; for Trithemius had said, "engraving is a dumb language;" the passion of the God-man was multiplied by means of wood-engravings;³ the patience of Job in his sufferings was offered as a lesson to all Christians;⁴ the songs of the prophet-king were commented on in a popular language;⁵ the ineffable charms of the Bible morality was celebrated;⁶ the teaching of the Lord's Prayer were expounded;⁷ the gospels of the Sunday were developed in the form of sermons;⁸ St. Bernard's "Mirror of a Christian Life" was reprinted in every variety of

¹ *Vocabularium Latino-Germanicum*: Norimbergæ, 1479.

Vocabularius incipiens Teutonicum ante Latinum: Spire, 1476, 1477; Colon, 1496, aut. Goclenio.

Vocabularius Variorum Terminorum, autore Thortellio: Argentorati, 1502.

Vocabularius de Partibus Indeclinabil.: Spire, 1479.

Wimpelingii Elegantiarum Medulla: Moguntia, 1498.

Elegantiae Majores: Argentorati, 1513.

Vocabularius Latinis, Gallicis et Teutonicis Verbis scriptus: Strasb. 4to. 1515.

Vocabularius fructuosus omni Ætati, et utilis: Colon. Ulric Zell.

Vocabularius Breviloquus: Basilee, 1481.

Vocabularius Joan. Altenstaig: Argentine, 1515, 4to.

Vocabularius Rerum, in Augusta, 1478, fol.

Incipit Variloquus, compilatus per Mgrn. Joh. Melber. 1481, 4to.

Vocabularius Rerum: August. 1495, small 8vo.

Gorlandria Joh. de Synonymia: Reutlingæ, 1489, 4to. *Textus Equivocorum*: Spire, 1487. *Composita Verborum (in Belgia)*. *Verba Deponentialia*: Spire, 1487.

Grammatellus, pro Juvenum Eruditione, cum Glossa Almanica, Lat. et Ger.: Norimberge, 1473—1475, 4to.

Elegantiarum Viginti Praecepta: Lipsie, 1499.

² *Memorabiles Evangelistarum Figure*, tradidit Thomas Phorcensis, cognomen Anthelmius, 1503.

³ *Passionis Christi unum ex quatuor Evangelistis textum*, autore Rigmano Phileasio : Argentorati.

⁴ *Postilla Fratris Thomae de Aquino in Job feliciter incipit*: Eslingen, 1474.

⁵ *Joh. de Turrecremata, Expositio Brevis et Utilis super toto Psalterio*: Moguntia, 1474.

⁶ *Liber Bibliæ Moralis Expositionum Interpretationumque, Historiarum ac Figurar. Veteris Novique Testamenti, per optimus incipit liber*: Reutlingen, 1474.

⁷ *Expositio Venerabilis Magistri Heinrici de Hassia super Dominicam Orationem.*

⁸ *Explicit Postilla super Evangelia Dominicalia*: Augsb. 1482.

form;¹ St. Bonaventure's "Soliloquy" was republished, to nourish the devotion of the contemplative soul;² the "Image of a Priest's Life" was dedicated by its author to the Catholic clergy;³ human life was depicted in emblems of its miseries and happiness,—miseries all of earth, happiness all of heaven;⁴ a treatise on the duties of man in every state of life was composed by John of Galles, from the Scriptures, the holy fathers, and profane philosophers.⁵

It is remarkable that, in the preface to most of these different books, the writer, paying respect to the works of the learned abbot of Spanheim, admits that he has taken him for a model; that the time has arrived for profiting by the advice of that man of God; that indolence ought no longer to enchain the tongue of the monks, whose lives should be spent in the practice of Christian virtues, the edification of their neighbours, the cultivation of sacred literature, and the instruction of youth.

Rome at the same time spoke explicitly by the voice of the Council of Lateran. She desired a reformation in the head and the members; but a reformation was not a rebellion, and it was the latter which Luther designed.

No. II.

Ex Sermone secundo Tetzelii.⁶—P. 49.

Venerabilis Domine, rogo, ut velis populo vobis subiecto intimare, ne tantam gratiam, ad salvandas animas concessam, negligere

¹ Incipit Speculum Beati Bernhardi, de Honestate Vite: Mogunt.

² Incipit Soliloquium Venerabilis Bonaventure: Argentor.

³ De Vita et Moribus Sacerdotum, opusculum singularem eorum dignitatem ostendens, et quibus ornati esse debeat virtutibus explanans, auctore Jodoco Chlichtoveo.

⁴ Liber incipit dictus Speculum Vitæ Humanæ, editus à Roderico Zamorense: Argentorati, 1475.

⁵ Ad omne Hominum Genus incipit liber Summa Collationum dictus: Colon. about 1480.

Consult Vossius iii. De Hist. Lat. cap. x.; Fabricii Bibl. Lat. Med. Aevi, tom. iv.; Heumannus, in Viâ Hist. Litter. cap. iv. § 48; Id. Miscell. Nov.: Lipsiens. vol. ii. part i. pp. 109, 125; Tob. Magiri Epomol. Crit. voce Tri-themius; Pope-Blount, pp. 503—505.

⁶ We must not forget that this fragment of Tetzel's sermon is derived by a Protestant, Vogel, from a Protestant source. Catholics have not given this sermon.

velit. Sciat, quod Sanctus Laurentius omnes thesauros Ecclesie et corpus suum tradidit ad ossandum; sanctus Bartholomeus propriam pellem crudeliter moriendo. Stephanus lapidatus omnesque martyres cessi et mortui sunt, pro salute animæ. Et tu non vis cognoscere, quod habes Romanam in civitate sive oppido. Ecclesia tua effecta est Ecclesia S. Petri de Roma et sacerdotes tui facti sunt poenitentiarii Apostolici. Scilicet Ecclesia est uti ille septem Romæ, deputatae pro peccatorum omnium remissione. Altaria illa septem sunt veluti illa quæ sunt in S. Petro, ubi habetur plenaria remissio. Quid ergo cogitas, quid tardas converti? Cur jam in hoc tempore lacrymas non effundis pro peccatis tuis? Cur jam coram vicariis sanctissimi domini nostri papæ non confiteris? Nunc habes exemplum a Laurentio, qui traditos thesauros, quos habebat, amore Dei distribuit, et corpus ad ossandum præbuit? Non capis exemplum a Bartholomæo, Stephano et aliis sanctis, qui mortem crudelissimam animo libenti pro animæ salute voluerunt? Et tu non solum thesauros infinitos, verum etiam modicam eleemosynam non proponis. Ipsi præbuerunt corpora ad tormenta, tu vero delicias et oblectamenta non dignaris. Tu sacerdos, tu nobilis, tu mercator, tu mulier, tu virgo, tu nupta, tu juvenis, tu senex, intra Ecclesiam tuam, quæ ut dixi est Sancta Petri, et visita crucem sanctissimam, quæ pro te *elevata est*, quæ continuo clamat et vocat te: Verecundiam habes visitare crucem cum una candela: et non verecundaris visitare tabernaculum. Verecundaris ire ad Confessores Apostolicos, et non ad choreas. Considera, quod tu es in mari furibundo hujus mundi, in tantis tempestatibus et periculis positus, et ignoras an ad portum pervenire valeas salutis. Scisne quod omnia sint hominum tenui pendentia filo, et omnis vita militia super terram? Militemus ergo sicut Laurentius et alii omnes sancti, pro salute animæ, et non pro corpore, quod hodie est et cras non, quod hodie sanum, cras infirmum, hodie vivum, cras mortuum. Scito, quod quicunque confessus et contritus eleemosynam ad capsam posuerit, juxta consilium confessoris, plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum remissionem habebit, et post confessionem et jubileum habitum, omni die visitando crucem et altaria, consequetur indulgentias, sicut visitaret in Ecclesia S. Petri altaria illa septem, ubi datur plenaria indulgentia. Quid ergo statis otiosi? omnes currite ad salutem animæ vestræ. Sis promptus et sollicitus ad salutem animæ, sicut ad bona temporalia, a quibus non cessatis die noctuque. Quarœte Dominum dum prope est et dum inveniri potest, ut Johannes admonet; operamini dum dies est, venit enim nox, in qua nemo

operari poterit. Non auditis voces parentum vestrorum et aliorum defunctorum clamantium et dicentium: Miseremini, miseremini mei, saltem, etc. Quia manus Domini tetigit me. Quia sumus in durissimis pœnis et tormentis, a quibus possetis nos parva eleemosyna redimere: Et non vultis. Aperiatis aures, quia pater ad filium, et mater ad filiam, etc., dicunt: Vos genuimus, aluius, gubernavimus, bona nostra temporalia relinquendo, et estis tam crudeles et duri, quod nunc tanta facilitate nos liberare possetis, non vultis, permittitisque in flammis jacere, gloriam nobis promissam tardantes. Potestis jam habere confessionalia, quorum virtute, in vita et in articulo mortis, et in non reservatis, totiens quotiens habere plenariam remissionem poenarum pro peccatis debitaram: O vos votivi, usurarii, o raptores, o homicidæ, o criminosi; jam tempus est audiendi Dei vocem, qui non vult mortem peccatoris, sed ut conservetur et vivat. Converttere ergo Jerusalem, Jerusalem, ad Dominum Deum tuum. O vos oblocutores, contradictores, et impudentes bujusmodi negotium, directe vel indirecete, quomodo statim pessime, estis extra communionem Ecclesiæ. Non missæ, non sermones, non preces, non sacramenta, non suffragia, vos adjuvant. Non agri, non vineæ, non arboreæ, non animalia reddunt fructum suum, vina spiritualia arida et sicca fiunt, ut exempla adduci possunt. Nolite tardare. Convertimini ad me in toto corde vestro, et capiat medicinam, de qua loquitur Sapientia: Altissimus creavit medicinam de terra, et vir prudens non abhorrebit eam. (Cited by Vogel, p. 211, 212.)

No. III.

*Alberti electoris Moguntini diploma indulgentiarum Leonis X.
A. 1517.¹—P. 50.*

Albertus, Dei et apostolicae sedis gratia Sanctæ Moguntinensis sedis ac Magdeburgensis ecclesiæ archiepiscopus, primas et sacri Romani imperii in Germania archicancellarius, princeps, elector, ac administrator Halberstatientis, marchio Brandenburgensis, Stetinensis, Pomeraniæ, Cassuborum, Sclavorumque dux, burggravius Nuremburgensis Rugiæque princeps et *Guardianus* fratrum ordinis minorum de observantia Conventus Moguntini per sanctissimum dominum nostrum Leonem papam decimum, per

¹ Derived from a Protestant source, by a Protestant.

provincias Moguntinenses ac Magdeburgenses, ac illarum et Halberstatenses civitates et dioeceses, nec non terras et loca, illustrissimorum et illustrium principum dominorum marchionum Brandenburgensium temporali dominio mediate vel immediate subjecta: nunciis et commissariis, ad infra scripta specialiter deputatis, universis et singulis praesentes litteras inspecturis salutem in Domino: Notum facimus, quod sanctissimus dominus noster Leo, divina providentia papa decimus modernus, omnibus et singulis utriusque sexus Christi fidelibus ad reparationem fabricae basilicæ principis Apostolorum S. Petri de Urbe, juxta ordinationem nostram manus porrigentibus adjutrices, ultra plenissimas indulgentias ac alias gratias et facultates, quas Christi fideles ipsi obtinere possunt, juxta litterarum apostolicarum desuper confectarum continentiam, misericorditer etiam in Domino indulxit atque concessit, ut idoneum possent eligere confessorem presbyterum secularis, vel cuiusvis etiam Mendicantium ordinis regularem, *qui eorum confessione diligenter audita*, pro commissis per eligentem delictis et excessibus, ac peccatis quibuslibet, quantumcumque gravibus et enormibus, etiam in dictæ sedi reservatis casibus, ac censuris ecclesiasticis, etiam ab homine ad alicujus instantiam latis, de consensu partium, etiam ratione interdicti incursis, et quorum absolutio esset eidem sedi specialiter reservata; præterquam machinationis in personam sanctissimi Pontificis, occisionis episcoporum, aut aliorum superiorum prælatorum, et injectionis manuum violentiarum in illos, aut alios prælatos, falsificationis litterarum apostolicarum, delationis armorum et aliorum prohibitorum ad partes infidelium, ac sententiarum et censoriarum occasione alumnum (*sic*) sanctæ ecclesiæ Apostolicæ de partibus infidelium, ac fideles contra prohibitionem Apostolicam delatorum, incursarum, semel in vita et in mortis articulo quotiens ille imminebit, licet mors tunc non subsequatur, et in non reservatis casibus totius quotiens id petierit, plenarie absolvere, et *eis paenitentiam salutarem injungere*, nec non semel in vita et in dicto mortis articulo plenariam omnium peccatorum indulgentiam ac remissionem impendere, et Eucharistiae sacramentum (excepto die paschatis et mortis articulo) quibusvis anni temporibus ministrare, nec non per eos emissâ pro tempore vota quæcumque (ultramarino ingressus religionis et castitatis visitationis liminum Apostolorum et Sancti Jacobi ad Compostellam, votis, duntaxat exceptis), in alia pietatis opera commutare, autoritate Apostolica possit et valeat. Indulxit quoque idem sanctissimus dominus noster, præfatos benefactores, eorumque parentes defunctos, qui cum charitate decesserunt, in

precibus, suffragiis, eleemosynis, jejuniis, orationibus, missis, horis canonicas, disciplinis, peregrinationibus, stationibus et cæteris omnibus spiritualibus bonis, quæ fiunt et fieri poterunt in tota universalis sacrosancta ecclesia militante, et in omnibus membris ejusdem, in perpetuum participes fieri. Et quia devoti Meckel relicta Rodts, Peders et Adam Roth ad ipsam fabricam et necessariam instaurationem supra dictæ basilicæ principis Apostolorum, juxta sanctissimi domini nostri papæ intentionem et nostram ordinationem de bonis suis contribuendo se gratos exhibuerunt, et liberarunt, in cuius rei signum præsentes litteras a nobis acceperunt; ideo eadem autoritate Apostolica, nobis commissa, et qua fungimur in hac parte, ipsis, quod dictis gratiis et indulgentiis uti et iisdem gaudere possint et valeant, per præsentes concedimus et largimur. Datum in Gottingen sub sigillo per nos ad hæc ordinato, die prima mensis Julii, anno Domini MCCOCXVII.

Formula Absolutionis totiens quotiens in vita.

Misereatur tui, etc. Dominus noster Jesus Christus per meritum suæ passionis te absolvat, autoritate cujus et apostolica mihi in hac parte commissa et tibi concessa, ego te absolvo ab omnibus peccatis tuis. In nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, Amen.

Formula Absolutionis et Plenissimæ Remissionis, semel in vita et mortis articulo.

Misereatur, tui, etc. Dominus noster Jesus Christus per meritum suæ passionis te absolvat, et ego autoritate ipsius et apostolica mihi in hac parte commissa et tibi concessa te absolvo primo ab omni sententia excommunicationis majoris vel minoris, si quam incurristi, deinde ab omnibus peccatis tuis, conferendo tibi plenissimam omnium peccatorum tuorum remissionem. In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, Amen.¹ (Vogel, p. 165—169.)

No. IV.

Bull of Condemnation against the "Epistole obscurorum Virorum."
P. 74.

Universis et singulis præsentes litteras inspecturis Salutem et apostolicam Benedictionem. Intelligimus non sine gravi animi

¹ Protestant writers have given many formulæ of absolution, but not one of them resembles another. The mandates, letters, and sermons of Catholics, which they cite in evidence, present marked differences.

molestia, nonnullos iniquitatis filios, a quorum oculis Dei atque hominum timor abscessit, improba ac damnabili et temeraria loquacitate ductos, quemdam libellum famosum, cui titulus est, *Epistola obsecratorum Virorum*, ad venerabilem virum Magistrum Ortvinum Gratium Davendriensem Coloniæ Agrippinæ bonas litteras docentem, et reliqua edere, et editum imprimi facere, atque ad diversas orbis provincias, quo eorum temeritas notior fieret, et scandalorum materiam diffusius seminarent, mittere presumpisse. In quo libello inter cætera contra sacrae theologiae, et præcipue ordinis fratrum Prædicatorum professores et Colonienses ac Parisienses studiorum in eadem theologia magistros, quorum aliqui nominatim exprimuntur totiurgia, contumelie, et convicia proferuntur; et alias tam spurce et petulanter invehitur, convertendo etiam ad scurrilia sacro eloquia, ut expedit quantocius pro Christianæ religionis honore illius lectionem tanquam labem pestiferam a rerum natura depelli; scandalossa vero hujusmodi garrulitatis auctores debita animadversione puniri. Quocirca auctoritate Apostolica, tenore præsentium omnes et singulos utriusque sexus Christi fideles, cujuscunque status, gradus, dignitatis et excellentiae sint, requirimus et monemus, eisque sub excommunicationis late sententiæ poena, ipso facto, qui præsentibus non paruerint, incurrenda: a qua nonnisi a Romano pontifice, præterquam in mortis articulo absolvi possint, districte præcipiendo mandamus. Quatenus infra triduum, quo præsentium notitiam habuerint, a dicti libelli ejusque exemplarii lectione perpetuo abstineant, illaque per omnia igne comburant: et qui ipsius libelli auctoris seu ejus exemplarium impressorum vel scriptorum, aut illa tenentium, et comburere negligentium, vel recusantium seu eorum alicujus notitiam habuerint, eos ordinariis locorum, in quorum civitatibus vel diœcesibus illi tunc moram trahent, aut eorum officialibus seu vicariis per eos debita poena afficiendos infra idem triduum revelent. Injungimus quoque in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ, et sub eadem poena, ordinariis præfatis, eorumque vicariis, officialibus et ministris, ut contra auctores diffamationum et illorum scriptores et impressores hujusmodi, prout delicti qualitas exigit, justitiæ vindictam exerceant, et excommunicationem per nos latam in eos, quos illam incurrisse consistenter, inviolabiliter observari: et tam eisdem ordinariis, quam parochialium et aliarum ecclesiarum rectoribus; ut quoties super hoc pro parte alicujus Prædicatorum vel alterius ordinis fratrum aut generalium studiorum magistrorum in theologia fuerint requisiti, præsentes litteras vel aliquid ex earum authenticis transsumptis, quibus publici notarii subscriptione, et alicujus prælati vel curie

ecclesiasticæ sigilli impressione munitis, fidem ubique decernimus adhibendam, in eorum ecclesiis, dum populi multitudo eo ad divina convenerit, duobus aut tribus diebus Dominicis vel festivis publicari faciat, etiam si expediat, sermone vulgari, ut quantocius fieri possit, tale nefandum scelus, quod hæresin sapit, ne ulterius serpat, penitus extirpetur. Non obstantibus Constitutionibus et Ordinationibus apostolicis, cæterisque contrariis quibuscumque. Datum Romæ ad Sanctum Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, die xv Marti.
MDXVII. Pontificatus nostri anno quarto.

JACOBUS SADOLETUS.

No. V.

Baptista Mantuanus to Julius II.—P. 79.

O utinam Pater omnipotens tibi proroget annos,
Ut valeas olim, post hæc certamina, Romæ
Ad male compositos animum convertere mores.
Sicut enim tua regna rapax laceraverat hostis
Improbitas: sic et sanctos Acherontigenarum
Larvarum impietas et perniciosa libido
Corrupit mores: quibus illa antiqua parentum
Semideorum ætas totum condividerat orbem,
More salis: sine quo nemo convivia, quanquam
Mille dapes habeant, et sint salaria, laudat.
Hæc morum jactura magis defenda videtur
Quam regni prior illa tui. Nam dissipat omne
Imperium Christi: toto jam cognita mundo
Mendacem facit esse Deum, qui dixit, Avernum
Imperiis non posse suis inferre ruinam.
Ecce ruunt, charitas friget, pallida languet,
Ægra fides, fragili vix sustentata bacillo,
Ex procerum tectis fugit, et gurgustia quærit.
His tribus incubit tanquam tribus alta columnis
Tecta, domus Christi. Tribus his labentibus ergo,
Est opus ut ruat hæc moles, validissima quondam,
Nunc senio morboque tremens, rimisque dehiscens,
Nec te, magne Pater, latet hoc: prudentia pectus
Tanta tuum vegetat. Sed idonea tempora quæris,
Expectasque diem, quæ det feliciter isti
Principium divino operi! Stat ad ostia Christus,

Cum grege cœlitum tecum venturus in istam
Militiam. Tua, magne Pater, præcordia pulsent
Anteferenda aliis hæc sancta negotia curia.
Hæc animo res digna tuo, qua sanctior esse
Nulla potest, nulla utilior mortalibus. Esto,
Qui decus hoc habeat, quem gloria tanta coronet.
Ad Romam converte oculos, luxumque fluentem
Aspice, et indignos Christi propaginæ mores.
Tota in capreolos et vinea, tota comantem
Effluit in sylvam, foliis spargentibus umbram
Pestiferam segeti, dulces neque parturit uvas.
Hos steriles ramos, nemus istud inutile trunca.
Nam bibit humorem terræ, qui pascere altas
Alcinoi sylvas, Atlantiadumque sororum
Auriferas malos, et odori semina costi.
Erue mortiferas taxos, aconita, cicutas,
Et sere vitales herbas, ut cinnama, nardos,
Balsama, thura, crocos. Veterum reminiscere patrum.
Gregorium pone ante oculos, magnumque Leonem,
Sylvestrum, et reliquos, quorum est imitabilis alto
Vita animo, regnoque humeros suppone labanti.
Qui te cumque colunt, optant hæc cernere, et istud
Expectant ardenter opus.

Lugduni, 1516.

No. VI.

Luther's Letter to Albert, archbishop of Mayence.—P. 88.

Reverendissimo in Christo Patri, Illustrissimo domino, Domino
Alberto, Magdeburgensis ac Moguntinensis ecclesiæ archiepi-
copo primati, marchioni Brandenburgensi, etc. Domino suo et
pastori in Christo, venerabiliter metuendo, ac gratiosissimo.

JESUS.

Gratiam et misericordiam Dei et quicquid potest et est. Parce
mihi, reverendissime in Christo pater, princeps illustrissime, quod
ego fex hominum tantum habeo temeritatis ut ad culmen tuæ
Sublimitatis ausus fuerim cogitare epistolam. Testis est mihi
Dominus Jesus, quod meæ parvitatis et turpitudinis mihi conscius
diu jam distuli, quod nunc perficta fronte perficio, permotus quam

maxime officio fidelitatis meæ, quam tuæ reverendissimæ Pat. in Christo debere me agnosco. Dignetur itaque tua interim Celsitudo oculum ad pulverem meum intendere, et votum meum pro tua et pontificali clementia intelligere.

Circumferuntur indulgentias papales sub tuo præclarissimo titulo ad fabricam S. Petri, in quibus non adeo accuso prædicatorum exclamaciones, quas non audivi, sed doleo falsissimas intelligentias populi ex illis conceptas, quas vulgo undique jactant, videlicet, quod credunt infelices animæ, si litteras indulgentiarum redemerint, quod securi sint de salute sua : item, quod animæ de purgatorio statim evolent, ubi contributionem in cistam conjecterint : deinde, tantas esse has gratias, ut nullum sit adeo magnum peccatum, etiam (ut aiunt) si per impossible quis matrem Dei violasset, quin possit solvi : item, quod homo per istas indulgentias liber sit ab omni poena et culpa.

O Deus optime, sic erudiuntur animæ tuis curis, optime Pater, commissæ ad mortem, et fit atque crescit durissima ratio tibi redenda super omnibus istis. Idcirco tacere hæc amplius non potui. Non enim fit homo per ullum munus episcopi securus de salute, cum nec per gratiam Dei infusam fiat securus, sed semper in timore jubet nos operari salutem nostram Apostolus, et *justus vix salvabitur* : denique tam arcta est via quæ ducit ad vitam, ut Dominus per Prophetas Amos et Zacharium salvandos appellat torres raptos de incendio, et ubique Dominus difficultatem salutis denuntiet.

Quomodo ergo per illas falsas veniarum fabulas et promissiones faciunt populum securum et sine timore ? cum indulgentiæ prorsus nihil boni conferant animabus ad salutem aut sanctitatem, sed tantummodo poenam externam, olim canonice imponi solitam auferant.

Denique opera pietatis et charitatis sunt in infinitum meliora indulgentiæ, et tamen hæc non tanta pompa, nec tanto studio prædicant : imo propter venias prædicandas illæ tacent : cum tamen omnium episcoporum hoc sit officium primum et solum, ut populus Evangelium discat, atque charitatem Christi. Nusquam etiam præcepit Christus indulgentias prædicari, sed Evangelium vehementer præcipit prædicari. Quantus ergo horror est, quantum periculum episcopi, si, tacito Evangelio, non nisi strepitus indulgentiarum permittat in populum suum, et has plus curet, quam Evangelium ? Nonne dicet illis Christus : *Colantes culicem et gluentes camelum?*

Accedit ad hæc, reverendissime Pater in Domino, quod in

instructione illa commissariorum, sub T. R. Paternitatis nomine edita, dicitur utique sine T. P. reverendissimæ et scientia et consensu unam principalium gratiarum esse donum illud Dei inestimabile, quod reconcilietur hemo Deo, et omnes poenæ deleantur purgatori; item, quod non sit necessaria contritio iis qui animas vel confessionalia redimunt.

Sed quid faciam, optime præsul et illustrissime princeps, nisi quod per Dominum Jesum Christum T. R. Paternitatem orem, quatenus oculum paterna cursu dignetur advertere, et eundem libellum penitus tollere, et prædicatoribus veniarum imponere aliam prædicandi formam: ne forte aliquis tandem exsurget, qui editis libellis et illos et libellum illum confutet, ad vituperium summum illustrissimæ tuæ Sublimitatis. Quod ego vehementer quidem fieri abhorreo, et tamen futurum timeo, nisi cito succurratur.

Hæc meæ parvitatis fidelia officia, rogo, tua illustrissima Gratia dignetur accipere modo principali et episcopali, id est, clementissimo, sicut ego ea exhibeo corde fidelissimo, et T. P. R. deditissimo: sum enim et ego pars ovilis tui. Dominus Jesus custodiat T. reverendissimam Paternitatem in æternum, Amen. Ex Wittembergæ, in vigilia omnium Sanctorum, anno MDXVII.

Si tuæ reverendissimæ P. placet, poterit has meas disputationes videre, ut intelligat, quam dubia res sit indulgentiarum opinio, quam illi ut certissimam somniant.

Indignus filius,

MARTINUS LUTHER, Augustin. Doctor S. Theol. vocatus.

No. VII.

Luther's Theses.—P. 90.

Amore et studio elucidandæ veritatis hæc subscripta themata disputabuntur Wittembergæ, præidente R. P. Martino Lutherò, eremitano Augustiniano, artium et sanctæ theologie magistro, ejusdem ibidem ordinario lectore. Quare petit ut, qui non possunt verbis præsentes nobiscum disceptare, agant id litteris absentes. In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi, Amen. Anno MDXVII.

1. Dominus et magister Jesus Christus, dicendo: Pœnitentiam agite, etc., omnem vitam fidelium pœnitentiam esse voluit.

2. Quod verbum de pœnitentia sacramentali, id est, confessionis

et satisfactionis, quæ sacerdotum ministerio celebratur, non potest intelligi.

3. Non tamen solam intendit interiorem; imo interior nulla est, nisi foris operetur varias carnis mortificationes.

4. Manet itaque poena donec manet odium sui, id est, poenitentia vera intus, scilicet usque ad introitum regni cœlorum.

5. Papa non vult nec potest ullas poenas remittere, præter eas quas arbitrio vel suo vel canonum imposuit.

6. Papa non potest remittere ullam culpam, nisi declarando et approbando remissam a Deo; aut certe remittendo casus reservatos sibi quibus contemptis, culpa prorsus remaneret.

7. Nulli prorsus remittit Deus culpam, quin simul eum subjiciat humiliatum in omnibus sacerdoti suo vicario.

8. Canones poenitentiales solum viventibus sunt impositi, nihil que morituris secundum eosdem debent imponi.

9. Inde bene nobis facit Spiritus sanctus in papa, excipiendo in suis decretis semper articulum mortis et necessitatis.

10. Indocte et male faciunt sacerdotes ii, qui morituris poenitentias canonicas in purgatorium reservant.

11. Zizania illa de mutanda poena canonica in poenam purgatorii videntur certe dormientibus episcopis seminata.

12. Olim poenæ canonice non post, sed ante absolutionem imponebantur, tanquam tentamenta veræ contritionis.

13. Morituri per mortem omnia solvunt, et legibus canonum mortui jam sunt, habentes jure earum relaxationem.

14. Imperfcta sanitas seu caritas morituri necessario secum fert magnum timorem, tantoque majorem, quanto minor fuerit ipsa.

15. Hic timor et horror satis est se solo, ut alia taceam, facere poenam purgatorii, cum sit proximus desperationis horroci.

16. Videntur infernus, purgatorium, cœlum differre, sicut desperatio, prope desperatio, securitas differunt.

17. Necessarium videtur animabus in purgatorio sicut minui horrorem, ita augeri caritatem.

18. Nec probatum videtur ullis aut rationibus aut scripturis, quod sint extra statum meriti, seu augenda caritatis.

19. Nec hoc probatum esse videtur, quod sint de sua beatitudine certæ et securæ, saltem omnes, licet nos certissimi simus.

20. Igitur papa remissionem plenariam omnium poenarum, non simpliciter omnium intelligit, sed a se ipso tantummodo impositarum.

21. Errant itaque indulgentiarum commissarii, qui dicunt per papæ indulgentias hominem ab omni poena solvi et salvari.

22. Quin nullam remittit animabus in purgatorio, quam in hac vita debuissent secundum canones solvere.
23. Si remissio ulla omnium omnino pœuarum potest alicui dari, certum est eam nonnisi perfectissimis, id est paucissimis, dari.
24. Falli ob id necesse est majorem partem populi per indifferentem illam et magnificam pœnæ solutæ promissionem.
25. Qualem potestatem habet papa in purgatorio generaliter, talem habet episcopus et curatus in sua dioecesi et parochia specialiter.
26. Optime facit papa quod non potestate clavis (quam nullam habet) sed per modum suffragii dat animabus remissionem.
27. Hominem prædicant qui, statim ut jactus nummus in cistam tinnierit, evolare dicunt animam.
28. Certum est, nummo in cista tinniente, augeri quæstum et avaritiam posse, suffragium autem Ecclesiæ est in arbitrio Dei solius.
29. Quis scit si omnes animæ in purgatorio velint redimi, sicut de Sancto Severino et Paschale factum narratur?
30. Nullus securus est de veritate sue contritionis, multo minus de consecutione plenariæ remissionis.
31. Quam rarus est vere pœnitens, tam rarus est vere indulgentias redimens, id est rarissimus.
32. Damnabuntur in æternum cum suis magistris, qui per litteras veniarum securos sese credunt de sua salute.
33. Cavendi sunt nimis qui dicunt venias illas papæ donum esse illud Dei inestimabile, quo reconciliatur homo Deo.
34. Gratiae enim illæ veniales tantum respiciunt pœnas satisfactionis sacramentalis ab homine constitutas.
35. Non Christiana prædicant, qui docent quod redempturis animas vel confessionalia non sit necessaria contritio.
36. Quilibet Christianus vere compunctus habet remissionem plenariam a pœna et culpa, etiam sine litteris veniarum, sibi debitam.
37. Quilibet verus Christianus, sive vivus sive mortuus, habet participationem omnium bonorum Christi et Ecclesiæ, etiam sine litteris veniarum, a Deo sibi datam.
38. Remissio tamen et participatio papæ nullo modo est contemnenda, quia, ut dixi, est declaratio remissionis divinæ.
39. Difficillimum etiam doctissimis theologis simul extollere veniarum largitatem et contritionis veritatem coram populo.
40. Contritionis veritas pœnas quærerit et amat; veniarum autem largitas relaxat et odisse facit saltem occasione.

41. Cautæ sunt veniæ apostolicæ prædicandæ, ne populus falso intelligat eas præferri cæteris bonis operibus caritatis.
42. Docendi sunt Christiani, quod papæ mens non est redempcionem veniarum ulla ex parte comparandam esse operibus misericordiæ.
43. Docendi sunt Christiani, quod dans pauperi aut mutuans egenti, melius facit quam si venias redimeret.
44. Qui per opus caritatis crescit caritas et fit homo melior; sed per venias non fit melior, sed tantummodo a poena liberior.
45. Docendi sunt Christiani quod, qui videt egenum, et neglecto eo, dat pro veniis, non indulgentias papæ, sed indignationem Dei sibi vindicat.
46. Docendi sunt Christiani quod, nisi superfluis abundant, necessaria tenentur domui suæ retinere et nequaquam propter venias effundere.
47. Docendi sunt Christiani quod redemptio veniarum est libera, non præcepta.
48. Docendi sunt Christiani quod papa, sicut magis eget, ita magis optat in veniis dandis pro se devotam orationem, quam promptam pecuniam.
49. Docendi sunt Christiani quod veniæ papæ sunt utiles, si non in eas confidant; sed nocentissimæ, si timorem Dei per eas amittant.
50. Docendi sunt Christiani quod si papa nosset exactiones venialium prædicatorum, mallet basilicam Sancti Petri in cineres ire quam ædificari cute et ossibus ovium suarum.
51. Docendi sunt Christiani quod papa, sicut debet, ita vellet etiam vendita, si opus sit, basilica Sancti Petri de suis pecuniis dare illis, a quorum plurimis quidam concionatores veniarum pecuniam eliciunt.
52. Vana est fiducia salutis per litteras veniarum, etiamsi commissarius, imo papa ipse, suam animam pro illis impignoraret.
53. Hostes Christi et papæ sunt ii qui propter venias prædicandas verbum Dei in aliis ecclesiis silere jubent.
54. Injuria fit verbo Dei, dum in eodem sermone æquale vel longius tempus impenditur veniis quam illi.
55. Mens papæ necessario, quod si veniæ, quod minimum est, una campana, unis pompis et cæremoniis celebrantur, Evangelium, quod maximum est, centum campanis, centum cæremoniis prædicetur.
56. Thesauri Ecclesiæ, unde papa dat indulgentias, neque satis nominati sunt, neque cogniti apud populum Christi.

57. Temporales certe not esse patet quod non tam facile eos profundunt, sed tantummodo colligunt multi concionatorum.

58. Nec sunt merita Christi et sanctorum, quia haec semper sine papa operantur gratiam hominis interioris, et crucem, mortem, inferumque exterioris.

59. Thesauros Ecclesiae Sanctus Laurentius dixit esse pauperes Ecclesiae; sed locutus est usu vocabuli suo tempore.

60. Sine temeritate dicimus claves Ecclesiae, merito Christi donatas, esse thesaurum istum.

61. Clarum est enim quod ad remissionem poenarum et casuum, sola sufficit potestas papae.

62. Verus thesaurus Ecclesiae est sacrosanctum Evangelium gloriae et gratiae Dei.

63. Hic autem est merito odiosissimus quia ex primis facit novissimos.

64. Thesaurus autem indulgentiarum merito est gratissimus, quia ex novissimis facit primos.

65. Igitur thesauri evangelici retia sunt quibus olim piscabantur viros divitiarum.

66. Thesauri indulgentiarum retia sunt quibus nunc piscantur divitias virorum.

67. Sunt tamen indulgentiae quas concionatores vociferantur maximas gratias, intelligitur vere tales quoad questum promovendum.

68. Sunt tamen revera minima ad gratiam Dei et crucis pietatem comparatae.

69. Tenentur episcopi et curati veniarum apostolicarum commissarios cum omni reverentia admittere.

70. Sed magis tenentur omnibus oculis intendere, omnibus auribus advertere, ne pro commissione papae sua illi somnia praedicent.

71. Contra veniarum apostolicarum veritatem qui loquitur, sit ille anathema et maledictus.

72. Qui vero contra libidinem ac licentiam verborum concionatoris veniarum curam agit, sit ille benedictus.

73. Sicut papa juste fulminat eos qui in fraudem negotii veniarum quacunque arte machinantur.

74. Multo magis fulminare intendit eos qui per veniarum pretextum in fraudem sanctae charitatis et veritatis machinantur.

75. Opinari venias papales tantas esse, ut solvere possint hominem, etiamsi quis per impossibile Dei genitricem violasset, est insanire.

76. Dicimus contra quod veniae papales nec minimum veniam peccatorum tollere possint quoad culpam.

77. Quod dicitur, nec si Sanctus Petrus modo papa esset, majores gratias donare posset, est blasphemia in Sanctum Petrum et papam.

78. Dicimus contra quod etiam iste et quilibet papa majores habet, scilicet Evangelium, virtutes, gratias curationum, etc., ut 1 Corinth. xii.

79. Dicere crucem armis papalibus insigniter erectam cruci Christi æquivalere, blasphemia est.

80. Rationem reddit episcopi, curati et theologi, qui tales sermones in populum licere sinunt.

81. Facit hæc licentiosa veniarum prædicatio, ut nec reverentiam papæ facile sit, etiam doctis viris, redimere a calumniis, aut certe argutis quæstionibus laicorum.

82. Scilicet, cur papa non evacuat purgatorium propter sanctissimam et summam animarum necessitatem, ut causam omnium justissimam; cum tamen infinitas animas redimit propter pecuniam funestissimam ad structuram basilicæ, ut causam levissimam?

83. Item, cur permanent exequie et anniversariæ defunctorum, et non reddit aut recipi permittit beneficia pro illis instituta? cum jam sit injuria pro redemptis orare?

84. Item, quæ illa nova pietas Dei et papæ quod impio et inimico propter pecuniam concedunt, animam piam et amicam Dei redimere; et tamen propter necessitatem ipsiusmet piæ et dilectæ animæ non redimunt eam gratuita caritate?

85. Item, cur canones penitentiales, re ipsæ et non usu jam diu in semet abrogati et mortui, adhuc tamen pecuniis redimuntur per concessionem indulgentiarum tanquam vivacissimi?

86. Item, cur papa, cuius opes hodie sunt opulentissimis Crassis crassiores, non de suis pecuniis magis quam pauperum fidelium struit unam tantummodo basilicam Sancti Petri?

87. Item, quid remittit aut participat papa iis qui per contritionem perfectam jus habent plenariæ remissionis et participationis?

88. Item, quid adderetur Ecclesiæ boni majoris, si papa sicut semel facit ita centies in die cuilibet fidelium has remissionses et participationes tribueret?

89. Ex quo papa salutem querit animarum per venias magis quam pecunias; cur suspendit litteras et venias jam olim concessas cum sint æque efficaces?

90. Hæc scrupulosissima laicorum argumenta sola potestate compescere, nec redditia ratione diluere, est Ecclesiam et papam hostibus ridendos exponere et infelices Christianos facere.

91. Si ergo veniæ secundum spiritum et mentem papæ prædicarentur, facile illa omnia solverentur, imo non essent.

92. Valeant itaque omnes illi prophetæ qui dicunt populo Christi: Pax, pax, et non est pax.

93. Bene agant omnes illi prophetæ qui dicunt populo Christi: Crux, crux, et non est crux.

94. Exhortandi sunt Christiani ut caput suum Christum per pœnas, mortes infernosque sequi studeant:

95. Ac sic magis per multas tribulationes intrare cœlum quam per securitatem pacis confidant.

Protestatio.

Ego, Martinus Lutherus, doctor, ordinis Eremitarum Wittembergæ, publice testatum volo, propositiones aliquot contra pontificales, ut vocant, indulgentias a me editas esse. Etsi autem me hactenus neque celeberrima hæc et laudatissima schola nostra, neque civilis aut ecclesiastica potestas condemnaverit, sunt tamen, ut audio, quidam præcipitis atque audacis ingenii homines, qui re quasi bene cognita et perspecta hæreticum me pronuntiare audent.

Ego vero, ut ante ssepe, ita nunc quoque, per fidem Christianam obtestor sigulos, vel ut meliorem mihi monstrent viam, si quibus hæc divinitus esset revelata, vel certe suam sententiam Dei et Ecclesiæ judicio submittant. Non enim adeo temerarius sum ut meam solius opinionem cæteris omnibus anteferri, neque tam stupidus etiam, ut verbum Dei fabulis, humana ratione excogitatis, postponi velim.

No. VIII.

Letter from Luther to Leo X.—P. 119.

Beatissimo Patri, Leoni decimo, Pontifici maximo, Frater Martinus Luther, Augustinianus, salutem æternam.

Auditum audivi de me pessimum, beatissime Pater, quo intelligo, quosdam amicos fecisse nomen meum gravissime coram te et tuis fœtere, ut qui auctoritatem et potestatem clavium et summi pontificis minuere molitus sim: inde hæreticus, apostata, perfidus et

sexcentis nominibus, imo ignominiis accusor. Horrent aures et stupent oculi, sed unicum stat fiduciae præsidium, innocens et quieta conscientia. Nec nova audio. Talibus enim insignibus et in nostra regione me ornaverunt homines isti honestissimi et veraces, id est, pessime sibi consci, qui sua portenta mihi conantur imponere, et mea ignominia suas ignominias glorificare; sed rem ipsam, beatissime Pater, digneris audire ex me infante et inculto.

Cœpit apud nos diebus proximis prædicari jubilæus ille indulgentiarum apostolicarum, profecitque adeo, ut præcones illius, sub tui nominis terrore, omnia sibi licere putantes, impiissima hæreticaque palam auderent docere, in gravissimum scandalum et ludibrium ecclesiastices potestatis, ac si decretales de abusionibus quæstororum nihil ad eos pertinerent. Nec contenti, quod liberrimis verbis hæc sua venena diffunderent, insuper libellos ediderunt, et in vulgum sparserunt, in quibus, ut taceam insatiabilem et inauditam avaritiam, quam singuli pene apices olen crassissime, eadem illa impia et hæretica statuerunt, et ita statuerunt, ut confessores juramento adigerent, quo hæc ipsa fidelissime instantissimeque populo inculcarent.

Vera dico, nec est, quo se abscondant a colore hoc; extant libelli, nec possunt negare. Agebantur tum illa prospere, et exsugebantur populi falsis spebus, et ut propheta ait, *carnem desuper ossibus eorum tollebant*, ipsi vero pinguissime et suavissime interea pascebantur.

Unum erat, quo scandala sedabant, scilicet terror nominis tui, ignis communatio, et hæretici nominis opprobrium. Hæc enim incredibile est, quam propensi sint intentare, quandoque etiam si in meris opiniosisque nugis suis contradictionem senserint: si tamen hoc est scandala sedare, ac non potius mera tyrannide schismata et seditiones tandem suscitare.

Verum nihilominus crebrescebat fabulæ per tabernas de avaritia sacerdotum, detractionesque clavum summique pontificis, ut testis est vox totius hujus terræ. Ego sane (ut fateor) pro zelo Christi, sicuti mihi videbar, aut, si ita placet, pro juvenili calore urebar, nec tamen meum esse videbam, in iis quicquam statuere aut facere.

Proinde monui privatim aliquot magnates ecclesiarum: hic ab aliis acceptabar, aliis ridiculum, aliis aliud videbar: prævalebat enim nominis tui terror et censorum intentatio: tandem cum nihil possem aliud, visum est, saltem leniuscule illis reluctari, id est, eorum dogmata in dubium et disputationem vocare. Itaque schedulam disputatoriam edidi, invitans tantum doctiores, si qui

velalent mecum disceptare, sicut manifestum esse etiam adversariis oportet, ex præfatione ejusdem disceptationis.

Ecce, hoc est incendium, quo totum mundum queruntur, conflagrari, forte, quod indignantur me unum, auctoritate tua apostolica magistrum theologiae, jus habere, in publica schola disputandi pro more omnium universitatum et totius ecclesiae, non modo de indulgentiis, verum etiam de potestate, remissione, indulgentiis divinis, incomparabiliter majoribus rebus: nec tamen molsum moveor, quod hanc mihi facultatem invideant a tua Beatitudinis potestate concessam, qui eis favere cogor invitus multo majora, scilicet quod Aristotelis somnia in medias res theologiae miscent atque de divina majestate meras nugas disputant, contra et citra facultatem eis datam.

. Porro, quodnam fatum urgeat has solas meas disputationes præ cæteris, non solum meis sed omnium magistrorum, ut in omnem terram pene exierint, mihi ipsi miraculum est. Apud nostros et propter nostros tantum sunt editæ, et sic editæ, ut mihi incredibile sit, eas ab omnibus intelligi. Disputationes enim sunt, non doctrinæ, non dogmata, obscurius pro more, et ænigmatiscos posite: alioqui si prævidere potuissem, certe id pro mea parte curassem, ut essent intellectu faciliores.

Nunc quid faciam? Revocare non possum, at miram mihi invidiam ex ea invulgatione video conflari: invitus venio in publicum periculosissimumque ac varium hominum judicium, præsertim ego indoctus, stupidus ingenio, vacuus eruditione, deinde nostro florentissimo sæculo, quod pro sua in literis et ingeniis felicitate etiam Ciceronem cogere possit ad angulum, lucis et publici alioqui non ignavum sectatorem. Sed cogit necessitas, me anserem strepere inter clores.

Itaque quo et ipsos adversarios mitigem, et desideria multorum compleam: emitto ecce meas nugas, declaratorias mearum disputationum. Emitto autem, quo tutior sim, sub tui nominis præsidio, et tua protectionis umbra, beatissime Pater: in quibus intelligent omnes, qui volent, quam pure simpliciterque ecclesiasticam potestatem et reverentiam clavium quæsierim et coluerim, simulque quam inique et false me tot nominibus adversarii fecdaverint. Si enim talis essem, qualem illi me videri cupiunt, ac non potius omnia disputandi facultate recte a me tractata fuissent, non potuisse fieri, ut illustrissimus princeps Fridericus, Saxonie dux, elector imperii, &c., hanc pestem in sua permitteret universitate, cum sit catholicæ et apostolicæ veritatis unus facile amantissimus: nec tolerabilis fuissem viris nostri studii acerrimis et studiosis-

simis. Verum actum ago, quando illi suavissimi homines non verentur mecum et principem et universitatem pari ignominia conficere palam.

Quare, beatissime Pater, prostratum me pedibus tuis Beatitudinis offero; cum omnibus que sum et habeo: vivifica, occide, voca, revoca, approba, reproba, ut placuerit. Vocem tuam, vocem Christi, in te praesidentis et loquentis agnoscam. Si mortem merui, mori non recusabo. Domini enim est terra, et plenitudo ejus: qui est benedictus in æcula. Amen. Qui et te servet in æternum. Amen. Die S. Trinitatis, anno MDXVIII.

F. MARTINUS LUTHERUS, August.

No. IX.

Letter from Luther to Cardinal Cajetan.—P. 139.

Reverendissimo in Christo Patri et Domino, Thomæ, tituli S. Sixti, presbytero cardinali, sanctæ sedis apostolicæ per Germaniam de Latere legato, &c., in Christo metuendo et colendo, salutem et omnem subjectionem sui.

Reverendissime in Christo Pater, iterum venio, sed per literas: dignetur R. paternitas tua me clementissime audire.

Egit mecum reverendus mihiq[ue] dulcissimus Pater meus in Christo, vicarius noster, Johannes Staupitius, ut humiliter sentirem, et opinioni propriæ cederem, et sensum meum submitterem, commendavitque ac exuberantissime persuasit, R. tuam P. mihi esse gratiosissimam. Ea res et nuntius pariter me mirum in modum exhilararunt. Est enim homo hic talis et tantus in oculis meis, ut nullus sit in mundo, cui libentius audirem et obsequerer. Nec minus egit dulcissimus frater meus, magister Wenceslaus Lincus, qui ab ineunte aetate pari mecum studio adolevit. Breviter, non potuit R. P. tua fortius et dulcius me movere, quam his duobus viris mediatoribus, quorum uterque in solidum me habet in manu sua. Tanta est tua simul humanitas et prudentia, qua video tuam R. P. non mea, sed me querere, cum potuisset sola potestate in me dominari. Itaque jam timor meus sensim transit, imo mutatus est in singularem erga R. P. tuam amorem, et veram filialemque reverentiam.

Nunc, reverendissime in Christo Pater, fateor, sicut et alias fassus sum, me fuisse certe nimis (ut dicunt) indiscretum, acrem

et irreverentum in nomen summi pontificis: et licet acerrime fuerim in hanc irreverentiam provocatus, tamen meum fuisse nunc intelligo, modestius, humilius et reverentius hanc materiam tractare, et non ita respondere stulto, ut ei similis efficerer. De quo sincerissime doleo, et veniam peto, et per omnia pulpita in vulgus promulgabo, sicut et saepius jam feci, daboque deinceps operam, ut alius sim, et aliter loquar, Deo miserente: imo promptissimus sum, atque facilime promitto, me posthac materiam de indulgentiis non tractare, atque his finitis quiescere: modo illis quoque modus imponatur, aut sermonis aut silentii, qui me in hanc tragediam suscitaverunt.

Cæterum, mi reverendissime in Christo ac jam dulcissime Pater, quantum ad sententia veritatem pertinet, libentissime omnia revocarem, tam tuo, quam vicarii mei jussu et consilio, si ullo modo conscientia mea permitteret. Ego enim scio, nullius præcepto, nullius consilio, nullius gratia, me tantum debere permettere, ut aliquid contra conscientiam dicam aut faciam. Deinde narrationes divi Thomæ et aliorum tanto non sunt, ut mihi in hac quæstione satisfaciant, cum dedita opera contra eas disputationem, ut optime perfectas atque percognitas. Vissa enim sunt non satis firmo niti fundamento. Hoc autem unum superest, ut meliori superer ratione, quæ est, si vocem sponsæ audire merear: hanc enim certum est vocem sponsi audire.

Ideoque omni humilitate supplico, R. P. tua dignetur ad sanctissimum Dominum nostrum Leonem X., istam causam referre, ut per Ecclesiam hæc dubia determinata, ad justam vel revocationem vel credulitatem possint compelli. Nihil enim aliud cupio, quam Ecclesiam audire et sequi. Nam mea super dubiis et indeterminatis revocatio quid faciat ignoro, nisi quod merito mihi objici posse timeo, me nec quid asseruerim, nec quid revocarim, scire. Suscipiat R. P. tua hanc humilitatis et parvitatis meæ supplicationem, et in filii vicem clementer commendatum me habere dignetur. Datum pridie Lucæ evangelistæ, anno MDXVIII.

No. X.

Letter from Luther to Pope Leo X.—P. 163.

Beatissimo Patri Leoni X. Pontifici maximo F. Mart. Lutherus
Augustinianus salutem æternam.

Beatissime Pater, cogit iterum necessitas, ut ego fæx hominum et pulvis terræ, ad Beatitudinem tuam tantamque majestatem loquar. Quare paternas ac vere Christi vicarias aures huic ovinclæ tuae interim clementissime accommodare dignetur Beatitudo tua, et balatum meum hunc officiose intelligere.

Fuit apud nos honestus hic vir Carolus Miltitz, Beatitudinis tuae secretarius cubicularius, gravissime causatus nomine Beatitudinis tuae apud illustrissimum principem Fredericum de mea in Romanam Ecclesiam et Beatitudinem tuam et irreverentia et temeritate, expostulans satisfactionem. Ego ista audiens, plurimum dolui, officiosissimum officium meum tam infelix esse, ut, quod protuendo honore Ecclesie Romanae suscepseram, in irreverentiam etiam apud ipsum verticem ejusdem Ecclesie ac plenam omnis mali suspicionem venerit.

Sed quid agam, beatiss. Pater? Desunt mihi consilia prorsus: potestatem iræ tuae ferre non possum, et quo modo eripiar, ignoro. Revocationem expostulor disputationis: quæ si id posset præstare, quod per eam quæritur, sine mora ego præstarem eam. Nunc autem cum resistantibus et prementibus adversariis, scripta mea latius vagentur, quam unquam speraveram: simul profundius hæserint plurimorum animis, quam ut revocari possint: quin cum Germania nostra hodie mire floret ingenii, eruditione, judicio: si Romanam Ecclesiam volo honorare, id quam maxime mihi curandum video, ne quid ullo modo revocem. Nam istud revocare nihil fieret, nisi Ecclesiam Romanam magis ac magis fœdere et in ore omnium hominum accusandam tradere.

Illi, illi, heu beatiss. Pater, hanc Ecclesie Romanae intulerunt injuriam et pene infamiam apud nos in Germania quibus ego restiti, id est, qui insulsissimis suis sermonibus, sub nomine Beatitudinis tuae, non nisi deterrimam avaritiam coluerunt, et opprobrio Ægypti contaminatam et abominandam reddiderunt sanctificationem: et quasi id non satis fuerit malorum, me, qui tantis eorum monstris occurri, auctorem suæ temeritati apud Beat. tuam inculpant.

Nunc, beatiss. Pater, coram Deo et tota creatura sua testor, me

neque voluisse neque hodie velle Ecclesiam Romanam ac Beatitudinis tuae potestatem ullo modo tangere aut quacunque versutis demoliri: quin plenissime confiteor hujus Ecclesiae potestatem esse super omnia: nec ei praferendum quidquam sive in cœlo sive in terra, preter unum Iesum Christum Dominum omnium: nec Beatitudo tua ullis malis dolis credat, qui aliter de Luthero hoc machinantur.

Et quod unum in ista causa facere possum, promittam libentissime Beatitudini tuae, istam de indulgentiis materiam me deinceps relicturum, penitusque taciturnum (modo et adversarii mei suas vanas ampullas contineant), editurum denique in vulgus, quo intelligent et moveantur ut Romanam Ecclesiam pure colant, et non illorum temeritatem huic imputent: neque meam asperitatem imitentur adversus Romanam Ecclesiam, qua ego usus sum, ino abusus et excessi adversus balatrones istos; si qua tandem gratia Dei, vel eo studio rursum sopiri queat excitata discordia. Nam id unicum a me quæsitus est, ne avaritia alienæ fœditate pollueretur Ecclesia Romana mater nostra, neve populi seducerentur in errorem, charitatem discerent posthabere indulgentiis. Cætera omnia, ut sunt neutralia, a me vilius aestimantur. Si autem et plura facere potero aut cognovero, sine dubio paratissimus ero. Christus servet Beatitudinem tuam in æternum. Ex Altenburg, 8 Marti, anno MDXIX.

F. MARTINUS LUTHERUS, Doctor.

No. XI.

Letter from Leo X. to Luther.—P. 197.

Dilecte fili, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Summopere nobis placuit ex litteris dilecti filii Caroli Miltitz, nuncii nostri ad dilectum filium nobilem virum Fridericum Saxonis ducem destinati, intelligere ea, quæ minus recte a te scripta, aut verbo dicta fuerunt non eo consilio ac proposito, ut nos aut sedem apostolicam et sanctam Romanam Ecclesiam in aliquo offenderes, sed ut a quodam religioso per dilectum filium nostrum Albertum tit. Sancti Chrysogoni presbyterum cardinalem ad publicandas certas indulgentias deputato provocatus, ei respondens, a te scripta dictave fuisse; teque, dum acrius illum persequeris, prolapsum ultra quam voluisses honestatis ac veri terminos excessisse, matureque illis consideratis amarissimo dolore tactum doluisse ac ingemuisse, paratumque esse

omnia etiam scriptis revocare, ac principibus et aliis, ad quos tua scripta pervenerunt, errorem tuum significare, in posterumque a similibus abstinere velle, ac omnia etiam coram legato ista nostro revocaturum fuisse, nisi legatum ipsum dicto religioso, quem tui erroris causam fuisse asseris, adversus te nimium favere, ac in te durius animadvertere velle, timuisses. Nos igitur considerantes, quod spiritus quidem promptus, caro autem infirma est; et quod multa iracundiae calore proferuntur, quæ deinde saniore consilio emendari debent, agimus gratias omnipotenti Deo, qui cor tuum illuminare dignatus fuit, ac etiam providere, ne Christi fideles in his, quæ animarum salutem concernunt, auctoritate ac doctrina tua confisi, in tam graves ac perniciosos errores trahi possent. Et propterea, Nos, qui illius vices in terris gerimus, qui non vult mortem peccatoris, sed ut convertatur et vivat, excusationes tuas paterno affectu admittimus; ac pro ea, qua omnes viros, in quacunque et præsertim sacrarum litterarum scientia doctos, benevolentia prosequimur, te coram audire et videre desideramus, ut revocationem, quam coram nostro legato facere veritus fuisti, coram nobis Christi vicario, secure ac liber facere valeas. Præsentibus igitur litteris acceptis, te itineri accinges, et ad nos recte venies; speramus autem quod postpositis odiis, et conciliato animo, nec passione aliqua, sed solo Spiritu Sancto repletus, et caritate munitus, ea, quæ omnipotentis Dei laudem concernunt, procurabis ita quod nos te obedientiæ filium fuisse gaudebimus, tuque nos pium et clementem patrem invenisse lætaberis. Datum in villa nostra Manliana, sub annulo piscatoris, die **xxix Martii, MDXVIX,** pontificatus nostri anno septimo.

No. XII.

Letter from Luther to Charles V.—P. 201.

Ad serenissimum Principem et Dominum, Dominum Carolum V., Romanorum Cæsarem, imperatorem augustum, Hispaniarum, etc., regem, archiducem Austræ, etc.

Jesus.

Gratiam et pacem a Domino nostro Jesu Christo. Quod ego Majestatem tuam serenissimam, imperator optime Carole, audeo litteris adire, nemo non optimo jure mirabitur. Quid enim inso-

lentius videri poterit, quam regem regum et dominum dominantium in terris a vili et infima sortis homuncione compellari? Verum minus mirabitur, quisquis causæ magnitudinem contemplatus, de evangelica veritate agi intellexerit: quæ cum digna sit etiam coelestis majestatis thronum accedere, non indigna videri debet, quæ terrenum principem conveniat. Accedit, quod terreni principes, ut sunt imagines coelestis, ita eos decet hunc imitari, ut et ipsi in altis habitent, humilia tamen respiciant in terra, et suscent de terra inopem et de stercore erigant pauperem. Venio itaque inops et pauper ante pedes tuæ serenissimæ regis Majestatis prostratus, indignissimus, dignissimam tamen causam producturus.

Editi sunt a me nonnulli libelli, quibus multorum et magnorum mihi conflavi invidiam et indignationem: ubi duplici tutus esse præsidio debui: primum, quod invitus in publicum veni, nec nisi aliorum vi et insidiis prodiens scripsi, quidquid scripsi, nihil unquam ardentioribus votis expetens, quam ut in angulo meo laterem: deinde quod, teste conscientia mea ac optimorum virorum judicio, non nisi evangelicam veritatem studui evulgare adversus superstitiones humanæ traditionis opiniones, propter quam tertius jam finitur ferme annus, ex quo patior sine fine iras, contumelias, pericula et quidquid adversarii possunt excogitare mali. Frustra interim veniam peto, frustra silentium offero, frustra pacis conditiones propono, frustra erudiri meliora postulo: unum est quod in me paratur, tantum ut extinguar cum universo Evangelio.

Cum autem omnia frustra tentarim, visum est tandem, exemplo Sancti Athanasii, imperatoriam majestatem invocare, si forte Dominus dignetur per eam suæ causæ adesse. Quare serenissimæ Majestati tuæ, Carole princeps regum terræ, suppliciter procumbens supplico: dignetur non me, sed causam ipsam veritatis, ob quam tibi solam datum est gladium gestare, in vindictam malorum, laudem vero bonorum, sub umbram alarum tuarum suspicere: et me in illa non amplius nec longius tueri, quam donec redditæ ratione, aut vicero, aut victus fuero. Nolo defendi, si impius et hæreticus inventus fuero. Unum peto, ne damnetur sive veritas, sive falsitas inaudita et inconclusa.

Hoc enim regium et imperatorium tuum decet thronum, hoc tuum ornabit imperium, hoc tuum consecrabit posteris seculum: si non patiatur Majestas tua sacratissima, ut impius conculcat et devoret justiorem se, et sit facies hominis, ut propheta ait, quasi pisces maris, et quasi reptilia non habentia ducem, dum sit judicium et contradictio potentior. Ita me commendo, ita confido, ita spero in tuam sacratissimam Majestatem, quam Dominus Jesus nobis servet,

et magnificet ad gloriam Evangelii sui sempiternam. Amen.
Datum Wittembergæ, die 15 Januarii, anno MDXX.

Serenissimæ Majestatis tue ac regiæ imperatoriæ

Clientulus devotus,

MARTINUS LUTHERUS.

No. XIII.

Letter from Luther to Leo X.—P. 216.

Leoni X., Romano pontifici, Martinus Lutherus, salutem, in Christo
Jesu, Domino nostro, amen.

Inter monstra hujus sæculi, cum quibus mihi jam in tertium annum res et bellum est, cogor aliquando et ad te suspicere, tuique recordari, Leo pater beatissime; imo cum tu mihi belli causa passim habearis, non possum unquam tui non meminisse. Et quanquam impiis adulatoribus tuis in me sine causa sœvientibus, coactus fuerim a sede tua ad futurum convocare concilium, nihil veritus Pii et Julii tuorum prædecessorum vanissimas constitutions, id ipsum stulta tyrannide prohibentium, non tamen unquam interim a tua Beatitudine sic alienavi, ut non totis viribus optima quæquæ tibi sedique tue optarim, eademque sedulis, atque quantum in me fuit, gemebundis precibus apud Deum, quæsierim; atqui eos qui me autoritatis et nominis tui majestate hactenus tenere conati sunt, pene contemnere ac triumphare coepi. Unum superesse video, quod contemnere non possum, quæ causa fuit, ut denuo scriberem ad tuam Beatitudinem. Hæc est, quod accusari me et magno verti mihi vitio intelligo meam temeritatem, qua nec tue personæ pepercisse judicor.

Ego vero, ut rem aperte confitear, conscientius mihi sum, ubicunque tue personæ meminisse oportuit, non nisi magnifica et optima de te dixisse. Si vero a me secus factum esset, ipsem nullis modis probare possem, et illorum de me judicium omni calculo juvarem, nihilque libentius quam palinodiam hujus temeritatis et impietatis meas canerem. Appellavi te Danielem in Babylone; et innocentiam tuam insignem adversus contaminatorem tuum Silvestrum quam egregio studio tutatus sim, quivis lector intelligit abunde. Scilicet, celebratior et augustior in omni terrarum orbe, tot tantorum virorum litteris cantata opinio et vitæ tue inculpata fama, quam a quovis vel maximi nominis possit quavis arte impeti. Non

sum tam stultus, ut eum incessam, quem nullus non laudat ; quin et mei studii fuit, eritque semper, nec eos incessere, quos publica fama fecdat. Nullius enim delector crimine, qui et ipse mihi satis conscius sum magnæ trabis mee in oculo meo, nec primus esse queam, qui in adulteram lapidem mittat.

Communiter quidem in impias doctrinas insectus sum acriter, et adversarios, non ob malos mores, sed ob impietatem, non segniter momordi. Cujus me adeo non poenitet ut animum induxerim, contempto hominum judicio, in ea vehementia zeli perseverare, Christi exemplo qui genimina viperarum, cæcos hypocritas, filios diaboli suos adversarios pro zelo suo appellat. Et Paulus filium diaboli, plenum omni dolo et malitia magnum criminatur, canæ, subdolos, cauponatores quosdam tradit. Ubi, si des molliculos istos auditores, nihil erit Paulo mordacius et immodestius. Quid mordacius prophetis ? Nostri sane sæculi aures ita delicatas reddit adulatorum vesana multitudo, ut quam primum nostra non sentiamus probari, morderi nos clamemus, et cum veritatem alio titulo repellere nequeamus, mordacitatis, impatientiae, immodestiae prætextu fugimus. Quid proderit sal, si non mordeat ? Quid os gladii, si non cœdat ? Maledictus vir, qui facit opus domini fraudulenter.

Quare, optime Leo, his me litteris rogo expurgatum admittas, tibique persuadeas me nihil unquam de persona tua mali cogitasse. Deinde me tales esse, qui tibi optima velim contingere in æternum, neque mihi cum allo homine de moribus, sed de solo verbo veritatis esse contentionem. In omnibus aliis cedam cuivis. Verbum deserere et negare non possum, nec volo. Qui aliud de me sentit, aut aliter meo hausit, non recte sentit, nec vera hausit.

Sedem autem tuam, quæ curia Romana dicitur, quam neque tu, neque ullus hominum potest negare, corruptiorem esse quavis Babylone et Sodoma, et quantum ego capio, prorsus deplorata, desperata atque conclamatæ impietatis sane detestatus sum, indigneque tuli sub tuo nomine et prætextu Romanæ Ecclesie, ludi Christi populum, atque ita restiti, resistamque dum spiritus fidei in me vixerit. Non quod ad impossibilia nitar, et sperem mea solius opera, tot repugnantibus furis adulatorum, quidquam commoveri in ista Babylone confusissima. Sed quod debitorem me agnoscam fratrum meorum, quibus consulí a me oportet, ut vel pauciores, vel mitius a Romanis pestibus perdantur. Neque enim aliud e Roma jam e multis annis in orbem inundet (quod non ignoras ipse) quam vastitas rerum, corporum, animarum, et omnium pessimarum rerum pessima exempla ; luce enim hæc omnibus

clariora sunt, et facta est e Romana Ecclesia, quondam omnium sanctissima, spelunca lettronum licentiosissima, lupanar omnium impudentissimum, regnum peccati, mortis et inferni; ut ad malitiam quod accedat, jam cogitari non possit, ne Antichristus quidem, si venerit.

Interim tu, Leo, sicut agnus in medio luperum sedes, sicut Daniel in medio leonum, et cum Ezechiele inter scorpiones habitas. Quid his monstris unus opponas? Adde tibi eruditissimos optimos cardinales tres aut quatuor. Quid hi inter tantos? Ante veneno omnibus pereundum vobis, quam de remedio statuere presumeretis. Actum est de Romana curia; pervenit in eam ira Dei usque in finem. Concilia odit, reformari metuit, furorem impietatis sue mitigare nequit et implet matris sue elogium de qua dicitur: Curavimus Babylonem, et non est sanata, derelinquamus eam. Officii quidem tui cardinaliumque tuorum fuerat, his malis mederi; sed ridet medicam ista podagra manum, et nec currus audit habenas. Hac affectione tactus dolui semper, optime Leo, his seculis te pontificem factum, qui melioribus dignus eras. Non enim Romana curia meretur te tuique similes, sed Satanam ipsum, qui et vere plus quam tu in Babylone ista regnat.

O utinam deposita ista, quam tibi gloriam esse jactant hostes tui perditissimi, privato potius sacerdotiolo, aut hereditate paterna victares! Hac gloria gloriari non sunt digni, nisi Schariotides, filii perditionis. Quid enim facis in curia, mi Leo, nisi ut quo quisque est sceleratior et execratiōr, eo felicius utatur tuo nomine et autoritate, ad perdendas hominum pecunias et animas, ad multiplicanda scelera, ad opprimendam fidem et veritatem, cum tota Ecclesia Dei? O revera, infelicissime Leo, et periculosisimo sedens solio! Veritatem enim tibi dico, quia bona tibi volo. Si enim Bernhardus suo Eugenio compatitur, cum adhuc meliore spe Romana sedes, licet tum quoque corruptissima, imperaret, quid nos non quāramur, quibus in trecentis annis tantum accessit corruptionis et perditionis?

Nonne verum est, sub vasto isto celo nihil esse Romana curia corruptius, pestilentius, odiosius? Incomparabiliter enim Turcarum vincit impietatem. Ut revera quæ olim janua coeli, nunc sit patens quoddam os inferni, et tale os, quod, urgente ira Dei obstrui non potest, uno tantum relicto miseris consilio, si queamus aliquot a Romano (ut dixi) isto hiatu revocare et servare.

Eoce, mi Leo pater, quo consilio, qua ratione in sedem istam pestilentie debacchatus sim. Tantum enim abest, ut in tuam

personam sevirem, ut sperarem etiam gratiam initurum me, et pro tua salute staturum, si carcerem istum tuum imo infernum tuum strenue et acriter pulsarem. Tibi enim tuæque saluti profuerit, et tecum multis aliis quidquid in impia hujus curiae confusionem moliri potest omnium ingeniorum impetus. Tuum officium faciunt, qui huic male faciunt. Christum glorificant, qui eam omnibus modis execrantur. Breviter, Christiani sunt, Romani non sunt.

Sed ut amplius loquar, nec hoc ipsum unquam super cor meum ascendit, ut in Romanam curiam inveherer, aut quidquam de ea disputarem. Videns enim desperata omnia salutis remedia, contempsi, et dato repudii libello, dixi ad eam : " Qui sordet, sordescat adhuc, et qui immundus est, immundus sit adhuc," tradens me placidis et quietis sacrarum studiis, quibus prodessem fratribus circum me agentibus.

Hic cum nonnihil proficerem, aperuit oculos suos Satan et servum suum Johannem Eccium, insignem Christi adversarium, extimulavit indomita gloriæ libidine, ut me traheret in arenam insperatam, captans me in uno verbulo, de primatu Romanæ Ecclesie, mihi obiter elapo. Hic Thraso ille gloriosus, spumans et frendens jactabat, pro gloria Dei, pro honore sanctæ sedis apostolicæ, omnia se ausurum, et de tua inflatus abutenda sibi potestate, nihil certius expectabat quam victoriam ; non tam primatum Petri, quam suum principatum inter theologos hujus æculi querens : ad quem non parvum momentum habere ducebat, si Lutherum duceret in triumpho. Quod ubi sophistæ infeliciter cessit, incredibilis furia hominum exagitat. Sentit enim sua culpa solius factum esse quidquid Romanæ infamiae per me natum est.

Atque sine me, quæso, optime Leo, hic et meam aliquando causam agere, verosque tuos hostes accusare. Notum esse arbitror tibi, quid mecum egerit cardinalis Sancti Sixti legatus tuus imprudens et infelix, imo infidelis. In cujus manu, ob tui nominis reverentiam, cum me et omnia mea posuisse, non hoc egit, ut pacem statueret, quam uno verbulo potuisset facile statuere, cum ego tum promitterem silentium et finem causæ meæ facturum, si adversariis idem mandaretur. At homo gloriæ non contentus eo pacto, cœpit adversarios justificare, licentiam aperire, et mihi palinodiam mandare, id quod in mandatis prorsus non habuit. Hic sane, ubi causa in optimo loco erat, illius importuna tyrannide venit in multo pejorem ; unde quidquid post hæc secutum est ; non Lutheri, sed Cajetani tota culpa est, qui ut silerem et quies-

cerem non est passus, quod tum summis viribus poscebam. Quid enim facere amplius debui?

Secutus est Carolus Miltitius, et ipse Beatitudinis tuae nuncius, qui multo et vario negotio cursans et recursans, nihilque omittens, quod ad reparandum causae statum, quem Cajetanus temere et superbe turbaverat, pertineret, vix tandem etiam auxilio illustrissimi principia Friderici electoris effecit, ut semel et iterum familiareriter mecum loqueretur. Ubi de tuo nomine cessi paratus silere, acceptans etiam judicem vel archiepiscopum Treverensem, vel episcopum Nurembergensem. Atque ita factum et impetratum. Dum haec spe bona aguntur, ecce alter et major hostis tuus, irruit Eccius cum disputatione Lipsica, quam instituerat contra D. Carolostadium, et nova accepta de primatu papae questione, in me vertit insperata arma, et penitus hoc consilium pacis dissipat. Expectat interim Carolus Miltitius. Disputatur, judices eliguntur, nec hic aliquid decernitur. Nec mirum; quando Eccii mendacii, simulationibus, technis, omnia ubique erant turbatissima, confusissima, ut quocumque inclinasset sententia, majus esset exoriturum incendium; gloriam enim, non veritatem quærerat. Nihil etiam hic omisi, quod ad me fieri oporteret.

Et fateor hac occasione non parum venisse ad lucem Romanarum corruptelarum, sed in qua, si quid peccatum est, Eccii culpa est, qui onus supra vires suscipiens, dum gloriam suam furiose captat, ignominiam Romanam in totum orbem revelat.

Hic est ille hostis tuus, mi Leo, seu potius curiae tuae. Hujus unius exemplo discere possumus, non esse hostem adulatore nocentiores. Quid enim sua adulazione promovit, nisi malum, quod nullus regum promovere potuisse? Fretet enim hodie Romana curia in orbe, et languet papalis auctoritas, famosa inscitia male audit, quorum nullum audiremus, si Eccius Caroli et mecum de pace consilium non turbasset, id quod non obscure et ipse sentit, sero et frustri indignatus in libellorum meorum editionem. Hoc debebat tum cogitare, cum totus in gloriam, sicut hinniens emissarius, insaniret, neque alia quam sua in te, tuo tamen maximo periculo quæreret. Sperabat homo vanissimus me formidine nominis tui cessurum et taciturnum (nam de ingenio et eruditione non credo quod præsumpserit); nunc cum nimio me confidere et sonare videat, sera poenitentia temeritatis suæ, intelligit esse in celo, qui superbis resistat, et præsumentes humiliet, si tamen intelligit.

Nihil itaque hac disputatione promoventibus nobis nisi majorem

confusionem Romane cause, jam tertio Carolus Miltitius patris ordinis capitulo congregatos adit, concilium petit componenda cause, quæ jam disturbatissima esset. Mittuntur hinc ad me, cum viribus in me (Deo propitio) non sit spes grassandi, aliquot celebriores ex illis, qui petunt, ut saltem T. B. personam honorem, et litteris humilitatis excusem innocentiam et tuam et meam ; esse adhuc rem non in extremo desperationis loco, si Leo X. pro sua innata bonitate manum admoveret. His ego, qui semper pacem et obtuli et optavi, ut placidioribus et utilioribus studiis inservirem, cum et in hoc ipsum tanto spiritu sim tumultuatus, ut eos, quos mihi longissime impares esse videbam, magnitudine et impetu, tam verborum quam animi compescerem, non modo libens cessai, sed et cum gaudio et gratitudine acceptavi, ut gravissimum beneficium, si dignum fuerit spei nostræ satisfacere.

Ita venio, beatissime pater, et adhuc prostratus rogo, si fieri potest, manum apponas, et adulatoribus istis, pacis hostibus, dum pacem simulant, frenum injicias. Porro palinodiam, ut canam, beatissime pater, non est quod ullus presumat, nisi malit adhuc majore turbine causam involvere. Deinde leges interpretandi verbi Dei non patior, cum oporteat verbum Dei esse non alligatum, quod libertatem docet omnium aliorum. His duobus salvis, nihil est quod non facere et pati possim, ac libertassime velim ; contentiones odi, neminem provocabo, sed provocari rursus nolo ; provocatus autem, Christo magistro, elinguis non ero. Poterit enim tua Beatitudo brevi et facilí verbo contentionibus istis ad se vocatis et extinctis silentium et pacem utrinque mandare, id quod semper audire desideravi.

Proinde, mi pater Leo, cave syrenas istos audias, qui te non purum hominem, sed mixtum Deum faciunt, ut quevis mandare et exigere possis. Non fiet ita, nec prævalebis. Servus servorum es, et præ omnibus hominibus miserrimo et pericolosissimo loco. Non te fallant, qui te dominum mundi fingunt, qui sine tua auctoritate nullum Christianum esse sinunt, qui te in coelum, infernum, purgatorium posse aliquid garriunt. Hostes hi tui sunt, et animam tuam ad perdendam querunt, sicut Esaias dicit : "Popule meus, qui te beatum predican, ipsi te decipiunt." Errant, qui te supra concilium et universalem Ecclesiam evehunt. Errant, qui tibi soli Scripturæ interpretandæ jus tribuunt, suus enim hi omnes impietas sub tuo nomine statuere in Ecclesia querunt, et, proh dolor ! multum per eos Satan profecit in tuis prædecessoribus.

Summa, nullis, crede, qui te exaltant, sed qui te humiliant.

Hoc enim est judicium Dei: Deposuit potentes de sede, et exaltavit humiles. Vide quam dispar sit Christus suis successoribus, cum tamen omnes velint ejus esse vicarii, et metuo, ne revera eorum sint, et nimiū serio vicarii ejus. Vicarius enim absentis principis est. Quod si pontifex, absente Christo et non inhabitante in corde ejus, præsit, quid aliud quam vicarius Christi est? Ad quid tum illa Ecclesia nisi multitudo sine Christo est? quid vero talis vicarius nisi antichristus et idolum est? Quanto rectius Apostoli, qui se servos Christi appellant præsentis, non vicarios absentis.

Impudens forte sum, tantum verticem visus docere, a quo doceri omnes oportet, et sicut jactant pestilentia tua, a quo judicantium throni accipiunt sententiam. Sed amulor Sanctum Bernardum in libello "De Consideratione ad Eugenium," omni pontifici memoriter noscendo. Neque enim docendi studio, sed pure fidelisque sollicitudinis officio hoc facio, quem cogit nos etiam omnia tua vereri proximis nostris, nec patitur rationem dignitatis aut indignitatis haberi, solis periculis et commodis alienis intenta. Cum enim sciam tuam Beatitudinem versari et fluctuari Romæ, id est, medio mari infinitis periculis undique urgente, et ea te miseris conditio laborantem, ut etiam cujusque minimi fratris minima ope indigeas, non videor mihi absurdus, si interim majestatis tuae obliviscar, dum officium implevero. Nolo adulare in re tam seria et periculosa, in qua si amicus esse et plusquam subjectissimus tibi non intelligar, est qui intelligat, et judicet.

In fine, ne vacuus advenerim, beatissime pater, meum affero tractaculum hunc sub tuo nomine editum, velut auspicio pacis componendæ, et bonæ spei; in quo gustare possis, quibusnam studiis ego malim et possim fructuosius occupari, si per impios adulatores tuos liceret, et hactenus licuisset. Parva res est, si corpus species, sed summa, ni fallor, vita Christianæ compendio congregata, si sententiam captes. Neque habeo pauper aliud, quo gratificer, nec tu alio eges, quam spirituali dono augeri. Quo et meipsum Paternitati et Beatitudini tuae commendando, quam Dominus Jesus servet in perpetuum. Amen.

Wittenbergæ, MDXX, 6 Aprilie.

No. XIV.

Bull of Leo X.—P. 225.

Leo episcopus, servus servorum Dei. Ad perpetuam rei memoriam.

Exsurge, Domine, et judica causam tuam, memor esto improprietarum tuorum, eorum quæ ab insipientibus fiunt tota die. Inclina surem tuam ad preces nostras, quoniam surrexerunt vulpes querentes demoliri vineam, cuius tu torcular calcasti solus, et ascensurus ad Patrem, ejus curam, regimen et administrationem Petro tanquam capiti, et tuo vicario, ejusque successoribus, instar triumphantis Ecclesie commisisti; exterminare nititur eam aper de silva, et singularis ferus depascitur eam.

Exsurge, Petre, et pro pastorali cura præfata (ut præfertur) tibi divinitus demandata, intende in causam sanctæ Romanae Ecclesie matris omnium Ecclesiarum, ac fidei magistræ, quam tu, jubente Deo, tuo sanguine consecrasti. Contra quam, sicut tu præmonere dignatus es, insurgunt magistri mendaces, introducentes sectas perditionis, sibi scelerum interitum superducentes, quorum lingua ignis, inquietum malum, plena veneno mortifero, qui zelum amarum habentes, et contentiones in cordibus suis, et mendaces sunt adversus veritatem.

Exsurge tu quoque quæsumus, Paule, qui eam tua doctrina ac pari martyrio illuminasti atque illustrasti. Jam enim surgit novus Porphyrius, qui sicut ille olim sanctos apostolos injuste momordit, ita hic sanctos pontifices prædecessores nostros, contra tuam doctrinam eos non obsecrando, sed increpando mordere, lacerare, ac ubi causæ suæ diffidit, ad convicia accedere non veretur, more hæreticorum (ut inquit Hieronymus) ultimum præsidium est, ut cum conspiciant causas suas damnatum iri, incipiant virus serpentis lingua diffundere, et cum se victos conspiciant, ad contumelias prosilire. Nam licet hæreses esse ad exercitationem fidelium, tu dixeris oportere, eas tamen ne incrementum accipient, neve vultus coalescant, in ipso ortu, te intercedente et adjuvante, extingui necesse est. Exsurgat denique omnis sanctorum, ac reliqua universalis Ecclesia, cuius vera sacrarum litterarum interpretatione posthabita, quidam, quorum mentem pater mendacii excœavit, ex veteri hæreticorum instituto, apud semetipsos sapientes, Scripturas easdem aliter, quam Spiritus Sanctus flagitat, proprio duntaxat sensu, ambitionis surèque popularis causa (teste apostolo)

interpretantur, imo vero torquent et adulterant. Ita ut juxta Hieronymum, jam non sit Evangelium Christi, sed hominis, aut quod pejus est, diaboli. Exsurgat, inquam, præfata sancta Ecclesia Dei, et una cum beatissimis apostolis præfatis apud Deum omnipotentem intercedat, ut purgatis ovium suarum erroribus, eliminatisque a fidelium finibus hæresibus universis, Ecclesie sue pacem et unitatem conservare dignetur.

Dudum siquidem, quod præ animi angustia et mœrore exprimere vix possumus, fide dignorum relatu ac fama publica referente ad nostrum pervenit auditum, imo vero, proh dolor! oculis nostris vidimus, ac legimus multos ac varios errores, quosdam videlicet jam per concilia ac prædecessorum nostrorum constitutiones damnatos, hæresim etiam Græcorum et Bohemicam expresse continentes, alios vero respective vel hæreticos, vel falsos, vel scandalosos, vel piarum aurium offensivos, vel simplicium mentium seductivos a falsis fidei cultoribus, qui per superbam curiositatem, mundi gloriam cupientes, contra apostoli doctrinam, plus sapere volunt quam oporteat, quorum garrulitas (ut inquit Hieronymus) sine Scripturarum autoritate non haberet fidem, nisi viderentur perversam doctrinam, etiam divis testimoniis, male tamen interpretatis, roborare, a quorum oculis Dei timor recessit, humani generis teste suggerente, noviter suscitatos, et nuper apud quosdam leviores in inclita natione Germanica seminatos.

Quod eo majus dolemus ibi evenisse, quod eamdem nationem et nos et prædecessores nostri in visceribus semper gesserimus caritatis; nam post translatum ex Græcis a Romana Ecclesia in eosdem Germanos imperium, prædecessores nostri et nos, ejusdem Ecclesie advocates defensoresque ex eis semper accepimus. Quos quidem Germanos, catholice veritatis vere germanos, constat hæresium acerrimos oppugnatores semper fuisse. Cujus rei testes sunt laudabiles illæ constitutiones Germanorum imperatorum pro libertate Ecclesie, proque expellendis exterminandisque ex omni Germania hæreticis, sub gravissimis poenis, etiam amissionis terrarum et dominiorum, contra receptatores, vel non expellentes, olim editæ, et a nostris prædecessoribus confirmatae; quæ si hodie servarentur, et nos et ipsi utique hac molestia careremus.

Testis est in concilio Constantiensi Hussitarum ac Wiclevistarum, nec non Hieronymi Pragensis damnata ac punita perfidia. Testis est toties contra Bohemos Germanorum sanguis effusus. Testis denique est prædictorum errorum, seu multorum ex eis, per Coloniensem et Lovaniensem universitates, utpote agri Dominici piissimas religiosissimasque cultrices, non minus docta

quam vera ac sancta confutatio, reprobatio et damnatio. Multa quoque alia allegare possemus, quæ, ne historiam texere videamur, præmittenda censuimus.

Pro pastoralis igitur officii divina gratia nobis injuneti cura, quam gerimus, prædictorum errorum virus pestiferum ulterius tolerare, seu dissimulare, sine Christianæ religionis nota, atque orthodoxæ fidei injuria, nullo modo possumus. Eorum autem errorum aliquos præsentibus duximus inserendos, quorum tenor sequitur et est talis.

Hæretica sententia est, sed usitata, sacramenta novæ legis justificantem gratiam illis dare, qui non ponunt obicem.

In puerò post baptismum negare remanens peccatum, est Paulum et Christum simul conculcare.

Fomes peccati, etiam si nullum adsit actuale peccatum, moratur ex eundem a corpore animam ab ingressu coeli.

Imperfecta caritas morituri, fert secum necessario magnum timorem, qui se solo satis est facere penam purgatorii, et impedit introitum regni.

Tres esse partes penitentie, contritionem, confessionem, et satisfactionem, non est fundatum in Scriptura, nec in antiquis sanctis Christianis doctoribus.

Contritio quæ paratur per discussionem, collectionem et detestationem peccatorum, qua quis recogitat annos in amaritudine animæ sua, ponderando peccatorum gravitatem, multitudinem, fœditatem, amissionem æternæ beatitudinis ac æternæ damnationis acquisitionem, hæc contritio facit hypocritam, imo magis peccatorem.

Verissimum est proverbium, et omnium doctrina de contritionibus, hucusque data præstantius, de cæstro non fieri summa penitentia, optima penitentia, nova vita.

Nullo modo præsumas confiteri peccata venialia, sed nec omnia mortalia, quia impossibile est, ut omnia mortalia cognoscas. Unde in primitiva Ecclesia solum manifesta mortalia confitebantur.

Dum volumus omnia pene confiteri, nihil aliud facimus, quam quod misericordiæ Dei nihil volumus relinquere ignoscendum.

Peccata non sunt ulli remissa, nisi remissa, nisi remittente sacerdote credit sibi remitti; imo peccatum maneret, nisi remissum crederet; non enim sufficit remissio peccati, et gratis donatio, sed oportet etiam credere esse remissum.

Nullo modo confidas absolvì propter tuam contritionem, sed

propter verbum Christi: Quodcumque solveris, &c. Hic, inquam, confide si sacerdotis obtinueris absolutionem, et crede fortiter te absolutum, et absolutus es, quidquid sit de contritione.

Si per impossibile confessus non esset contritus, aut sacerdos non serio, sed joco absolveret, si tamen credat se absolutum, verissime est absolutus.

In sacramento penitentiae ac remissione culpæ, non plus facit papa vel episcopus, quam infimus sacerdos, æque tantum quilibet, etiamsi mulier vel puer esset.

Nullus debet sacerdoti respondere se esse contritum, nec sacerdos requirere.

Magnus est error eorum, qui ad sacramentum Eucharistie accedunt huic innixi, quod sint confessi, quod non sint sibi consciï alicujus peccati mortalis, quod præmiserint orationes suas et præparatoria; omnes illi judicium sibi manducant et bibunt. Sed si credant et confidant se gratiam ibi consecuturos, haec sola fides facit eos puros et dignos.

Consultum videtur, quod Ecclesia in communi concilio statueret, laicos sub utraque specie communicandos, nec Bohemi communicantes sub utraque specie sunt hæretici, sed schiomatici.

Thesauri Ecclesie, unde papa dat indulgentias, non sunt merita Christi et sanctorum.

Indulgentiae sunt pise fraudes fidelium, et remissiones bonorum operum, et sunt de numero eorum quæ licent, et non de numero eorum quæ expediunt.

Indulgentiae iis, qui veraciter eas consequuntur, non valent ad remissionem poenæ pro peccatis actualibus debitis apud divinam justitiam.

Sedcuntur credentes, indulgentias esse salutares, et ad fructum spiritus utiles.

Indulgentiae necessariae sunt solum publicis criminibus, et proprie concedunt duris solummodo et impatientibus.

Sex generibus hominum indulgentiae nec sunt necessariae, nec utiles, videlicet, mortuis seu morituris, infirmis, legitime impeditis, his qui non commiserunt crimina, his qui crimina commiserunt, sed non publica, his qui meliora operantur.

Excommunicationes sunt tantum externæ poenæ, nec privant hominem communibus spiritualibus Ecclesiæ orationibus.

Docendi sunt Christiani plus diligere excommunicationem, quam timere.

Romanus pontifex, Petri successor, non est Christi vicarius

super omnes totius mundi Ecclesias, ab ipso Christo in beato Petro institutus.

Verbum Christi ad Petrum : Quodcumque solveris super terram, etc., extenditur duntaxat ad ligata ab ipso Petro.

Certum est in manu Ecclesie aut papae prorsus non esse, statuere articulos fidei, imo nec leges morum, seu bonorum operum.

Si papa cum magna parte Ecclesie sic vel sic sentiret nec etiam erraret, adhuc non est peccatum aut haeresis contrarium sentire, praesertim in re non necessaria ad salutem, donec fuerit per concilium universale alterum reprobatum, alterum approbatum.

Via nobis facta est enarrandi auctoritatem conciliorum, et libere contradicendi eorum gestis, et judicandi eorum decreta, et confidenter confidenti quidquid verum videtur, sive probatum fuerit, sive reprobatum a quoque concilio.

Aliqui articuli Johannis Hus, condemnati in concilio Constantiensi sunt Christianissimi, verissimi et evangelici, quos nec universalis Ecclesia posset damnare.

In omni opere bono justus peccat.

Opus bonum optime factum, est veniale peccatum.

Haereticos comburi, est contra voluntatem Spiritus.

Præliari adversus Turcas, est repugnare Deo visitanti iniquitates nostras.

Nemo est certus, se non semper peccare mortaliter, propter occultissimum superbie vitium.

Liberum arbitrium post peccatum est res de solo titulo, et dum facit quod in se est, peccat mortaliter.

Purgatorium non potest probari ex sacra scriptura, quæ sit in canone.

Animæ in purgatorio non sunt securæ de eorum salute, saltem omnes, nec probatum est, ullis aut rationibus aut scripturis, ipsas esse extra statum merendi, aut augendæ caritatis.

Animæ in purgatorio peccant sine intermissione, quamdiu querunt requiem, et horrent poenas.

Animæ ex purgatorio liberatae suffragiis viventium, minus beantur, quam si per se satisfecissent.

Prælati ecclesiastici et principes non malefacerent, si omnes saccos mendicitatis delerent.

Qui quidem errores respective quam sint pestiferi, quam perniciosi, quam scandalosi, quam piarum et simplicium mentium seductivi, quam denique sint contra omnem caritatem ac sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesie matris omnium fidelium et magistræ fidei reve-

rentiam, atque nervum ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ, obedientiam scilicet, quæ fons est et origo omnium virtutum, sine qua facile unusquisque infidelis esse convincitur, nemo sane mentis ignorat.

Nos igitur in præmissis, utpote gravissimis, propensius (ut decet) procedere, necnon hujusmodi pesti, morboque canceroso, ne in agro Dominico tanquam vepres nocivus, ulterius serpat, viam præcludere cupentes, habita super prædictis erroribus et eorum singulis diligenti trutinatione, discussione, ac districto examine, maturaque deliberatione, omnibus rite pensatis ac sæpius ventilatis cum venerabilibus fratribus nostris, sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ cardinalibus ac regularium ordinum prioribus seu ministris generalibus, pluribusque aliis sacrae theologie, necnon utriusque juris professoribus, sive magistris, et quidem peritissimis, reperimus eosdem errores respective (ut præfertur) aut articulos non esse catholicos, nec tanquam tales esse dogmatizandos, sed contra Catholicæ Ecclesiæ doctrinam, sive traditionem, tanquam adeo veram divinarum scripturarum receptam interpretationem, cuius autoritati ita acquiescendum censuit Augustinus, ut dixerit, se evangelio non fuisse crediturum, nisi Ecclesiæ Catholicæ intervenisset autoritas. Nam ex eisdem erroribus, vel eorum aliquo, vel aliquibus palam sequitur, eamdem Ecclesiam quæ Spiritu Sancto regitur, errare et semper errasse. Quod est utique contra illud quod Christus discipulis suis ascensione sua (ut in sancto Evangelio Matthæi legitur) promisit, dicens: *Ego vobiscum sum usque ad consummationem sæculi; nec non contra sanctorum Patrum determinationes, conciliorum quoque et summorum pontificum expressas ordinationes seu canones, quibus non obtemperasse, omnium hæresium et schismatum, teste Cypriano, fomes et causa semper fuit.*

De eorumdem itaque venerabilium fratrum nostrorum consilio et assensu, ac omnium et singulorum prædictorum matura deliberatione, prædicta autoritate omnipotentis Dei, et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et nostra, præfatos et singulos articulos seu errores tanquam (ut præmittitur) respective hæreticos aut scandalosos, aut falsos, aut piarum aurium offensivos, vel simpli-
cium mentium seductivos et veritati Catholicæ obviantes, damnamus, reprobamus, atque omnino rejicimus, ac pro damnatis, reprobatis et rejectis ab omnibus utriusque sexus Christi fidelibus haberi debere, harum serie decernimus et declaramus. Inhibentes in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ, ac sub majoris excommunicationis latè sententiæ poena, nec non quoad ecclesiasticas et regulares personas, episcopalium omnium, etiam patriarchalium, metropolitanorum, et aliarum cathedralium ecclesiarum, monasteriorum quoque et

prioratum, etiam conventionalium et quorumcumque dignitatum, aut beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum, secularium, aut quorumvis ordinum regularium, privationis et inhabilitatis ad illa et alia in posterum obtainenda.

Quo vero ad conventus, capitula, seu domos aut pia loca, secularium, vel regularium, etiam mendicantium, nec non universitatis etiam studiorum generalium, quorumcumque privilegiorum indultorum a sede apostolica vel ejus legatis, aut alias quomodolibet habitorum vel obtentorum, cujuscumque tenoris existant; nec non nominis et potestatis studium generale tenendi, legendi, ac interpretandi quavis scientias et facultates et inhabilitatis ad illa, et alia in posterum obtainenda; prædicationis quoque officii ac amissionis studii generalis et omnium privilegiorum ejusdem.

Quo vero ad seculares ejusdem excommunicationis, nec non amissionis cujuscumque emphytheosis, seu quorumcumque feudorum, tam Romana Ecclesia quam alias quomodolibet obtentorum, ac etiam inhabilitatis ad illa et alia in posterum obtainenda.

Nec non quoad omnes et singulos superius nominatos, inhabitationes ecclesiasticæ sepulturæ, inhabilitatesque ad omnes et singulos actus legitimos, infamias ac diffidationis et criminis læse majestatis, et hereticorum et fautorum eorumdem in jure expressis penis, eo ipso et absque ulteriori declaracione, per omnes et singulos supra dictos, si (quod absit) contra fecerint, incurrendis. A quibus vigore quibuscumque facultatis et clausularum etiam in confessionalibus quibusvis personis, sub quibusvis verborum formis contentarum, ni a Rom. Pontifice vel alio ab eo ad id in specie facultatem habente, præterquam in mortis articulo constituti absolvi nequeant.

Omnibus et singulis utriusque sexus Christi fidelibus tam laicis quam clericis, secularibus, et quorumvis ordinum regularibus et aliis quibuscumque personis, cujuscumque status, gradus, vel conditionis existant, et quacunque ecclesiastica vel mundana præfulgeant dignitate; etiam sanctæ Romane Ecclesiæ cardinalibus, patriarchis, primatibus, archiepiscopis, episcopis patriarchalium, metropolitanorum, et aliarum cathedralium, collegiarum, ac inferiorum ecclesiarum, prælatis, clericis, aliquaque personis ecclesiasticis, secularibus et quorumvis ordinum, etiam mendicantium, regularibus, abbatibus, prioribus, vel ministris generalibus vel particularibus fratribus, seu religiosis, exemptis et non exemptis studiorum quoque universitatibus, secularibus et quorumvis ordinum etiam mendicantium regularibus.

Nec non regibus, imperatoribus, electoribus, principibus, duci-

bus, marchionibus, comitibus, baronibus, capitaneis, conductoribus, domicellis, omnibusque officialibus, judicibus, notariis, ecclesiasticis et secularibus, communitatibus, universitatibus, potentatibus, civitatibus, castris, terris et locis, seu eorum vel earum civibus, habitatoribus et incolis, ac quibusvis aliis personis ecclesiasticis, vel regularibus (ut præfertur) per universum orbem ubicunque, præsertim in Alemannia existentibus, vel pro tempore futuris, ne præfatos errores, aut eorum aliquos, perversamque doctrinam hujusmodi asserere, affirmare, prædicare, aut illi quomodolibet, publice vel occulte, quovis quæsito ingenio vel colore tacite vel expresse favere præsumant.

Insuper, quia errores præfati, et plures alii continentur in libellis seu scripti Martini Lutheri, dictos libellos, et omnia dicti Lutheri scripta, seu prædicationes, in Latino, vel quocunque alio idiomate reperiuntur, in quibus dicti errores, seu eorum aliquis continentur, similiter damnamus, reprobamus, atque omnino rejicimus, et pro omnino damnatis, reprobatis ac rejectis (ut præfertur) haberi volumus. Mandantes in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ, et sub poenis prædictis eo ipso incurrendis, omnibus et singulis utriusque sexus Christi fidelibus superius nominatis, ne hujusmodi scripta, libellos, prædicationes seu schedulas, vel in eis contenta capitula, errores aut articulos supradictos continentia legere, asserere, prædicare, laudare, imprimere, publicare, sive defendere, per se, vel alium seu alias, directe vel indirecte, tacite vel expresse, publice vel occulte, aut in domibus suis, sive aliis, publicis vel privatis locis tenere quoquomodo præsumant. Quinimo illa statim post harum publicationem ubicunque fuerint, per ordinarios et alios supradictos diligenter quæsita, publice et solemniter, in præsentia cleri et populi, sub omnibus et singulis supradictis poenis comburant.

Quod vero ad ipsum Lutherum attinet, bone Deus, quid prætermisimus, quod non fecimus, quid paternæ charitatis omisimus, ut eum ab hujusmodi erroribus revocaremus? Postquam enim ipsum citavimus, mitius cum eo procedere volentes, illum invitavimus, atque tam per diversos tractatus, cum legato nostro habitos, quam per litteras nostras hortati fuimus, ut e prædictis erroribus discederet, aut ad nos, oblato etiam salvo conductu, et pecunia ad iter necessaria, sine metu, sine timore aliquo, quem perfecta charitas foras mittere debuit, veniret ac Salvatoris nostri, apostolique Pauli exemplo, non in occulto, sed palam, et in facie loqueretur. Quod si fecisset, pro certo (ut arbitramur) ad cor reversus, errores suos cognovisset, nec in Romana curia, quam

tantopere vanis malevolorum rumoribus plus quam oportuit tribuendo vituperat, tot reperisset errata, docuissemusque eum, luce clarius, sanctos Romanos pontifices, prædecessores nostros, quos præter omnem modestiam injuriose lacerat, in suis canonibus seu constitutionibus quas mordere nititur, nunquam errasse. Quia juxta prophetam, nec in Galaad resina, nec medicus deest.

Sed obaudivit semper, et prædicta citatione, omnibusque et singulis supradictis spretis, venire contempsit, ac usque in præsentem diem contumax, atque animo indurato censuras ultra annum sustinuit. Et quod deterius est, addens mala malia, de citatione hujusmodi notitiam habens, in vocem temerarie appellationis prorupit ad futurum concilium, contra constitutionem Pii II. ac Julii II. prædecessorum nostrorum, qua cavetur, taliter appellantes hereticorum poena plectendos (frustra enim concilii auxilium imploravit, qui illi se non credere palam profitetur). Ita ut contra ipsum, tanquam de fide notorie suspectum, imo vere hereticum, absque ulla citatione, vel mora, ad condemnationem et damnationem ejus, tanquam heretici, ac omnium et singularum superscriptarum poenarum et censurarum severitatem procedere possumus, nihilominus de eorumdem fratum nostrorum consilio, omnipotentis Dei imitantes clementiam, qui non' vult mortem peccatoris, sed magis ut convertatur et vivat, omnium injuriarum hactenus nobis et apostolicæ sedi illatarum oblii, omni qua possumus pietate uti decrevimus, et quantum in nobis est agere, ut proposita mansuetudinis via, ad cor revertatur, et a prædictis recedat erroribus, ut ipsum, tanquam filium illum prodigum ad gremium Ecclesie revertentem benigne recipiamus.

Ipsum igitur Lutherum, et quoscunque ei adhaerentes, ejusque receptatores et fautores per viscera misericordia Dei nostri, et per aspersionem sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, quo, et per quem humani generis redemptio, et sanctæ matris Ecclesie ædificatio facta est, ex toto corde hortamur et obsecramus, ut ipsius Ecclesie pacem, unitatem et virtutem, pro qua ipse Salvator tam instanter oravit ad Patrem, turbare desistant, et a predictis tam perniciose omnibus prorsus abstineant, inventuri apud nos, si effectualiter paruerint, et paruisse per legitima documenta nos certificaverint, paternæ charitatis affectum, et apertum mansuetudinis et clementiæ fontem.

Inhibentes nihilominus eidem Luthero ex nunc, ut interim ab omni prædicatione, seu prædicationis officio omnino desistat. Alioqui ut ipsum Lutherum, si forte justitiae et virtutis amor a peccato non retrahat, indulgentiæque spes ad penitentiam non

reducat, poenarum terror coerceat disciplinæ, eumdem Lutherum, ejusque adhærentes, complices, fautores et receptatores tenore præsentium requirimus, et monemus in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ, et sub prædictis omnibus et singulis poenis, eo ipso incurrendis, districte præcipiendo mandamus, quatenus infra sexaginta dies, quorum viginti pro primo, viginti pro secundo, et reliquos viginti dies pro tertio et peremptorio termino assignamus, ab affixione præsentium in locis infrascriptis, immediate sequentes numerandos, ipse Lutherus, complices, fautores, adhærentes et receptatores prædictæ a præfatis erroribus eorumque prædicatione ac publicatione et assertione, defensione quoque et librorum et scripturarum editione, super eisdem, sive eorum aliquo, omnino desistant: librosque ac scripturas omnes et singulas, præfatos errores, seu eorum aliquos quomodolibet continentes, comburant, vel comburi faciant. Ipse etiam Lutherus errores et assertions hujusmodi omnino revocet, ac de revocatione hujusmodi per publica documenta in forma juris valida, in manibus duorum prælatorum consignata, ad nos infra alios similes sexaginta dies transmittenda, vel per ipsummet (si ad nos venire voluerit, quod magis placet) cum præfato plenissimo salvo conductu, quem ex nunc concedimus, deferenda, nos certiores efficiat, ut de ejus vera obedientia nullus dubitationis scrupulus valeat remanere.

Alias, si (quod absit) Lutherus præfatus, complices, fautores, adhærentes et receptatores prædicti secus agerent, seu præmissa omnia et singula infra terminum prædictum cum effectu non impleverint; Apostoli imitantes doctrinam, qui hæreticum hominem post priam et secundam correctionem vitandum docuit, ex nunc prout ex tunc et e converso eumdem Lutherum, complices, adhærentes, fautores et receptatores præfatos, et eorum quilibet, tanquam aridos palmites, in Christo non manentes, sed doctrinam contrariam, Catholice fidei inimicam, sive scandalosam, seu damnatam, in non modicam offensam divinæ Majestatis ac universalis Ecclesiæ, et fidei Catholicae detrimentum, et scandalum dogmatizantes et prædicantes, claves quoque Ecclesiæ vilipendentes, notorios et pertinaces hæreticos eadem autoritate fuisse et esse declarantes, eosdem, ut tales harum serio condemnamus, et eos pro talibus haberi ab omnibus utriusque sexus Christi fidelibus supradictis volumus et mandamus. Eosque omnes et singulos omnibus supradictis et aliis contra tales a jure inflictis poenis præsentium tenore subjicimus, et eisdem irretitos fuisse et esse decernimus et declaramus.

Inhibemus præterea sub omnibus et singulis præmissis poenis eo

ipso incurrendis, omnibus et singulis Christi fidelibus superius nominatis, ne scripta etiam praefatos errores non continentia, ab eodem Lutheru quomodolibet condita vel edita, aut condenda vel edenda, seu eorum aliqua, tanquam ab homine orthodoxe fidei inimico, atque ideo vehementer suspecta, et ejus memoria omnino deleatur de Christi fidelium consortio, legere, asserere, praedicare, laudare, imprimere, publicare, sive defendere, per se, vel alium seu alios, directe vel indirecte, tacite vel expresse, publice vel occulte, seu in domibus suis, sive aliis locis publicis, vel privatis tenere quoquo modo presumant, quinimo illa comburant ut praefertur.

Monemus insuper omnes et singulos Christi fideles supradictos sub eadem excommunicationis latæ sententiae pena, ut haereticos predictos declaratos et condemnatos, mandatis nostris non obtemperantes, post lapsum termini supradicti evitent, et quantum in eis est, evitari faciant, nec cum eisdem vel eorum aliquo commercium aut aliquam conversationem, seu communionem habeant nec eis necessaria ministrent.

Ad majorem praeterea dicti Lutheri suorumque complicium, fautorum et adhaerentium ac receptatorum preditorum, sic post lapsum termini predicti declaratorum haereticorum et condemnatorum confusione, universis et singulis utriusque sexu Christi fidelibus, patriarchis, archiepiscopis, episcopis, patriarchalium, metropolitanorum, et aliorum cathedralium, collegiarum, ac inferiorum ecclesiarum prelatis, capitulis, aliquo personis ecclesiasticis, secularibus, et quorumvis ordinum, etiam mendicantium (præsertim ejus congregationis, cuius dictus Lutherus est professus, et in qua degere, vel morari dicitur) exemptis et non exemptis, nec non universis et singulis principibus, quacunque ecclesiastica vel mundana fulgentibus dignitate, regibus, imperatoribus, electoribus, ducibus, marchionibus, comitibus, baronibus, etc., mandamus, quatenus sub predictis omnibus et singulis penis, ipsi vel eorum quilibet prefatum Lutherum, complices, adhaerentes, receptatores et fautores personaliter capiant, et captos ad nostram instantiam retineant, et ad nos mittant; reportaturi pro tam bono opere, a nobis et sede apostolica remunerationem præmiumque condignum, vel saltem eos, et eorum quemlibet de metropolitanis, cathedralibus, collegiatis et aliis ecclesiis, domibus, monasteriis, conventibus, civitatibus, dominiis, universitatibus, communitatibus, castris, terris ac locis respective, tam clerici et regulares, quam laici omnes et singuli supradicti, omnino expellant.

Civitates vero, dominia, terras, castra, villas, comitatus, fortitis

oppida et loca, quæcumque ubilibet consistentia, earum et eorum respective, metropolitanas, cathedrales, collegiatas et alias ecclesiæ, monasteria, prioratus, domus, conventus, et alia loca religiosa vel pia, cujuscumque ordinis (ut præfertur) ad quæ præfatum Lutherum, vel aliquem ex prædictis declinare contigerit, quamdiu ibi permanserit, et triduo post recessum, ecclesiastico subjicimus interdicto.

Et ut præmissa omnibus innotescant, mandamus insuper universis patriarchis, archiepiscopis, episcopis, patriarchalium, metropolitanorum, et aliarum cathedralium ac collegiarum ecclesiarum prælatis capitulo, aliisque personis ecclesiasticis, secularibus et quorumvis ordinum supradictorum regularibus fratribus, religiosis, monachis, exemptis et non exemptis supradictis ubilibet, præsertim in Alemannia constitutis, quatenus ipsi, vel eorum quilibet sub similibus censuris, et poenis eo ipso incurrandis, Lutherum omnesque et singulos supradictos, qui elapso termino, hujusmodi mandatis seu monitis nostris non paruerint, in eorum ecclesiis, dominicis et aliis festivis diebus, dum inibi major populi multitudo ad divina convenerit, declaratos haereticos et condemnatos publice nuncient, faciantque, et mandent ab aliis nunciari, et ab omnibus arctius evitari. Nec non omnibus Christi fidelibus, ut eos evitent pari modo, sub prædictis censuris et poenis. Et præsentes litteras, vel earum transsumptum sub forma infra scripta factum in eorum ecclesiis, monasteriis, domibus, conventibus, et aliis locis, legi, publicari, atque affigi faciant.

Excommunicamus quoque et anathematizamus omnes et singulos cujuscumque status, gradus, conditionis, præminentia, dignitatis, aut excellentia fuerint, qui, quominus præsentes litteræ vel earum transsumpta, copia seu exemplaria, in suis terris et dominiis legi, affigi et publicari possint, fecerint, vel quoquo modo procuraverint, per se vel alium seu alios, publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte, tacite vel expresse.

Postremo, quia difficile foret præsentes litteras ad singula quæque loca deferri, in quibus necessarium foret, volumus et apostolica autoritate decernimus, quod earum transsumptis manu publici notarii confectis et subscriptis, vel in alma urbe impressis, et sigillo alicujus ecclesiastici prælati munitis ubique stetur, ut plena fides adhibeatur, prout originalibus litteris staretur et adhiberetur, si forent exhibetæ vel ostensæ.

Et ne præfatus Lutherus omnesque alii supradicti, quos præsentes litteræ quomodolibet concernunt, ignorantiam earundem litterarum, et in eis contentorum omnium et singulorum præ-

tendere valeant, litteras ipsas in basilicæ principis Apostolorum, et cancellariæ apostolicæ, nec non cathedralium ecclesiarum Branbenburgen. et Misnen. et Mersburgen. valvis affigi et publicari debere voluimus; decernentes, quod earumdem litterarum publicatio sic facta, supra dictum Lutherum, omnesque alios et singulos prænominatos, quos litteræ hujusmodi quomodolibet concernunt, perinde arcent, ac si litteræ ipse die affixionis et publicationis hujus modi, eis personaliter lectæ et intimatæ forent. Quum non sit verisimile, quod ea, quæ tam patenter fiunt, debeant apud eos incognita remanere.

Non obstantibus constitutionibus apostolicis, seu supradictis omnibus et singulis, vel eorum alicubi, aut quibusvis aliis a sede apostolica prædicta, vel ab ea potestatem habentibus, sub quavis forma, etiam confessionalis, et cum quibusvis etiam fortissimis clausulis, aut ex quavis causa, seu grandi consideratione indultum, vel concessum existat, quod interdici, suspendi vel excommunicari non possint per litteras apostolicas non facientes plenam et expressam, ac de verbo ad verbum, non autem per clausulas generales, id importantes de indulto hujusmodi mentionem, ejusdem indulti tenores, causas et formas, perinde ac si de verbo insereretur; ita ut omnino tollatur, præsentibus pro expressis habentes.

Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ damnationis, reprobationis, rejectionis, decreti, inhibitionis, voluntatis, mandati, hortationis, obsecrationis, requisitionis, monitionis, assignationis, confessionis, condemnationis, subjectionis, excommunicationis, et anathematizationis infringere, vel ex ausu temerario contra ire. Si quis autem hoc attentare præsumpserit indignationem omnipotentis Dei, ac beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum ejus se noverit incursum.

Datum Romæ, apud Sanctum Petrum, anno Incarnationis Dominicæ, m.d. xx. 17 kalend. Julii; pontificatus nostri anno octavo.

Visa, R. MILANESIUS.
ALBERGATUS.

No. XV.

Sonnet on the Moses of Michael Angelo.—Page 246.

Chi è costui, che in dura pietra scolto,
 Siede gigante, e le più illustre e conte
 Prove dell' arte avanza, e ha vive e pronte
 Le labbra sì, che le parole ascolto ?
 Quest' è Mosè ; ben mel diceva il folto
 Onor del mento, e l' doppio raggio in fronte,
 Quest' è Mosè, quando scendea dal monte,
 E gran parte del nume avea nel volto.
 Tal era allor, che le sonanti e vaste,
 Acque ei sospese a sè d' intorno, e tale
 Quando il mar chiuse, e ne fe' tomba altrui.
 E voi, sue turbe, un rio vitello alzaste ?
 Alzata aveste imago a questo eguale,
 Ch' era men fallo l' adorar costui !

ZAPPI.

No. XVI.

Letter from Erasmus to Luther.—P. 272.

Clarissime et præstantissime vir. Pro supplicatione tua ad me transmissa gratias magnas habeo, utque ea felicem rerum exitum aperiat, opto ; eum sane consilio meo quoque lubentissime promoverem, si vel quid in me consilii esset, vel deesse crederem hoc tibi, tuisque quos istic habes hominibus prudentissimis, et tui amantissimis, vel si de toto negotio plane instructus essem, pateturque causæ qualitas ea quæ futura sunt providere. Cæterum, cum ignorem Cæsarne disputationes aperturas sit an judicium, et si judicium, quis actor futurus, quæ accusationis forma, quis ordo judiciarius ; cum, inquam, ignorem hæc, itemque an potius purgare te sine alio accusatore hactenus sparsa crimina velis, difficile mihi est, in tanta facili obscuritate, sententiam certam proferre. Nunc quæ vulgo & nostris de agendi et defendendi officio et advo-
 catorum cautelis generalia præcepta proferuntur, ex Rhetorum scholis magna ex parte desumpta sunt, et parum efficacissimæ habent,

nisi ea adjungantur, que ex singulorum factorum varietate et circumstantiis quasi ex ipsa causa nascuntur. De quibus autem doctus et exercitatus comes (quem, non dubito, tu, si voceris, assumpturus es) prout negotia quæque emerserint, edocebit. Salvus conductus omnino videtur necessarius, quem jam postulasti, et obtenturum, si voceris, omnino confido.

Contra ejus leges ne quis a te quidquam factum esse cavillari possit magna ex parte (quantum quidem ego intelligo) providebis, si tu cum deliberatione matura semper respondeas, et sine aliqua asperitate; ut scilicet, prout decet, defendere te solum videaris, accusare aut irritare neminem. Sed, ne ego *ululas Athenas*; quid hoc ad te, cum et tu intelligas hoc longe melius, et omne idem comes tuus edocere possit. Affini tuo omnia opera merito detuli, quibus tamen hactenus usus nondum est, usurua, cum volet. De hospite spes exigua mihi est, ac, ut sine dolo dicam, fere nulla; quod aures eorum penes quos hujus rei arbitrium est, ita quorundam, diversiter sentientibus patere. Ego virtutem eruditionemque tuam omni officiorum que potero genere observare non desinam.

Bene vale, vir clarissime. Basileæ, decima Calendas Novembres, 1520.

No. XVII.

Mandate addressed by the Emperor Charles V. to Luther.—P. 299.

Carolus V., Dei gratia Romanorum imperator semper augustus, etc.

Honorabilis, dilecte, devote. Quoniam nos et imperii Status, nunc hic congregati, proposuimus et conclusimus, propter doctrinam, et libros aliquandiu hactenus abs te editos, scrutinium de te sumere, dedimus tibi ad veniendum huc, et iterum hinc ad tuam securam reditionem, nostram et Imperii liberam directam securitatem et conductum, quem tibi circa hæc mittimus.

Desiderantes, ut velis te statim accingere itineri, ita ut infra **xxi** dies in hujusmodi conductu nostro nominatis omnibus modis hic apud nos sis, et non domi maneas. Neque ullam vel violentiam vel injuriam timeas. Volumus enim te in praefato nostro conductu firmiter manu tenere, et nobis persuadere te venturum. In hoc namque facies nostram veram sententiam.

Datum Vormatiae, die sexta Martii, anno Domini M.D.XXI, regnorum nostrorum secundo.

Honorabili nostro dilecto et devoto doctori Martino Luthero,
Augustiniani ordinis.

No. XVIII.

Luther's Hymn.—P. 306.

Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott,
Ein' gute Wehr und Waffen :
Er hilft uns frei aus aller Noth,
Die uns jetzt hat betroffen.
Der alt' böse Feind
Mit Ernst er's jetzt meint.
Gross' Macht und viel List,
Sein' grausam' Rüstung ist ;
Auf Erd' ist nicht sein's Gleichen.

Mit unser Macht ist nichts gethan,
Wir sind gar bald verloren ;
Es streit für uns der rechte Mann,
Den Gott selbst hat erkoren.
Fragst du, wer der ist ?
Er heisst Jesus Christ,
Der Herr Zebaoth ;
Und ist kein anderer Gott,
Das Feld muss er behalten.

Und wenn die Welt voll Teufel wär',
Und wollt uns gar verschlingen,
So fürchten wir uns nicht so sehr,
Es soll uns doch gelingen ;
Der Fürst dieser Welt,
Wie sau'r er sich stellt,
Thut er uns doch nichts ;
Das macht, er ist gerich't,
Ein Wörtlein kann ihn fällen.

Das Wort sie sollen lassen stahn,
Und kein Dank dazu haben :
Er ist bei uns wohl auf dem Plan,
Mit seinem Geist und Gaben.

Nehm'n sie uns den Leib,
 Gut, Ehr, Kind und Weib :
 Lass fahren dahin,
 Sie haben kein' Gewinn ;
 Das Reich muss uns doch bleiben.

No. XIX.

Reescript of Charles V., from the "Lettere de' Principi."—P. 319.

Voi sapete, signori, ch' io ho havuta l'origine mia da i Christianissimi imperatori della natione Germana, da i cattolici Re di Spagna, da gli archiduchi d'Austria, e da i duchi di Borgogna; i quali tutti insino da fanciulli, son stati sempre ubbidientissimi alla sede apostolica, et a' sommi pontefici, et hanno fin' alla morte perseverato nella loro fideltà; et sono stati sempre difensori, et protettori della fede cattolica, delle ceremonie sante, de' santi decreti, de' santi ordini, et buoni costumi, per l'onore di Dio, accrescimento della fede, et salute delle anime. Onde ancora che siano morti, ci hanno però per l'ordine della natura, et ragioni de heredità, lasciate queste sante constitutioni per osservarle di mano in mano: affine che seguendo i vestigi loro, et i loro esempi, venissimo poi a morte nella vera osservatione di quelle, come per la gratia di Dio, essendo noi veri imitatori de gli ottimi antichi nostri, habbiamo vissuto fin' a questo giorno, et pretendiamo di morire. A questo fine adunque mi sono fermato, et ho preso risolutione d'essere difensore, et far mantenere tutto quello, che i miei predecessori, et noi habbiamo fin qui osservato, et mandato in esecutione; ch' è quello stesso ch' è stato concluso, et diffinito, non tanto nel sacro concilio di Costanza quanto negli altri ancora. Et perciochè gli è cosa manifesta, che un solo frate ingannato dalla sua propria opinione, vuole mandar sottosopra, et abbagliare gli intelletti, et giuditii di tutta la Christianità, con levar via quelle cose, che già molti et molti anni sono confermate da un lungo uso: però se la sua opinione fosse vera, ci farebbe facilmente credere, che fin' a questi tempi tutto il Christianesimo fosse vissuto in errore. Ma conciosia che ella è falsissima et pessima et inventione diabolica trovata da lui, ho deliberato del tutto di esponere et impiegare i miei regni, l'imperio et potentati, gli amici, il corpo, il sangue, la mia vita, et l'anima ancora, se bisognerà, perchè questo tristo, et infelice principio non passi più oltre; conside-

rando che ciò mi ritornerebbe a troppo gran disonore et biasimo, come parimente ritornerebbe a voi stessi, che sete l' illustrissima nazione della tanto celebrata Germania, essendo avenuto per special privilegio, che voi siate detti, et nominati osservatori della giustitia, protettori et difensori della fede cattolica, cosa certamente che non v' è di poco onore, autorità, et riputatione. La onde se a' tempi nostri qualche, non voglio dir" heresia, ma sospitione di errore, overo qual si voglia altra cosa, che indebolisse la religione Christiana prendesse vigore ne i cuori de' Christiani, et che noi gli lasciassimo fare la radice, senza farvi a tutto nostro potere la debita provisione, oltre che noi offendieriamo Dio, ci saria per sempre rinfacciato questo da i nostri successori di mano in mano, come cosa in vero degna d' ogni vituperio. Per tanto poiche habbiamo udita l' ostinata risposta, che hieri Luthero ci diede alla presenza di tutti voi, vi rendo sicuri per questa mia scrittura di mia propria mano, et vi dico certo, che mi dispiace molto, et mi duole nel cuore haver differito tanto tempo, et esser stato tanto a fulminar processo contra il detto Luthero, et contra la sua falsa doctrina, di modo che ho preso risolutione in me stesso di mai più non volerlo udire, commandando, che subito egli sia ricondotto fuori della Corte nostra, secondo il tenore del suo salvocondotto, con questo patto, che sieno a pieno osservate le conditioni, che vi sono espresse, di non predicare, scrivere, nè essere in modo alcuno occasione di sollevatione popolare. Nel rimanente poi sono deliberato, come ho già detto, di procedere, contro di lui, con quelle ragioni che si debbe procedere contra un heretico manifesto, et vi ricocco, che in questa causa sia deliberato quello, che voi sete tenuto di fare, come buoni et fedeli Christiani, che sete, et come m' havete promesso di fare. Scritta di mia propria mano, in Vormatia, a 19 d' Aprile, 1521 (*sic*).

CARLO, Imperatore.

No. XX.

Edict of Charles V. against Luther, from Ulenberg.—P. 336.

Principio, Cæsaris officium ait, non in eo solum consistere, ut imperii fines majorum virtute et sanguine constitutos proferat; verum, ut provideat quoque, ne qua labes aut macula hæreseos in ditionibus imperio Romano subiectis, sanctissimam Christi fidem contaminet, et sicubi jam forsan hujusmodi lues deprehendatur,

aut gliscere cœptarit, ut adhibitis remediis, eam extinguere atque delere summa vi connitur. Qua in re sequenda sibi dicit vestigia majorum, quos paterni maternique generis habeat imperatores, reges, et principes laudatissimos, celebres etiam rebus magnis, pro fide Christiana præclare gestis, quorum memoriam nulla temporum injuria vel hominum oblio sit unquam deletura. Quod si quis antecessorum unquam rem Christianam jure defendorit, se cum primis, ut id faciat, arctioribus vinculis adstrictum teneri, quem immensa Dei bonitas accessione regnorum quorundam et provinciarum, potentia et opibus præ majoribus auxerit et locupletarit. Itaque si negligentia sua hæreses in Germania nuper exortas foveat, atque insidere altius, et radices agere patiatur, plane futurum ut onus imponat conscientiae sue non exiguum; imo ut illustri suo majorumque suorum nomini, tum felicibus novi principatus auspicii, nebulae quamdam effundat.

Hæc præfatus, omnibus ait procul dubio notum esse, quam detestandos errores, quidam Augustianæ familie monachus, Martinus Lutherus, editis libellis, in vulgus disseminarit; idque in ipsis inclytæ Germaniæ visceribus, quæ natio cum primis nascentes hæreses aversari consueverit, et natas fortiter expugnare. Quod si machinationibus istis mature non obsistatur, metuendum videri, ne malum hoc per universam Germaniam, ac deinde porro in reliquas etiam orbis Christiani provincias diffusum, perturbationem pacis publicæ, miserandam apostasiam, et fœdum fidelium dissipationem gignat. Quæ res merito Leonem decimum in eam cogitationem impulerit, ut ex officio tanquam summus Ecclesiæ catholicæ pastor, nascenti malo remedium adhibendum judicaret. Et principio quidem pontificem affectu paterno monuisse Lutherum, ut desisteret ab infandis machinationibus, et erroribus, quos in vulgus sparsisset, abdicatis, Ecclesiæ satisfaceret. Quam admonitionem cum ille negligeret, imo post eam, factus cervicosior, in dies pejora machinaretur, ad alia fuisse remedia veniendum, ab Ecclesiæ decretis et consuetudine non aliena. Itaque, pontificis mandato, cardinales, episcopos, prælatos, theologos variorum ordinum, aliosque pietate atque doctrina præstantes viros convocatos esse magno numero, qui causam hanc cognoscerent: Lutherum quoque per litteras Romam a pontifice citatum termino constituto, in quo causam diceret. Quia vero per contumaciam emanserit, atque interim adeo non revocarit errores, ut eorum cumulum additamento novarum hæreseon potius auxerit, pontificem habito, prius maturo examine, libros ipsius omnes editos hactenus, ac deinceps edendos, tam Germanico, quam Latino idiomate scriptos,

publico decreto condemnasse, eosque mandasse flammis ubique locorum aboleri: veniam autori tamen obtulisse, modo rediret in viam, et intra bimestre spatum, hæresibus ejuratis, admissum scelus expiaret. Nisi hoc faceret, deinceps elapso sexaginta dierum spatio pro turbatore fidelium, Ecclesiæ hoste, et hæretico pestilentiissimo palam ab omnibus habendum.

Hoc decretum sibi deinde per oratorem sedis apostolicæ Alean- drum, quem pontifex hanc ob causam in Germaniam alegarit, transmissum, unaque postulatum, ut in eo promulgando, Catholici principis et imperatoris officium exequeretur. Fecisse igitur se, quod supremum Ecclesiæ defensorem et advocatum decuerit, et decretum pontificis, in hæreditariis provinciis primum, deinde et in quibusdam Imperii civitatibus, Coloniæ, Treviris, Moguntiæ, Leodii promulgasse. Lutherum vero, ne sic quidem resipuisse; imo deinceps quasi furiis agitatum, aut versum in rabiem, horrendum in modum sevissime, et libris in Ecclesiæ perniciem magno numero divulgatis, errores partim veteres ab Ecclesia damnatos, partim novos, in dies in vulgus sparsisse. In iis libris sacramenta magnam ob partem ab ipso de gradu dejici ac violari, matrimonium affici contumelia, fideque profanari; extremam unctionem tanquam rem commentitiam contemni; Bohemicum eucharistia participandæ ritum urgeri: saluberrimam piis mentibus peccatorum confessionem in desuetudinem et contemptum adduci: negari sacerdotium novæ legis, et parem cum sacerdotibus potestatem baptizatis omnibus, adeoque feminis et pueris tribui; imo laicos etiam in sacerdotum cædem, vel, ut ipse loquitur, ad lavandas in ecclesiasticorum sanguine manus concitari: summum pontificem, D. Petri successorem, Christique vicarium in terris, conspui maledictis, et insuditis contumeliis affici; negari liberum hominis arbitrium, et fatalem in rebus omnibus necessitatem, ex Manichæorum et Wiclevistarum disciplina revocari: missæ sacrificium enervari, ejusque negari virtutem et energiam; receptam in Ecclesia jejunandi orandiisque consuetudinem perverti penitus et antiquari, doctores Ecclesiæ veteris vel patres contemni, eorumque auctoritatem conculcari et scripta pro nihilo haberri: tolli prorsus obedientiam, fractisque legum repagulis, quemdam aperiri libertatis campum, et effrenam peccandi licentiam introduci; populum contra magistratum utriusque ordinis, Ecclesiastici nimirum et civilis, incitari, et ad seditiones, incendia, cædes, rapinas, adeoque ad defectionem a fide Catholica provocari; conciliis generalibus pro libidine sine omni verecundia contradici, eorumque decreta violari: in primis vero concilium Constantiense, cuius beneficio

luctuosum illud et diuturnum Ecclesiæ schisma sublatum sit, et pax orbi Christiano restituta, in Catholicae religionis et nationis Germanicæ contumeliam, Sathanæ synagogam, quiue in eo converunt, antichristos, Sathanæque ministros appellari; quæ contumelia in Sigismundum, Cæsarem, et sacri imperii principes redundet.

Quin etiam Lutherum ipsum, ut se legum contemptorem, hostem obedientiæ, et rebellionis patronum re ipsa declararet, libros decretalium publice flammis injectos exussisse; neque mitius acturum fuisse cum jure civili, nisi plus politicum quam ecclesiasticum gladium formidarat. Porro tam multiplicem illius esse malitiam et impietatem, tam varios errores, tam immanem omnia turbandi libidinem, ut omnia, quæ istud faciant, nullius oratione sigillatim possint explicari: Quasi hic unus non homo, sed sub humana specie Cacodaemon aliquis, monachi cucullo tectus in orbem prodierit, ut ipsius ministerio variæ generis hæreses; partim damnatae quondam, et hactenus sepultæ, partim nunc exco gitata primum, in unam sentinam confluenter.

Hæc omnia, cum apud animum suum expendisset, rationem Cæsarei muneric a Deo impositi, cuius per pontificem admonitus sit, tum sincerum in religionem Christianam et sedem apostolicam effectum, quem a majoribus imbiberit, famam etiam et nominis existimationem, demum illatam orbi Christiano summam contumeliam, et præsens Ecclesiæ periculum a se postulasse, ut hanc tanti momenti causam, prout æquum sit, non segniter aut negligenter ageret, sed laudatissimis insisteret superiorum Cæsarum vestigiis, eorumque decretis saluberrimis ad juvandam Ecclesiam, et hæreses extirpandas, quondam editis, inhæseret. Atque hanc fuisse causam, cur in hoc Wormatiensi conventu sacri Imperii principes et ordines non semel convocarit, eisque negotium hoc proposuerit diligenter et mature discutiendum. Tametsi vero sacris legibus prohibitum sit, ne hæreticus obduratus pertinacia, et per sententiam ab Ecclesiæ corpore resectus, audiatur; tamen ut nulla calumniandi remaneret causa, omnes ordines communibus suffragiis in eam sententiam descendisse, ut Lutherum sub fide publica Wormatiam evocandum censerent atque audiendum, priusquam ulterius in exequendo pontificis decreto ipse progrederetur. Itaque missum cum litteris, qui ipsum adduceret, fecialem publicum. Quid vero cum eo sit actum, ordine Cæsar hoc loco recenset; quemadmodum hoc ipsum a nobis quoque paulo superius commemoratum est.

Quoniam igitur animum omnino perversum habeat, et in erro-

ribus penitus obduratum, atque hæreses Ecclesiæ judicio pridem damnatas, obstinata mente, tueri pergit, eamque ob causam omnibus, qui timore Domini et rationis usu prædicti sunt, vel lapsus in phrenesim, vel a malo dæmone quopiam obsessus videatur, mandatum illi fuisse vigesimo quinto Aprilis, ut discederet, idque sub eadem fide publica, qua munitus Wormatiam venerit. Eam vero severitatem a tempore, quo jussus fuerit abire, ad viginti dies, non amplius extendi; quibus elapseis decretum hoc, aliaque remedia contra pestem hanc adhibenda, robur habere debeant.

Et principio quidem auctoritate Cæsarea, consilio ac voluntate electorum, principum atque ordinum Imperii accedente, decretum condemnationis a Leone decimo pridem editum ratum habet, et confirmat, Lutherum pro rejecto, et ab Ecclesia præciso membro, pro schismatico, pertinacia obdurato, atque hæretico manifesto, ab omnibus universum et singulis habendum decernit. Mandat deinde, sub poena criminis læsse majestatis et proscriptionis, ne quisquam a decimoquarto die Maii, qui promissæ securitatis ultimus sit, in domum illum recipiat, defendat, aut foveat; vel ullum illi clam palamve præstet auxilium; sed ut, qui hominem deprehenderit, in potestatem redigat, captumque detineat, donec quod justitia postulat de eo statuatur. Deinde vero et fautores, et assecras Lutheri proscriptibit, qui scilicet eum ope, consilioque duxerint quoquo pacto juvandum. Demum Lutheri libros damnatos per decretum pontificis emi, vendi, retineri, vel legi prohibet, sed omnes, sive Latine, sive Germanice scriptos per magistratus urbium et regionum in imperio, tum in Belgio quoque, flammis aboleri mandat: quin et commissariis apostolicæ sedis, quibus executio decreti per pontificem demandata sit, auxilio consilioque adesse præcipit, ubi necessitas id vel usus postularit.

Jam et severe typographia et bibliopolia interdicit, ne ullibi in Imperio Romano, vel hæreditariis suis ditionibus libellos famosos, vel Lutheri sordibus contaminatos, aut scripta contumeliosa, vel picturas in pontificem, Ecclesiam Romanam, prælatos, principes, universitates, aliosque viros honestos excudant, aut ullo pacto distrahant, vel hoc ipsum ab aliis quocumque demum titulo fieri patientur. Eadem severitate mandat omnibus in universum, quibus administrandæ justitiæ cura commissa est, ut quocumque loco hujusmodi libellos, chartas, vel scripta cujuscumque generis inveniant, excusa jam, vel futuri temporibus excudenda, lacerentur confestim, et publice flammis consumantur, tum ut ii, qui ea scripserint, excuderint, distraxerint, aut legerint, poenis afficiantur in hoc edicto constitutis. Demum, ut libertas virulentos hujus-

modi, ac hæresibus infectos libellos edendi deinceps cohibeatur, præcipit sub eadem proscriptionis poena, ne quisquam typographus in Imperii Romani provinciis, vel Belgicis ditionibus, libros ullos vel tractatus, in quibus de rebus ad fidem pertinentibus agitur, deinceps excudat, vel alibi prius excusos, prælo rursus subjiciat, nisi prius visos ab ordinario loci illius, et per facultatem theologicam vicinioris universitatis approbatos et admissos.

Hoc decretum tanquam constitutionem, autoritate Cæsarea, et communibus omnium ordinum suffragiis legitime factum, in perpetuum atque inviolate mandat observari: Cujus unum aut plures articulos, si quis ullo modo, quem humana vafrties excogitare possit, vel comminisci, per inobedientiam violarit, eum poenis in hoc decreto, tum in jure communi constitutis, afficiendum definit.

No. XXI.

Safe-conduct granted to Luther by the Landgrave of Hesse.—P. 339.

Wir Philipp von Gottes Gnaden, Landgraf zu Hessen, Graf zu Katzen-Elbogen, zu Dietz, Ziegenhayn und zu Nidda, &c., bekennen und thun kund offenbar mit diesem Briefe gegen männiglich: Als Dr. Martin Luther von diesem Reichstag und hie aus Worms wiederum abgereiset ist, dass wir ihm, für sich und alle diejenigen, so er bey und mit ihm hat, unser frey, stark, sicher und ohngefährlich Geleit in und durch unsere Fürstenthum, Grafschaft, Herrschaft und Gebiete, alle die Unsern, der wir ohngefährlich mächtig, und die um unsren Willen zu thun und zu lassen verpflicht sind, geben haben. Und geben ihm das also gegenwärtig in und mit Kraft dieses Briefs, allenthalben und Enden und Orten, da wir zu geleiten, auch zu gebieten und zu verbieten haben, ohne gefehr. Und dess in Urkund ist dieser Brief mit unserm wissentlich beygedruckten Secret Insiegel besiegelt. Gegeben zu Worms, am Freitag nach Jubilate, das ist am 25sten Aprilis und Christi unsers liben Herrn Geburt 1521.

No. XXII.

Narrative of the Devil's Conference with Luther.—P. 354.

Contigit me semel sub mediam noctem subito expergesfieri, ibi Satan mecum cœpit ejus modi disputationem. Audi, inquit,

Luthere, doctor perdocte, nosti te quindecim annis celebrazze missas privatas; quid si ibi tales missæ privatæ horrenda essent idololatria? Quid si ibi non adfuisset corpus et sanguis Christi, sed tantum panem et vinum adorasses, et alijs adorandum proposuisses?

Cui ego respondi, sum unctus sacerdos, accepi unctionem et consecrationem ab episcopo, et hæc omnia feci ex mandato et obedientia majorum. Quare non consecrassem, cum verba Christi serio pronuntiarim, et magno serio missas celebrarim? Hoc nosti.

Hoc totum, inquit, est verum, sed Turcæ et Gentiles etiam faciunt in suis templis omnia ex obedientia, et serio sacra sua faciunt. Sacerdotes Jeroboam faciebant etiam omnia certo zelo et studio contra veros sacerdotes in Ierusalem. Quid si tua ordinatio et consecratio etiam falsa esset, sicut Turcarum et Samaranorum falsi sacerdotes, falsus et impius cultus est?

Primum nosti, inquit, nullam tunc habuisti cognitionem Christi nec veram fidem, et quod ad fidem attinet, nihil melior fuisti quovis Turca. Nam Turca adeoque omnes diaboli credunt historiam de Christo, ipsum esse natum, crucifixum, mortuum, etc. Sed Turca et nos, spiritus rejecti, non fidimus illius misericordia, neque habemus eum pro mediatore, aut Salvatore, sed exhorrescimus eum ut sævum judicem.

Ejus modi fidem, non aliam et tu habebas, cum ab episcopo unctionem acciperes, et omnes alii ungentes simul et uncti sic sentiebant, et non aliter de Christo. Ideo a Christo, tanquam crudeli judice confugiebatis ad S. Mariam et sanctos; illi erant *mediatores* inter vos et Christum. Sic erepta est gloria Christo. Hoc neque tu, neque ullus alias papista poterit inficiari. Ergo uncti estis, consecrati et rasi, et sacrificasti in missa ut Gentiles, Ethnici, non ut Christiani. Quomodo ergo potuistis in missa consecrare, aut veram missam celebrare? Ibi deficit (quod secundum vestram propriam doctrinam vitiat) persona habens potestatem consecrandi.

Secundo, unctus es tunc in sacerdotem, et missa abusus es contra institutionem, contra mentem et sententiam Christi instituentis. Nam Christus voluit sacramentum inter pios communicantes distribui, ad edendum et bibendum Ecclesiæ porrigi. Sacerdos enim verus est minister Ecclesiæ constitutus ad prædicandum verbum et porrígenda sacramenta, sicut hoc habent verba Christi in Coena, et sicut Paulus, 1 ad Cor. ii., de Cœna Domini loquitur. Unde et a veteribus *communio* appellata est, quod non solus

sacerdos debeat uti sacramento juxta institutionem Christi, sed reliqui Christiani fratres una cum ipso. Nunc annos quindecim totos semper solus privatim pro te in missa usus es sacramento, et non communicasti aliis. Adeoque interdictum tibi erat, ne porrigeres totum sacramentum aliis. Cujusmodi nunc hoc est sacerdotium? Cujusmodi unctione? Cujusmodi missa et consecratio? Cujusmodi tu es sacerdos, qui non pro Ecclesia, sed pro te ordinatus es? de hoc sacerdotio, de hac unctione (certum), Christus nihil novit, nec eam agnoscit.

Tertio, mens et sententia Christi est, sicut verba clare habent, ut tractantes sacramentum, mortem ejus annuntiemus: *Hoc facite*, inquit, *in mei commemorationem*, et sicut Paulus inquit, *donec veniat*. Tu vero missator privatus in omnibus missis tuis semel quidem prædicasti aut confessus es Christum; tu solus usus es sacramento, et apud te ipsum demurmurasti sibilo quodam tibi soli verba Cœnæ. Hæcne est institutio Christi? Cum hiane tuis factis profitebere te sacerdotem Christi? An hoc Christianum est et pium agere sacerdotem? ad hocne ordinatus es?

Quarto, mens et sententia et clara institutio Christi est, ut sacramento communicent et alii Christiani. Verum tu unctus es, non ad distribuendum sacramentum, sed ad sacrificandum: et contra institutionem Christi missa usus es pro sacrificio. Sic enim verba ungentis suffraganei clare sonant; cum enim juxta traditam ceremoniam calicem in manus dat jam uncto: *Accipe*, inquit, *potes-tatem consecrandi pro vivis et mortuis*. Quæ (malum!) hæc est prorsus sinistra et perversa unctione et ordinatio, quod Christus instituit ad edendum et bibendum pro tota Ecclesia, et porrigen-dum a sacerdote una communicantibus, ex hoc tu facias sacrificium propitiatorium coram Deo? o abominatione super omnem abominationem!

Quinto, mens et sententia Christi est (ut diximus), ut sacramentum distribuatur Ecclesiæ et communicantibus ad erigendam et firmandam ipsorum fidem, in quovis agone variarum tentationum peccati, diaboli, etc., ad subinde renovandum et prædicandum beneficium Christi. Tu autem ex hoc fecisti proprium opus quod tuum sit, quod tu facias sine aliis, quod possis impartiri gratis, vel pro pecunia aliis. Cedo, quid hic potes inficiari? In ejusmodi nunc tu unctus es sacerdotem, qui sine Christo, sine fide vera fuisti? Ad hæc contra mentem et institutionem Christi unctus et ordinatus non ad communicandum aliis, sed ad sacrificandum pro vivis et mortuis. Non ordinatus es in ministrum Ecclesiæ, etc. Item qui nunquam distribuisti sacramentum aliis, non præ-

dicasti in missa Christum, adeoque nihil eorum fecisti quæ Christus instituit. Numquid igitur plane unctus et ordinatus es contra Christum, et institutionem ejus, ad facienda omnia quæ sunt contra ipsum? si autem unctus et ordinatus es ab episcopis contra Christum, tum haud dubie unctio et ordinatio tua impia, et falsa est et antichristiana. Ergo nunc hoc urgeo, te non consecrasse in tua missa, sed obtulisse et adorasse tantum panem et vinum, et alii adorandum proposuisse.

Hic vides in tua missa, primum deesse personam, quæ consecrare possit, nempe Christianum hominem; secundo deesse personam, cui consecrari et porrigi debeat, nempe Ecclesiam, reliquos pios et populum. Sed tu impius et ignarus Christi stas ibi solus, et putas Christum propter te instituisse sacramentum, et protinus in tua missa te confidere corpus et sanguinem Domini, cum tu non sis membrum, sed hostia Christi, tertio, desunt ibi mens, sententia, fructus et usus sacramenti, ad quem Christus hoc instituit. Christus enim instituit sacramentum pro Ecclesia ad edendum et bibendum, ad corroborandam piorum fidem, ad prædicandum et extollendum in missa beneficium Christi. Nunc reliqua Ecclesia piorum de tua missa nihil novit, nihil ex te audit, nihil a te accipit, sed tu solus in angulo tuo tacens et mutus, comedis solus, bibis solus; qui tamen es rudis verbi Christi, incredulus, indignus, nemini tecum communicas; et ut in more vobis fuit, tanquam bonum opus pro pecunia vendis.

Cum igitur tu non sis persona, quæ consecrare possit, aut debeat, et persona etiam desit, quæ sacramentum accipiat; tertio cum invertas, ac prorsus evertas et mutes institutionem Christi, cumque sic ad omnia facienda contra Christum et institutionem Christi unctus sis, quid tum unctio tua, dein missa et consecratio tua, aliud sunt, quam blasphemia, et tentatio Dei, sic ut tu nec sis verus sacerdos, nec panis verum corpus Christi?

Ponam similitudinem: si quis baptismu uteretur, ubi non esset persona baptisanda; ut si suffraganeus (aliquis quemadmodum ridiculus mos apud papistas fuit) baptisaret campanam aut tintinnabulum, quod non potest esse persona baptisanda, vel baptisabilis, queso te dicas, essetne hic verus baptismus? Hic cogoris fateri neutiquam esse. Nam quis potest hoc baptisare quod non est, aut quod non est persona baptisabilis? Cujusmodi hic esset baptismus, si in ventum pronuntiarem hæc verba, *Baptizo te in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti*, effunderemque aquam? quis ibi acciperet remissionem peccatorum, aut Spiritum sanctum? aëne, an campana? Hic vel palpare potes, nullum esse baptismum,

etiam si verba baptismi pronuntientur, aut aqua superfundatur, deest enim persona qua baptismum accipiat. Quid si idem accideret tibi in tua missa, ut verba pronunties, putasque te sacramentum accipere, et tamen non accipias nisi panem et vinum? Nam persona accipiens, Ecclesia, non est ibi, et tu impius et incredulus nihil capacior es sacramenti sumendi, quam campana est baptismi accipiendi, adeoque plane nihil es ad sacramentum.

Hic forsan dices: Etiam si aliis in Ecclesia non porrigan sacramentum, tamen ipse sumo, ipse mihi porrigo. Et multi in cœtu etiam sacramentum, aut etiam baptismum accipiunt, qui tamen increduli sunt, et tamen ibi est verus baptismus et verum sacramentum? Quare tunc in mea missa non esset verum sacramentum? Sed hoc non est simile; quia in baptismo sunt (etiam si baptismus fiat in casu subitæ necessitatis) ut minimum duæ personæ, baptisans et baptisandus, et sœpe multi alii de Ecclesia. Et baptisantis officium est ejusmodi, quod aliis de Ecclesia quid communicat, ut membris, non aliis subtrahens, sibi soli sumit, sicut tu facis in missa. Et omnia alia quæ ibi geruntur tum opus ipsum fit, secundum jussum et modum institutionis Christi, tua autem missa contra institutionem Christi.

Secundo quare non docetis, quod quis possit baptisare seipsum? Quare ejusmodi baptismum improbatis? Quare rejicitis confirmationem, si quis *more vestro* confirmaret seipsum? Quare not valet consecratio? si quis consecraret seipsum in sacerdotem? Quare non est absolutio, si quis absolveret seipsum? Quare non est unctione, si quis in extremis *juxta ritum vestrum* inungeret seipsum? Quare non est conjugium, si quis nuberet sibi ipsi, vel velit opprimere puellam, et dicere hoc etiam invita puella debere esse conjugium? *Hæc enim sunt vestra septem sacramenta.* Si nunc nullum ex sacramentis vestris aliquis ipse pro seipso facere potest aut tractare, qui fit, ut tibi soli hoc summum sacramentum facere velis?

Hoc quidem verum est, quod Christus seipsum sumpsit in sacramento, et quilibet minister aliis porrigenus etiam pro se sumit. Sed ipse non consecrat sacramentum pro se, sed sumit una cum aliis et Ecclesia, et hæc omnia flunt in verbo Dei, secundum jussum et ordinationem Christi. Jam loquor de consecratione, an quis ipse possit consecrare et confidere sibi. Quia satis scio quod jam consecrato singuli cum aliis possint uti; nam est communio, et mensa Domini multis communis. Sicut novi questionem, an quis possit ungere et vocare seipsum, satis scio, quod vocatus et unctionis postea vocatione uti possit. Item quando quis puellam stupravit,

an satis sit, quod ipse stuprator vocet hanc conjunctionem conjugium, etc., nam bene scio, quando puella in conjugium primum consentit, quod postea conjunctio sequens thori, etc. est conjugium.

In his angustiis, in hoc agone contra Diabolum, volebam retindere hostem armis, quibus assuetus eram sub papatu, objiciebamque intentionem et fidem Ecclesiae, scilicet quod missas privatas in fide, intentione Ecclesiae celebrassem. Etiamsi ego, inquam, non recte credidi aut sensi, tamen in hoc recte credidit, et sensit Ecclesia. Verum Satan e contra fortius et vehementius instans, Age, inquit, pro me ubi scriptum est, quod homo impius, incredulus, possit assistere altari Christi, et consecrare ac confidere in fide Ecclesiae? Ubi jussit aut precepit hoc Deus? Quomodo probabis, quod Ecclesia intentionem tibi impariatur ad hanc tuam missam privatam? Si nunc verbum Dei non habes, sed homines hoc docuerunt sine verbo, tunc tota doctrina haec est mendacium. En audaciam vestram in tenebris geritis haec, et abutimini nomine Ecclesiae, ac deinde omnes abominationes vultis defensas praetextu intentionis Ecclesiae. Deinde non est, ut tu doceas me intentionem Ecclesiae. Ecclesia nihil credit, non sentit extra verbum et institutionem Christi, multo minus contra ipsius mentem et institutionem, de qua supra dixi; Paulus enim dicit, 1 Corinth. ii., de Ecclesia et cœtu piorum, *Nos mentem Christi tenemus.*

Unde autem disces, aliquid esse mentem et intentionem Christi et Ecclesiae, quam ex verbo Christi, doctrina et confessione Ecclesiae? Unde scis intentionem et mentem esse Ecclesiae, quod homicidium, adulterium, incredulitas, damnabilia sint peccata, et similia, quam ex verbo Dei?

Si nunc intentio Ecclesiae de operibus recte, aut secus factis est colligenda ex verbo et jussu Dei, quanto magis intentio de doctrina est colligenda ex verbo Dei? Quare ergo in missa privata, blasphemie! contravenis claris verbis et ordinationi Christi? Et postea tuo mendacio, tua impietati praetextis nomen et intentionem Ecclesiae? Et misero hoc fuco tuum ornas commentum, quasi intentio Ecclesiae sit contra clara verba et institutionem Christi. Quæ haec est audacia prodigiosa, ut per tam impudens mendacium nomen Ecclesiae conspurces?

Cum igitur missarius ad nihil aliud unctus sis ab episcopo, quam ad faciendum per missam privatam contra verba clara et institutionem Christi, contra mentem, fidem et confessionem Ecclesiae, tunc profanissima est, et nihil sancti nec sacri habet haec unctionis. Deinde vanior, inanior et tam ridicula est haec unctionis,

quam baptisatio saxy, aut mutæ campanæ, etc. Atque ultra ursit Satan: Ergo non consecrasti, sed solum panem et vinum (ut Ethnici) obtulisti, et per quæstum turpissimum ac blasphemum Christianis opus tuum vendidisti, serviens non Deo, non Christo, sed tuo ventri. Quæ est hæc inaudita abominatio in cœlo et in terra. Hæc fere erat disputationis summa.

No. XXIII.

Münzer's Manifesto.—P. 389.

Ego Thomas Münzer de Stolbergk, cum desiderabili et inclito Christi athleta Iohanne Huss canoras et ductiles tubas novo cantico repleturus, ingemiscens protestor coram universa electorum Ecclesia et toto mundo, ubi præsentes poterint exhiberi litteræ, testimonium adstipulantibus mihi Christo et electis suis, qui me a puerō neverunt. Recenseo me vehementiorem super omnes coetaneos meos operam navasse, donec uberiorem raramque invincibilis sancte fidei Christianæ eruditio nem, nancisci dignaret. Refero constanter, nullum sacrificulum, nullum monasticum hypocritam potuisse hanc ipsam præstare mihi; nulli quoque viventium, qui molesta et vera spiritus angustia compressi erant, insinuaverunt infallibilia orthodoxæ fidei exercitia. Nec eas utilissimas prædestinatae mentis evacuationes, ast profundissimas in tentatione abyssos, declarare per divini timoris Spiritum potuerunt: cum omnes electi huic hærentes anchoræ desiderent Spiritum S. septies, et nisi quis toties eodem perfusus fuerit, Deum audire et intelligere minime potest. Nec unicum de larvatis audivi doctoribus, qui ordinem Deo et creaturis congenitum in minutulo hiscens apice exposuisset. Postremo præcipui inter externos Christianos, sacerdoulos dico pestiferos, nec olfecerunt unquam totum vel perfectum, quod unicum et metrum, ad cognoscendas partium naturas.

Sæpiissime autem gelidas ab eis audivi scripturas, quas inquisimè, tanquam rapidi fures et atrocissimi latrones, de Bibliis sunt furati. Quod nempe furtum Deus ipse execratur dicens: Ecce ego ad vates, qui surripiunt oracula mea, unusquisque a proximo suo: nam decipiunt populum meum, nunquam eis sum locutus, et usurpant verba mea, quæ in fætentibus eorum labiis, depravant suæ naturæ, dum Spiritum meum in sæcula negant loqui hominibus.

Acerrimo prorsus eos subsannant scommate, qui Spiritum S. testimonia nobis reddentem loqui affirmant, contrariantur adstruentes impietatem suam. Quis affuit consilio Domini, et redit et audivit sermones ejusdem? Quis consideravit et audivit verbum illius? Super illos Dominus hisce temporibus crassissimam indignationem est emissurus, eo quod scopum fidei inficiuntur, qui deberent se aeneum murum pro populo Dei opponere calumniantibus.

Ipsi vero sunt, qui abominationem hanc spirant, vivunt et eructant. Quis mortalium diceret hos castos dispensatores multi-formis gratiae Dei, et imperterritos vivi non mortui verbi praecones, dum papistico corruptore agente sint ordinati et inuncti oleo peccatorum a capite in talos defluente? Hoc est a prævaricatore diabolo incipit eorum vesania, proficiscens in penetralia cordium ipsorumque (psalmo quinto teste) vana sunt sine Spiritu posse-sore, unde in plagam populi sunt consecrati a diabolo patre illorum, qui cum eis non audit vivum Dei verbum, Joan. 8; Isaiae 24; Osee 14: nam idola sunt dæmonibus simillima, Zachariae undecimo, id est, ut in summa dicam, sunt homines damnati, Joannis tertio, imo damnatissimi, nullum jus nec apud Deum neque apud homines hæreditarium habentes, quod apostolus ad Galatas Genesin exponens declarat.

Quare quoque cœlum et terra perseveraverint, non proderint Ecclesie, quæ audit vocem sponsi, quam ipsi mordicus in principio refutant. Quomodo igitur sunt ministri Dei, portatores verbi, quod meretricia fronte denegant? Necessaria profecto est omnibus sacerdotibus revelatio, quam dicunt plus quam impossibilem contra Apostolum ad 1 Cor. 14. Propterea alibi idem tonitru suo quassat obstinatos, quibus evangelium opertum est. Glorians ait electorum corda esse tabulas, in quas digito Dei eas findente exarantur vivi verbi mysteria, quæ omnes, quorum talenta usuram faciunt legere jucundissime queunt. Reprobi vero tanquam Marpesia cautes, cœlum in perpetua tempora abstensi: quippe Dominus dicit: ipsos impios silices super quos cecidit frumentum in gaudio et dulcedine. Sunt quidem indicante Ezechiele lapidea corda damnatorum, præcipue sacerdotum et consimilis farinæ hominum, qui crebro suavissime delectantur in suis codicillis, dicunt: sapientes nos sumus et lex Domini nobiscum est. In scrutinio autem fidei non est populus in mundo, qui amplius adversaretur Spiritui S. et vivo verbo, quod inanes Christianorum flamines. Jeremias enim vero, cap. octavo, hæc conve-

nientissime in eos torquet, qui ignorant omnibus scripturis fore adjungendam fidei experientiam et hanc omnino infallibilem.

Illi prorsus stylum habent mendacem, dum verbum verum, quod a nulla potest audiri creatura nisi passibili, rejiciunt, usurantes verba, quæ non audient in æternum. Porro corda impiorum in pejus obdurantur. Dum evacuari debeant, lubrica resiliunt, abominantia ex supernis possessorem cunctarum rerum et suum, hoc est in tempore piissimæ tentationis recedere a verbo incarnato. Nequaquam impius passione sua vult conformis Christo fieri, unde clavem scientiæ quærentibus aufert.

Hunc introitum vitæ dicit perversum et impossibilem. Hæc est causa, qua jam judicatus est ante mortem adhuc in carne. Populus autem Dei tertio aspersus die, vehementer lavari septimo desiderat, dum sentiat constantissimum testimonium in corde. Hinc illa eadem pressura, tum anxius est miserandus, qui igitur norit, cui sectæ hærendum sit. Imo longo tempore universi homines esurierunt et sitiverunt fidei justitiam, et verificatum videmus Jeremias vaticinium dicentis: Parvuli petierunt panem, et non erat, qui frangeret eis. Multi fuerunt, qui illis tanquam canibus integros Bibliorum textus projecerunt. Sed artificio divini timoris impartiri non quiverunt. Ah, ah, frangere non potuerunt, non enutriverunt infallibili prædestinationis certitudine filios Dei, ut septiformi nomine proficerentur ad videndam methodum in vivum Deum directissimam. Ea origine pastores se ipsos non pascentes ovibus matres efficiuntur lac suggestentes de uberibus inexhaustæ consolationis quam ipsi exhortantur a Deo. Sinistri præterea homines Ciconiæ sunt ranas ex pratis paludibusque avide colligentes. Postea pullis suis in nidum crudas evomunt. Sic omnes impii ex libris divina verba venantes mortua deglutiunt illa, donec miseram plebem faciant incertissimam de salute. Audent itaque asserere se ipsos prædicantes omnesque homines incertos esse, an odio vel amore digni sint. Quid faciunt, obsecro, nisi dispersionem ovium divinarum? Scabiem earum minime curantes inter lepram et sanitatem non judicant. Impios ab electis non separant, quia oves non pascunt viva voce, hinc audiunt vocem alienorum contagione multa, hoc est, non docent, quo tramite vacent: ut ipsi audiant et sentiant certissimum proprii evangelii præconem Jesum Christum in tota anima, cute, medullis et ossibus eorum.

Qui enim hunc semel, uti decet, receperit, damna, nunquam potest. Is. 55 et 59, Joh. 6. O vœ, vœ et in æternum vœ instar Balaam prædicantibus: nempe Dei verba in ore illorum posita

sunt, corda vero longius plus quam mille milliaria distant ab ipsis. Unde populum fere omnem quasi oves sine pastoribus delitescentem reddiderunt nulla fidei experientia opus esse hominibus. Iram Dei fugiendam frigide deblaterant. Eia bonis operibus, miris quoque virtutibus cavendum Dei furorem affirmant. Ignorantes sunt, quid Deus, quæ fides, quæ Christianorum virtutes, quid opus bonum in vertigine spiritus inconcussi obtunduntur. Quas ob res non esset mirum, si Dominus iterum generali cataclysmo exturbaret electum cum reprobo, ob fidem lignis et lapidibus stupidiorem. Nec apud me causa vacillat, quare totius orbis terrarum diversi populi fidem Christianam importunam dixerunt stultitiam. Sæpen numero rationem poposcerunt increduli a Christianis vario respondentibus supercilie: Nos habemus scriptum in lege nostra hoc et illud, ibi Christus clamat, Paulus resonat, prophetæ vaticinantur. Hoc statutum sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ animarum prostibulum roborat ipsum papisticus et ligneus Romanus Pontifex in Babylonico luponari discernit. Ratione hac adversarii nostri in deterius obdurantur, meditantes in seipsis: quid si eorum prophetæ, Christus et Paulus mentiti fuissent, unde sciamus vera dixisse istos? Satagunt sine dubio plerique Judæi et Turcae, ut firmamentum fidei nostræ audire et intelligere possent, at roncho nostro vos impios sine Spiritus S. judicio pronuntiamus, quod incommodum ignavia sacerdolorum introduxit. Dicunt utique, qui crediderit et baptisatus fuerit, incolmis est. Ratio fidei talis sic redditur, et non alia. Ah digna, quæ pelleretur minutis pulmonum, et dignissima, quæ expelleretur cum hominibus in pulveres. Omnibus enim larvis pompticis insanior est. Quis sufficit defiere illam, quis hanc vessanam phrenesin ausus fuit curare, dum exundaret extolleretque ad cœlorum nubes? Quare ego flebili miseratione motus sum; ex totis visceribus lamentans, deplango veræ Ecclesiæ Dei ruinam, qua ipsa percussa non palpat Ægyptiacas tenebras. Dominus omnino amplius conterere non poterit eam, nisi extingueret, quod non faciet, nisi impiis impostoribus, qui eam Baal adorare docuerunt, digni superque digni sunt, ut homines et angeli secent eos medios, non enim recordati sunt justorum Dei judiciorum. Legi et relegi priscorum patrum historias. Invenio immaculatam virginemque Christi Ecclesiam post mortuos Apostolorum discipulos, rugoso comminatam, prostitutam, expositam fuisse adulterio inter perfidorum sacrificiorum commercia. Quod testantur Egesippus, Eusebius cæterique multi. Et quia populus sacerdotum electiones posthabuit, nullum concilium a principio impostura illius reddidit sinceram fidei

rationem, ordo enim rerum et divinæ vocis auctoritas in his non fecerunt conc̄entum ullum; ob id tradidit Deus illos dispensatione sua mirabili in puerorum nænias, ut ipsimet dicunt, in cœremonias phantasticas, ut facerent, quæ lactantibus convenienter pueris, quousque tam tritici quam lolii natura ventilaretur, et omnium opera a cœcutiente mundo grassantia palparent in messe injustissima.

Gaudete ideo, charissimi, albescunt regiones vestræ deciduae. Conductus ego cœlitus denario diurno falcam in messem exacuo metendam. Veritatem prorsus supremam meditabitur guttus meum, et labia mea detestabuntur impios, ob quos cognoscendos et destruendos, dilectissimi fratres Bohemi, inclytam vestram sum ingressus regionem, nihil desiderans, nisi quod vivum suscipiatis verbum, quod ego vivo et spiro, ne vacuum revertatur. Admittite et subvenite, quod missales vestri examinentur sacerdotes. Videbitis seductionem in meridie. Ego policeor afferendam vobis tantam gloriam, quantam apud Romanos contraxistis ignominiam et invidiam. Scio certissimus latera aquilonis in profluvium germinantis gratiæ ruitura. Hic incipiet renovata Ecclesia apostolica in universum orbem profectura. Occurrите igitur non mihi, sed verbo suo, ego nullum emolumentum a vobis desideravi, quod velociter est cursurum. Date duntaxat locum prædicatu. Paratus invenior omni poscenti sufficere. Si vero neglexeritis admonitionem meam, tradet vos Dominus in manus desiderantium terminos vestros, et rediget in sibulum omni cœtui populorum. Si mentitus fuero in vivo verbo Dei, quod hodie egreditur de ore ejus, patiar onus Jeremie, et tradendum meipsum offero tam præsentis, quam futuræ mortis tormento, solidiora non sunt mihi pignora. Constringo et contestor vos propter roseum Christi sanguinem, ut judicetis inter me et vestros Romanosque sacerdotes, vestrum est judicare 1 Cor. 14. Infallibilis scio, quod nullus eorum est certus in fide, nam suo phantasmate et incurabili avaritia, perversitate inexplicabili confusum chaos fecerunt ex sancta Ecclesia Dei, quam Dominus confractam, derelictam, dispersem ædificabit, consolabitur, adunabit, donec videat Deum Deorum in Sion in æcula æculorum. Amen. Datum anno Christi, 1521.

Ego Thomas Münzer adhortor, ne Ecclesia adoret Deum mutum, sed vivum et loquentem, nullus Deorum contemptibilior gentibus, quam vivus Christianus expertibus.

END OF VOL. I.

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